







THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

North American Colonial Conflicts to 1775



A POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND MILITARY HISTORY

JAMES ARNOLD AND ROBERTA WIENER, DOCUMENTS EDITORS

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF NORTH AMERICAN COLONIAL CONFLICTS TO 1775

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF NORTH AMERICAN COLONIAL CONFLICTS TO 1775

A Political, Social, and Military History

Dr. Spencer C. Tucker

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Dedicated to the memory of Dr. Donald E. Worcester, distinguished professor, scholar, mentor, and friend

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Preface

The Encyclopedia of North American Colonial Conflicts to 1775 is one of 14 projected multivolume works in the Encyclopedias of American Military History series, tracing the entirety of U.S. military history. Each of the sets addresses a particular war or period and contains both individual entries and a volume of documents.

This encyclopedia is, of course, the first in the series, and in it we cover nearly three centuries of North American history. We have many entries treating the first Americans—the Native Americans—and have included not only entries on their key leaders and tribes but also essays treating their methods of warfare and weapons. The majority of entries are those devoted to the English and French colonies and the struggle between these two national blocs which dominated much of the period. We have not, however, neglected the Spaniards, the Swedes, the Dutch, and the Russians, all of whom made major contributions to America's heritage. Even in an encyclopedia of more than half a million words it is impossible to include every individual, battle, or event, but we have endeavored to include the most influential. We have also included entries treating technologies of the era, such as cannon founding, shipbuilding, and weaponry, bows and arrows, and muskets.

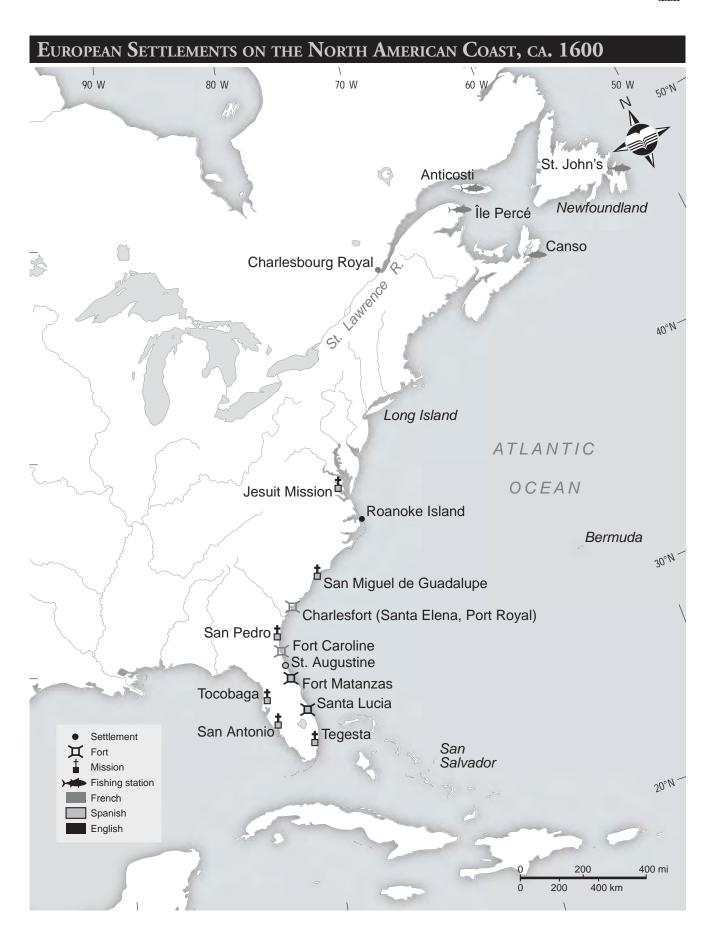
While the colonial period is marked by important diplomatic and military events, it also shaped the lives of the people who lived through it in many other ways. We have sought, therefore, to address not only military, political, and diplomatic events but also social and economic issues. We have entries on religion and on religious leaders, medicine, and economic and political theories and theorists.

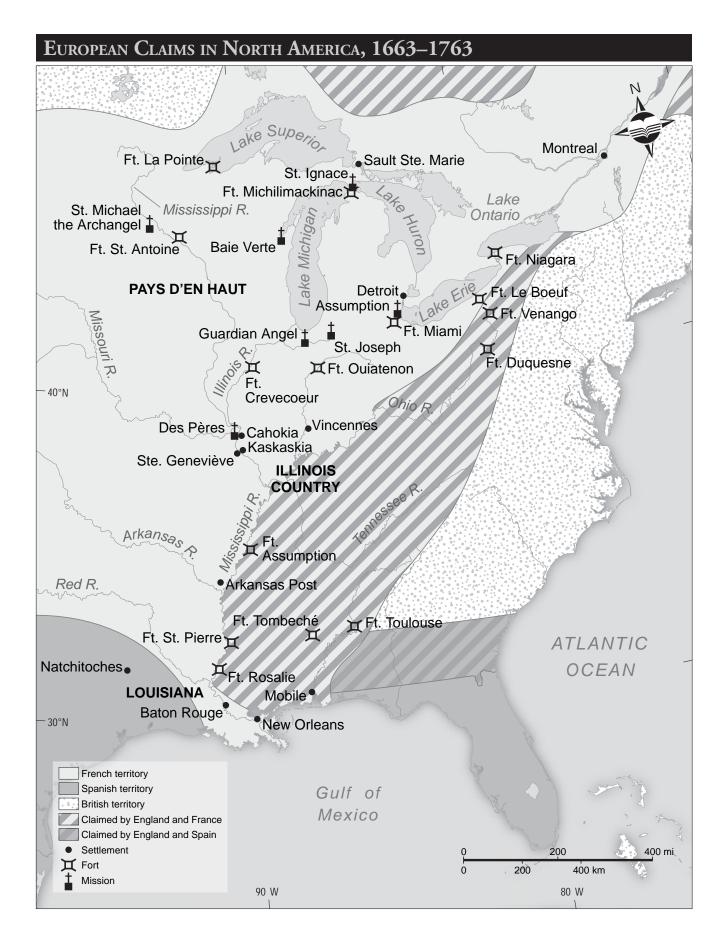
Members of the Editorial Advisory Board and individual contributors suggested additional entries, and we have tried to incorporate as many of their ideas as possible. We have also included a selected bibliography and a glossary, along with a good many maps, which we believe are essential, especially to understanding geopolitics and battles.

Such a wide-ranging project as this rests on the work of many different people. I am grateful to all of the contributors, especially to the large number who answered one or more appeals to take on additional entries when other contributors fell by the proverbial wayside. Members of the Editorial Advisory Board were also most helpful in going over the entry list and suggesting potential contributors. Assistant editors Dr. Justin Murphy and Dr. Jim Piecuch read the entire manuscript and helped catch errors of fact and interpretation. Roberta Weiner and Jim Arnold wrote a number of entries and put together the documents volume. I am, however, most grateful to my esteemed colleague, Associate Editor Dr. Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr., who helped me with the oft-challenging first-pass editing and wrote many entries. We work together remarkably well. Special thanks are due to the good folks at ABC-CLIO, including Editorial Operations Manager Kirk Werner and Project Editor Andrew McCormick for their aid and encouragement in myriad ways. I am especially appreciative of Becky Snyder, president of ABC-CLIO, for her unflagging support, her vision in recognizing the need for students to study military history, and her advocacy of this series of encyclopedias. Finally, I would also like to thank my wife, Dr. Beverly Tucker, for her continued patience and understanding.

Spencer C. Tucker

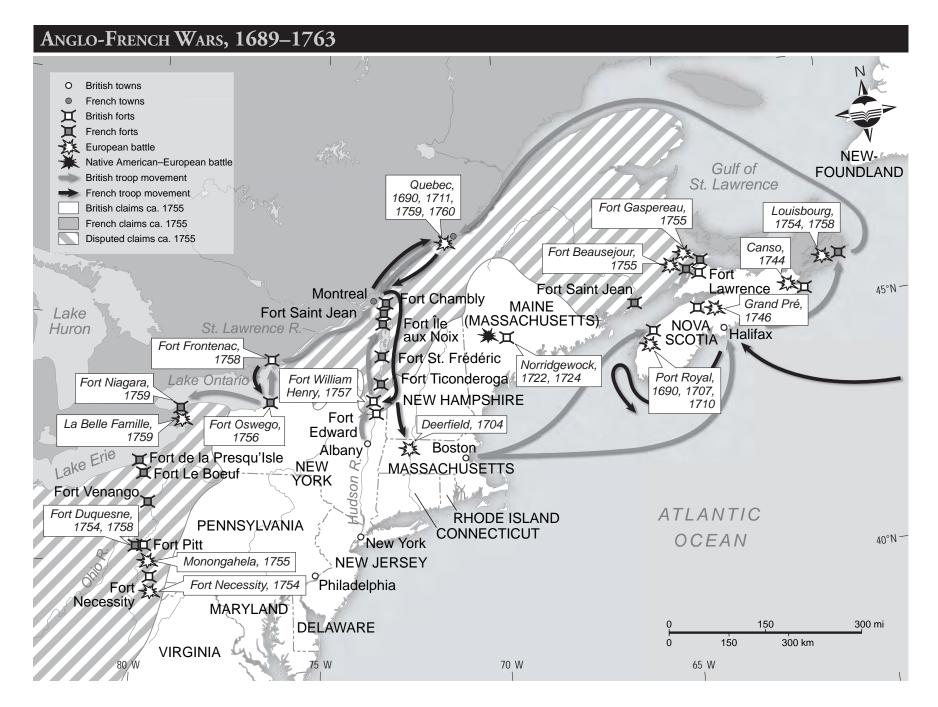
General Maps

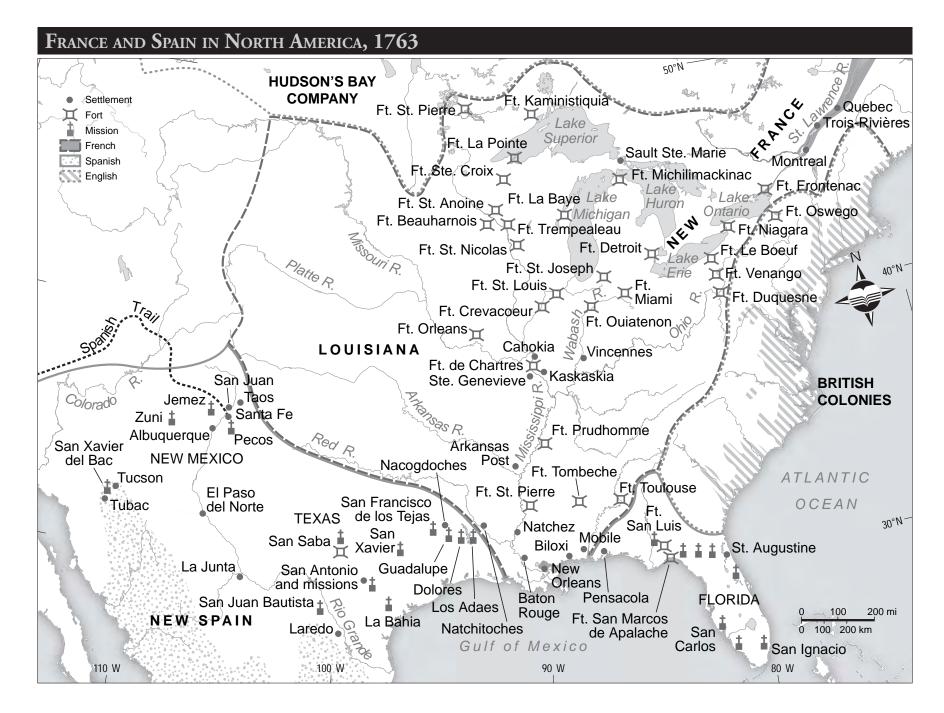














General Essays

Introduction

The Encyclopedia of North American Colonial Conflicts to 1775 is the first in a series of 14 multivolume encyclopedias being published by ABC-CLIO that trace the military history of the United States to the present. This three-volume work covers by far the longest time span, beginning more than six centuries ago and extending over nearly three centuries until the beginning of the American Revolutionary War in 1775.

In many ways the colonial period seems hopelessly remote today, and yet it shaped the United States in fundamental ways. To some extent, American attitudes toward the military were conditioned by those of the mother country, as in the English fears of standing armies, but events in colonial America solidified such sentiments. Because regular troops were not available in large numbers, both New France and the English colonies embraced the concepts of militia service and the citizen soldier, which greatly influenced subsequent patterns of U.S. military service. The special conditions of North America and the vast distances that separated colonists from their mother countries also ensured that institutions and attitudes evolved differently. Our fundamental attitudes toward government were directly shaped by this period.

Of course, the key conflict woven through much of this period is the struggle for supremacy in North America. In the beginning this was a struggle among the first Americans, the Native Americans. The Spaniards were the first outside power to attempt to control the continent, but it was the French and the English who, establishing their permanent settlements about the same time, were the chief rivals for continental supremacy. This is a colorful story, one that has captured the American imagination and is the subject of great literature and film. The contest for continental supremacy ended, for all intents and purposes, in the most impor-

tant battle in the history of North America, on the Plains of Abraham outside of the city of Quebec on September 13, 1759. Although the French, who enjoyed the support of most Native Americans, fought hard and well, the century-and-a-half struggle for control of North America was almost certain to end in English victory, especially given the vast disparity in colonial populations and the British Navy's control of the sea for much of the period. The battle for Quebec all but sealed English control of the continent.

Why study the colonial period? It is, of course, full of colorful events and people. But more important, a knowledge of American history in this period is essential in understanding who we are as a people. In this period, Americans, be they French, English, Spanish, Swedish, or Dutch, were separated from their mother countries by the vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean. Faced with this and other unique challenges presented by North America, they developed the attitudes and beliefs that would find expression in the American Revolution. Among these were notions of what constituted the correct form of government, including beliefs in popular representation, the separation and balance of powers, and a wider franchise, as well as ideas that later found expression at the state level in the initiative, referendum, and recall. The difficulties of frontier life and the fact that there was no native nobility in America helped foster concepts of equality and encouraged the play of individualism and advancement by ability. The fact that Americans came from many levels of societies and different nations contributed to the precept that America was a "melting pot" of peoples. In education, Americans believed in public control. Attitudes toward religion underwent dramatic change, from intolerance to tolerance and a generally held belief in the separation of church and state. Some colonies were expressly founded with the notion of extending religious freedoms,

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and these ideas resonated beyond those colonial borders. Unfortunately, there was also a darker side to the period, of perceived racial superiority, the ritual torture of captives, the execution of innocents, and the enslavement of other human beings. While slavery did not originate in the colonial period, sadly it did not end with it, or even with the U.S. Constitution of 1789.

In all, learning about the colonial period is essential to understanding who we are as a people today. It is also an exciting period to study, and all those who have labored on this project hope that this encyclopedia has contributed to our knowledge of this important period.

Spencer C. Tucker

Overview of the North American Colonial Period

This summary provides both background and context to the entries and essays that follow. It is difficult, if not impossible, to cover linkages and interconnections among the numerous events, places, and themes in the separate entries of an alphabetically arranged encyclopedia. On the other hand, the many entries that follow provide both details and nuances that cannot be covered here.

The Clash of Cultures

The colonial period, from the 16th century until the beginning of the American Revolutionary War in 1775, involved the conflicts of the many peoples in North America, principally in what is now the eastern United States and eastern Canada. In earlier decades, those conflicts were often between Native Americans and European explorers, settlers, and soldiers. Equally important were the conflicts among the various groups of Native Americans, who did not begin to see themselves as a single people, or even as a group of peoples with related interests, until the mid-18th century, toward the very end of our story. Conflicts between Europeans and American Indians often included some Native American groups on both sides, and the interests being defended or advanced were an evolving combination of settler and native goals.

Conflicts among Europeans occurred in this earlier period, but they were relatively rare and quick. After 1689, conflicts among Europeans increasingly predominated, at least in the European perspective. These struggles usually involved the colonies of France and Great Britain, with an occasional clash with Spanish Florida. Prior to 1754, these conflicts were generally extensions of wars begun in Europe, fought for European reasons, and then concluded with European interests in mind.

North American colonists, especially British settlers, gave the wars different names, reflecting their ignorance of, or indifference

to, the official casus belli. Even the accepted chronologies reflect their European origins. For example, the Seven Years' War, which actually had roots in the New World, officially began in 1756 and ended in 1763, but the fighting in North America, where the conflict was known as the French and Indian War, commenced in 1754 and for all intents and purposes concluded in 1760.

Settlers, colonial governments, and Indian nations grafted their own perceptions, experiences, and interests onto those of the European powers. Conflicts between colonies, between Native Americans and settlers, and among NativeAmericans were all superimposed on the European-based pattern.

The Establishment of European Colonies

European sovereigns of the 15th to 17th centuries had no qualms about claiming jurisdiction over any lands encountered by their navigators, as long as no other "Christian prince" had claimed them. They assumed that the newly discovered lands would somehow further the power, wealth, and well-being of the mother country. The European powers, already engaged in long-term rivalries at home, tended to be jealous of one another's gains, including their colonial gains, and fearful of advantages that might accrue to their rivals from them.

The legal basis for monarchs' initial claims was the right of discovery, although the claims generally extended well beyond lands the discoverers had actually seen. Prudent sovereigns ordered the establishment of forts, trading posts, or settlements to strengthen their claims on the basis of the right of occupation. In practical terms, the claims were also based on their possession of long-distance sailing vessels, professional armies, firearms, and horses, all of which were new to America, and, with the exception of horses, relatively recent innovations in Europe.

From the European perspective, the presence of a non-Christian population did nothing to weaken claims, although for some it created a moral obligation to bring the "savages" to the "true religion." The lives and cultures of the native peoples—termed "Indians" by the discoverers, who rather seriously miscalculated where they were—would be profoundly changed in endless ways. Novel European trade goods, such as iron cooking implements, knives, cloth, firearms, and alcohol, transformed the lifestyles of the Native Americans, who quickly formed a previously unknown dependency on outside suppliers.

To acquire trade goods, Native Americans devoted their lives to trapping and the accumulation of animal furs and skins to an unprecedented degree, and they engaged one another in wars over hunting grounds and trading rights. Their own sense of identity was changed as they converted to new religions or formed new confederations in self-defense. Some linguistic groups (and sometimes even unrelated groups) became self-conscious nations for the first time. Finally, untold multitudes died from wars and even more from contagious European and African diseases to which they had no immunity.

The settlers' treatment of the Native Americans—and the Native Americans' treatment of the settlers—varied from place to place and from time to time. Early contact was often accompanied by mutual caution and suspicion, if not immediate hostility. At some point, relations generally involved large-scale violence.

Although settlers initially feared incursions by European rivals, most of the early conflict occurred between settlers and Native Americans. Often this began with an alliance between a settler group and one Native American nation or confederation against the latter's rivals. (In a twist, Powhatan, the leader of the Powhatan Confederation, apparently tricked the settlers of Virginia into attacking the Chickahominy in 1616, then used the attack as evidence of a threat in order to convince the Chickahominy to subordinate themselves to his confederation.)

Normally, the colonists provided valued European trade goods and military technology; the Native Americans provided manpower, intelligence of the local terrain and inhabitants, and emergency food supplies, which generally meant the difference between survival and extinction for a new colony. On other occasions, however, conflict came as a reaction to offensives or abuses, real or perceived, or out of fear that the other side was preparing to attack. Assaults against Native Americans by the English, in particular, were often preceded by rumors of Indian conspiracies and impending assaults, for which substantiation was rarely provided. New England Puritans often accompanied their attacks with denunciations of the Indians' "degenerate" and "heathen" ways.

With time, demographic pressures and the expanding vale of settlement, especially in the British colonies, fueled further conflict as the Indians saw themselves displaced from their native territories. Each side saw its own needs, ambitions, and cultural practices as the more legitimate, and the other's offenses as the more egregious. Eventually, most colonial authorities, although not all,

assumed that Native Americans were both capricious and hostile and that intimidation was the most effective way to deal with them. The precise causes of war, however, especially in the earliest decades, have often been obscured by incomplete, contradictory, and self-serving reports.

The European advantage in weaponry was of greatest utility on open fields or in fights over the control of fixed positions, such as villages or forts. It was greatly mitigated in densely wooded areas, where Native American warriors used the tactics of encirclement and surprise (ambush) to great effect. The European technological edge was lessened by the sale of firearms to Indians; although the latter remained dependent on Europeans for arms and ammunition, they could often rely on the colonies of rival European powers. Colonial forces gradually adapted to ambushes and other Indian tactics, sometimes by mimicking them, other times by countering them, dispersing their forces and paying close attention to their surroundings (frequently with the aid of Indian scouts from rival nations) while seeking to maintain the advantages of European military discipline and organization.

It is worth noting that the "Indian style of fighting" was itself a recent innovation. When Samuel de Champlain first encountered members of the Iroquois Confederation in 1609, for example, the Mohawk warriors fought in the open, in massed formation, wearing wooden armor. Their development of new tactics was a response to European firearms.

New Spain

Spanish colonizers concentrated their attention on the larger Caribbean islands and what would become Latin America, especially Mexico and Peru, where they found the gold and silver they needed to finance a rich court life and powerful fleets and armies in Europe. Spanish expeditions explored parts of North America in the early 16th century, but they concluded that the precious metals were too scarce and the natives too hostile to warrant further interest.

Spanish treasure fleets from the New World became strategic targets for rival European navies. The treasure ships exited the Caribbean through the Straits of Florida, creating a strategic vulnerability in this narrow passage between that peninsula and the Bahamas. France, seeking outposts from which to strike at the Spanish fleets, was the first colonial power to establish small coastal settlements to the north, at Port Royal (Parris Island, South Carolina) in 1562 and Fort Caroline (Jacksonville, Florida) in 1564. Port Royal—not unlike a Spanish outpost on Virginia's York River in the 1570s and English outposts on Newfoundland Island and at Roanoke, Virginia, in the 1580s—failed in part because of hostilities with the local population. Spain responded to Fort Caroline in 1565 by sending an expedition there, wiping out the colony, and founding their own outpost, St. Augustine (San Agustín), on the Florida coast.

The Spanish remained at St. Augustine, the first permanent European settlement in what is today the United States, to assure control of the straits and to serve as a warning to its rivals. Further Spanish expansion into the present southeastern United States was modest, consisting primarily of Indian missions in northern Florida and coastal Georgia, intended in part to supply food and an outer defensive perimeter for St. Augustine. Later, the Spanish built a second military stronghold, at Pensacola. Settlers were few and consisted above all of soldiers and missionaries. Economic development was limited.

Spain also had outposts in the present southwestern United States. These had few encounters with the other European powers, whose presence was initially limited to the East Coast, but they engaged in protracted conflicts with the Indian population, especially in New Mexico.

The Spanish Empire, in decline by the end of the 16th century, began to make seemingly small concessions. In treaties with England (1604) and the Netherlands (1609), Spain required that its monopoly in America be respected only where it maintained effective occupation. Vast stretches of territory now lay open to them, and rival European powers began snatching up the smaller Caribbean islands and establishing colonies on the North American mainland (and even on parts of the South American coast).

Acadia and New France

France, having paused after the failure of the Carolina and Florida colonies, turned its attention north to Canada, far from any effective Spanish occupation. There, the French successfully exploited the rich fishing banks of the North Atlantic and the fur-bearing animals of the Canadian forests. French colonists, while more numerous than the Spanish in Florida, were still relatively few in number, and most were soldiers, former soldiers, or missionaries. Nonetheless, the colonizers collaborated with a network of Indian nations to create a vast fur-trading empire that extended from the Atlantic Coast through the Great Lakes region to Hudson Bay in the north and the Dakotas in the west.

The French were perhaps the most successful in the long-term management of relations with the Native American population. From the time of the settlement of Acadia (1604) and New France (1608) by Champlain, the French made an effort to seek the Native Americans out; to establish missions, forts, and trading posts among them; to assign people to learn their languages and customs; to engage regularly (from the 1640s) in ritualized diplomatic conferences and gift-giving ceremonies; and to keep track of the internal politics and the intertribal relations of the various Indian nations. Having a small population, New France did not strain relations with the American Indians by sending out ever-larger waves of settlers demanding ever-larger swaths of Indian land. In 1627, for example, Virginia had roughly 2,000 European settlers, whereas New France and Acadia combined had 107. By 1740 the British colonies had more than 900,000 settlers; Canada had less than 44,000. French Protestants, known as Huguenots, who were a potential source of large-scale migration, were actually forbidden to settle in New France after 1632 for fear of their disrupting the missionary efforts of the Jesuits. France used its colonies as commercial enterprises and relied heavily on the Native American population to staff the fur trade and to provide much of the military might to secure it, in return for trade goods. Missionaries, in addition to pursuing religious goals for their own sake, were expected to help tie the Native American population to the French cause.

The French thus formed long-lasting alliances with the peoples of Acadia, the St. Lawrence Valley, the Ottawa Valley, and the Great Lakes: the Micmac, the Montagnais, the Algonquins, the Nippisings, the Hurons, the Ojibwas (Chippewas), the Ottawas, the Potawa -tomis, and so on. The Abenaki of what is now southern Quebec and northern New England were also a frequent ally. The Abenaki alliance, shaky at first, was reinforced by the increasingly frequent clashes between the Abenakis and the expanding New England colonies and by the equally frequent wars between the Abenakis and the Iroquois. Factions often formed within these nations over the relative wisdom of allying with the French, forging an accommodation with the English, or seeking a neutral stance. In the case of these nations, the pro-French argument generally held the day.

Often the French were called upon to manage or settle disputes among their allies, and they frequently succeeded. In the process, however, the French and their new allies became entangled in a series of wars with the Iroquois Confederation. The Iroquois were longtime adversaries of several of France's Native American allies. They also rivaled France itself for control of the fur trade.

Between 1640 and 1701, New France and the Iroquois Confederation were at war much of the time. There were occasional truces, especially when the Iroquois were simultaneously fighting the Susquehannocks to their south or the Mahicans and Abenakis to their east. During the more prolonged truces (1653-1658, 1667- 1682), the Iroquois permitted the Jesuits to establish missions in their villages. In 1676 the French established Caughnawaga (now also spelled Kahnawake) in the St. Lawrence Valley, the first village built for Iroquois Catholic converts. These converts, mostly Mohawks, proved to be enduring allies for the French, although they continued a surreptitious trade with Albany and would rarely fight other Iroquois. Much of the politics among Iroquois factions during this period focused on the attitude for the Confederation regarding the French and the British. Starting in 1680, however, the Iroquois initiated a series of raids against the Illinois, a recent French ally in the West, driving the latter further into the arms of the French. This eventually resulted in a return to warfare and the expulsion of the Jesuits.

The 1680s also witnessed the introduction of the troupes de la marine, a regular military force that, like the colonies themselves, was subordinated to the Ministry of the Navy. This force was initially raised in France and stationed in Canada. Many of its soldiers eventually settled there, and replacements were recruited locally. The unit evolved into a force that was more professional than the normal colonial militia, although arguably less so than regular French army troops (troupes de terre). Troupes de la marine were adept at Indian-style forest warfare (the "skulking way of war").

The so-called Beaver Wars with the Iroquois did not always go well for the French and their allies, especially at midcentury. Iroquois raids became especially effective after the 1640s, when the Iroquois gained access to large numbers of Dutch firearms. The Iroquois reduced the once-mighty Hurons to the status of a wandering refugee band. Some remnants of the defeated (especially related Iroquoian groups, such as the Hurons, the Petuns, and the Neutrals) were adopted into Iroquois tribes and settled in special villages; others were dispersed. The Erie essentially disappeared from the historical record. The wars left present-day Ohio and Indiana virtually depopulated for half a century or more. Needless to say, New France suffered as well, and recruiting new settlers became exceedingly difficult during this period.

As a result of their own actions, however, the Iroquois generated the enduring animosity of many peoples over an enormous territorial expanse. The attack launched by the Marquis de Denonville against the Seneca villages in 1687—with 832 troupes de la marine, 1,030 militia, and 300 Native American allies from the east, joined by 160 *coureurs de bois* and nearly 400 Native Americans from the west—was New France's largest military operation until the French and Indian War. Yet it was the Ojibwas and the Ottawas of the western Great Lakes who played the largest role in finally pushing the Iroquois back into their home territory south of Lake Ontario in the 1690s.

Chesapeake Bay and New England

In the first half of the 17th century, Europe was disrupted by major wars, particularly the religion-inspired conflicts of central Europe (the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648) and the long Dutch war of independence against Spain (the Eighty Years' War, 1568-1648, a wideranging conflict that extended even to Brazil). England took advantage of the continental warfare to establish several colonies along the Atlantic coastline between the territories of France and Spain. The earliest centered on Chesapeake Bay (Jamestown, Virginia, 1607) and New England (Plymouth, Massachusetts, 1620). The English settlers found few precious metals or other exploitable resources apart from furs and deerskins. In the end, however, the English established settler colonies with far larger populations than those of France and Spain. The rapid growth resulted from both high birthrates and large-scale migration, including the migration of dissidents and foreigners: English Puritans, Quakers, and Catholics; the Scots and the Irish; and French and Germans Protestants. Among 18th-century immigrants, both Scots and Germans outnumbered the English.

There were also many unfree settlers: indentured servants, convicts, and, increasingly, African slaves. Enslaved Africans were to be found to some extent in all the colonies, north as well as south. One colony, Georgia, did attempt to prohibit slavery at its inception, but the ban lasted less than two decades.

As with other colonies, the early English settlements often depended on assistance from the local population to survive an initial "starving time." Once they were established, however, their larger numbers made the English settlers less dependent on the Native Americans than were the French for the success of their enterprise. This was particularly true of plantation colonies, for

which the Indians were mere obstacles and rival claimants to valuable lands. (Fur-trading colonies still had use for Native American allies.) Perhaps for this reason, the English colonists made less effort to understand the local peoples. When war broke out, some settlers proved singularly unable, or unwilling, to distinguish among enemy, neutral, and even allied tribes, indiscriminately attacking or retaliating against all Indians.

The early Chesapeake colonists quickly formed an alliance with Powhatan, leader of the powerful Powhatan Confederation, against other Native American groups. Within two years, however, the dispersal of starving colonists looking for food and attempting to establish scattered, self-sufficient settlements led to armed clashes with many local tribes (1609–1614). Relations quickly deteriorated again after Powhatan's death in 1618. Disputes over access to the James River, the appropriation of land for tobacco cultivation, common murders, and the question of proper reciprocal relations—which side was the suzerain and which the vassal—all added to accumulating tensions. The loss of thousands of settlers to epidemics increased the uncertainty of the situation. (In this instance, disease appears to have taken more settlers than Native Americans.)

Warriors of the Powhatan Confederation launched an attack in March 1622 that killed over a quarter of the settler population in a single day. The Virginians surprised their attackers by fighting back instead of leaving, despite further heavy losses due to attack, starvation, and disease. Reciprocal acts of revenge were conducted with comparable ferocity. The devastation brought by the Anglo-Powhatan Wars brought about the bankruptcy of the Virginia Company and the establishment of Virginia as England's first royal colony in 1624.

A truce of sorts took hold by 1632, but fighting continued on and off until 1646. The Powhatans attempted to take advantage of the rivalry between Virginia and the new colony of Maryland, but they failed. Maryland, chartered in 1632, was founded by Catholics but attracted few Catholic settlers; as a result, its Catholic elite ruled over Protestant farmers and indentured servants. The colony got on relatively well with the Native American population but was occasionally attacked in the 17th century by anti-Catholic Virginians. By the end of the conflict, mutual hostility between cultures was a basic assumption, physical separation was ingrained as a norm, and Native American prisoners were routinely sold into slavery in the West Indies.

By the 1670s the Susquehannocks—allies of Maryland who had been engaged in war with the Iroquois Confederation—began expanding from the Susquehanna and Delaware valleys toward areas previously abandoned by the Powhatans. At the same time, tensions were mounting between Virginia frontiersmen on the one hand and the colonial government and the emerging planter elite on the other. The government viewed the frontier settlers, who were also moving into Powhatan lands, as abusive of the Native American population and too quick to start fights they could not win. The frontiersmen complained that the government and elite were too interested in monopolizing the Indian trade, levying excessive taxes

to build ineffective forts, and keeping the common folk in the position of indentured servants and tenant farmers rather than freeholders.

In 1675 a conflict on the Potomac River between Virginia settlers and the small Doeg tribe quickly escalated. It soon included the Susquehannocks and others, as settlers and militiamen struck various groups indiscriminately. Nathaniel Bacon, a recent arrival from England, was particularly aggressive in attacking Native American groups. His acts, in open defiance of Gov. William Berkeley, multiplied the number of the colony's enemies immensely. Eventually, Bacon asserted that all Native Americans were enemies. He also promised freedom and plunder to indentured servants who joined his volunteers. Berkeley declared him a rebel, but Bacon's support was such that the governor had to compromise with him for a time. Eventually, Bacon laid siege to the colonial government itself and burned Jamestown.

Only after the death of its leader was Bacon's Rebellion (1676–1677) suppressed. A new governor executed the rebel leaders, confiscated their lands, and extended the terms of service of indentured servants who had supported them. Class tensions among European settlers were eventually eased, largely at the expense of other groups. This was accomplished by the promise to open more Native American lands to settlement and by the shift in labor policy from white indentured servants to African slaves. The previous militia was replaced with one based on the gentry.

In London, the Lords of Trade had reacted to the rebellion by extending its authority over both the colonial governors and the elected assemblies. For their part, the Iroquois benefited by absorbing the shattered remnants of the Susquehannocks. They also extended their sphere of influence into the Susquehanna and Delaware river valleys.

In New England, prior to the arrival of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, there had already been two failed attempts to establish colonies on the coast of Maine. European seamen, including explorers and those who came temporarily to fish and trade for furs, had also frequented the area. As a grim consequence of those early contacts, an estimated 90 percent of the Native American population had already died from epidemics when the Pilgrims landed. That fact obviously disrupted the lives of the survivors. It also redefined power relationships among them, strengthening inland peoples such as the Narragansetts to the west and the Micmacs to the north, at the expense of coastal groups such as the Wampanoag and the Massachusetts.

At Plymouth, the Pilgrims forged an alliance with Wampanoag chief Massasoit, ostensibly against the Narragansett. Assistance from the Wampanoag allowed the new colony to survive. Aware of fighting in Virginia, the Pilgrims anticipated trouble, but they were not drawn immediately into any major conflict.

By the 1630s the situation had changed. Direct and indirect rivalry among Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, New Netherland, recent settlers in the Connecticut River Valley, the Narragansett, the Mohegan, and the Pequot over control of the Connecticut River and the wampum trade resulted in the Pequot War (1636–1637).

The Pequot, allied to the Dutch, were nearly destroyed. Those Pequot who survived the war were enslaved by the colonists, absorbed by the Narragansett and Mohegan, or killed by the Mohawk. The new Connecticut Colony—and, temporarily at least, its Mohegan allies —benefited most from the acquisition of Pequot lands. Meanwhile, Massachusetts Bay increasingly overshadowed its smaller neighbor of Plymouth.

For a time, relations with the Native Americans improved. Land pressure was eased somewhat as a number of colonists returned to England to take up arms for the Puritan cause in the English Civil War. Conversions became more common, with "Praying Indians" settling in designated "Praying Towns." With time, however, the peace eroded. The land pressure returned with the restoration of the English monarchy in 1660. And conversion became a source of controversy among the Native Americans. Furthermore, the exhaustion of the New England fur and wampum trade undermined the economic bonds between the settlers and Native Americans. Relations deteriorated more rapidly following the death of Massasoit in 1661.

During 1675–1676, King Philip's War erupted between Plymouth and the Wampanoag. It quickly drew in all the colonies and most of the Native American peoples of southern New England. At the same time, a separate war erupted with the Abenaki in Maine and Bacon's Rebellion raged in the Chesapeake Bay area. In terms of the percentage of population killed on both sides, King Philip's War remains the bloodiest conflict in North American history.

New Netherland and New Sweden

Between the English settlements of the Chesapeake Bay and New England, the Dutch and the Swedes established colonies on the Hudson and Delaware rivers, respectively. Although nominally a Dutch colony, roughly half the settler population of New Netherland consisted of Germans, Huguenots, Englishmen, Brazilian Jews, and African slaves. Unlike most colonies of the time, New Netherland relied on a professional, albeit small, military force for its defense. Eventually, it increasingly supplemented this with militia forces as tensions grew with the Native Americans and New Eng-land. Perhaps most of New Sweden's settlers were Finnish, some were Dutch, and a few were disaffected Puritans from New Haven. New Sweden's early financial backers were Dutch, including disgruntled former officials of New Netherland. Peter (Pierre) Minuit, the German-born Huguenot who established New Amsterdam on Manhattan, was also the founder of New Sweden.

Permanent settlement of New Netherland began in 1624. Its principal port and administrative center, New Amsterdam (today New York City), was founded on Manhattan in 1626. An extensive fur trade was based at Fort Orange (Albany, New York). In 1632 the Dutch established a trading post on the Connecticut River. But in the wake of the Pequot War, New Englanders migrated into that area and settled all around the Dutch outpost. In 1653, during the first Anglo-Dutch War, Captain John Underhill, a privateer who previously had fought the Native Americans of Long Island on behalf of the Dutch, seized the outpost on his own initiative. The Connecticut General

Court sequestered it the following year. This appears to be the only North American action associated with that war.

New Sweden (1638–1655) spread gradually from its initial focal point, Fort Christina (Wilmington, Delaware). The colony traded with the Delaware and the Susquehannock and had relatively few difficulties with the Native American population. However, the colony did not last very long and its population never exceeded a few hundred people. It was also situated on territory previously claimed by the Dutch. In 1651 the Dutch constructed Fort Casimir (New Castle, Delaware), which, had it been adequately maintained and supplied, could have controlled access to the Delaware River. A newly arrived Swedish governor, reversing the largely live-and-let-live attitude that had prevailed, seized Fort Casimir in 1654. In retaliation, in 1655, New Netherland seized the entire Swedish colony. Neither of these military actions met with serious resistance.

Tensions had gradually risen between New Netherland and the Algonquian peoples of the lower Hudson Valley. Among the reasons were the invasion of Native American cornfields by colonial cattle and hogs and the subsequent killing of the livestock by the Native Americans. Director Willem Kieft exacerbated the situation when he determined that the Native American population ought to be paying taxes to the settler government. Matters quickly escalated into Kieft's War (1643-1645). That was followed later by the Peach War (1655), which broke out while Director General Petrus Stuyvesant was subduing New Sweden. That in turn was followed by the Esopus Wars (1658–1660, 1663–1664) farther up the Hudson. The Swedes on the Delaware River, now part of New Netherland, refused to participate in the Esopus Wars, citing their previous policy of non-aggression toward the Native American population. In combination, these wars destroyed Native American power in the lower Hudson River Valley and on Long Island. Yet they also left the Dutch colony exhausted and faction ridden.

After the end of the English Civil War and the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the English began to wonder why they had tolerated the presence of the Dutch on a territory wedged between their New England and Chesapeake Bay colonies. To make matters worse, Dutch ships based in New Amsterdam regularly violated the English Navigation Acts, which had in fact been enacted with Dutch shipping in mind. In 1664 an English fleet seized New Netherland, which was then divided in two and renamed New York and New Jersey.

This action contributed to the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, which the Dutch won. By then, however, Dutch leaders had lost interest in North America and willingly traded their former colony for rights to Suriname, on the South American coast. The Dutch briefly reoccupied New York (1673–1674) during the Third Anglo-Dutch War but yielded it on the conclusion of peace.

Carolina, Pennsylvania, and New York

In 1670, planters from Barbados established the colony of Carolina (in 1712 it divided into North and South). They engaged local groups, such as the Yamasee, in capturing members of other Native American nations to be sold into slavery. Other colonists, includ-

ing the New Englanders, and even some Native Americans, had kept Native American captives as slaves. But the Carolinians appeared particularly aggressive about starting fights for that purpose. To prevent slaves' rescue by their compatriots, the Carolinians sent them to Barbados to be exchanged for African slaves. As the direct agents in this sordid business, the Yamasee absorbed much of the wrath of the other tribes. Tensions arose between Carolina and a succession of Native Americans, precipitating the Westo War (1680–1683), the Tuscarora War (1711–1713), and, finally, the Yamasee War (1715–1717, between the colony and its erstwhile ally). Carolina's proprietors failed to support the colony adequately, especially during the Yamasee War. This neglect resulted in the overthrow of the proprietary government and Carolina's gradual transition to a royal colony.

The Quaker founders of Pennsylvania (established in 1682 and incorporating present-day Delaware with its Swedish and Dutch settlements) took a very different approach. As a matter of faith, Quakers refused to make any personal contribution to military endeavors. Indeed, Pennsylvania was the only colony to proclaim pacifism as a fundamental policy from its inception. This policy attracted a number of other pacifist settlers—including members of such German religious sects as the Mennonites, Amish, Brethren (Dunkers), Schwenkfelders, and Moravians. Because of the colony's "open door" immigration policy, however, nonpacifist settlers eventually outnumbered the pacifists. These included many Scots-Irish who settled in particularly vulnerable locations on the frontier.

Pennsylvania's situation created unique dilemmas for its Quaker-dominated establishment. The government was confronted by the reality of wars, the demands of the imperial government and the other colonies for contributions to collective defenses, the demands of nonpacifist frontier settlers, and the responsibility of providing for the safety and welfare of a mixed population. Thus, as early as 1689, with the onset of King William's War, the government permitted nonpacifists to organize their own defenses if they wished, although they were not to expect any encouragement or assistance from the authorities. After the death of founder William Penn in 1718, Pennsylvania politicians became more open to the need to consider compromises. However, pacifist voters remained steadfast, and a strong pacifist strain endured in the legislature.

The colony was successful for many years at maintaining peace with the Native American population. It was largely free of Indian wars until 1755. In part the Pennsylvanians were aided by the fact that others had largely subdued the Native American population in the Delaware and Susquehanna valleys in earlier conflicts. In addition, at least some Native Americans respected the pacifist tradition, restraining from killing known Quakers when war did break out, even if they found them a bit odd.

New York also occupied an unusual position. The English, who had seized New Netherland in 1664, inherited one kind of relationship with the vanquished natives of the Hudson Valley. Yet they inherited a very different relationship with the Iroquois Confederation, which stretched from the Mohawk River Valley to Lake Erie.

The Iroquois largely controlled the non-French fur trade of the upper Great Lakes and willingly brought their wares to trade at Albany.

In addition to their role in the fur trade, the Iroquois occupied a strategic position between New York and New France. They were situated geographically in order to intercept east-west traffic through the Mohawk River Valley and on the Great Lakes, as well as north-south traffic through the Lake Champlain Valley. They also nurtured a longstanding enmity toward the French and their Native American allies. The Mohawk Iroquois had intervened at key points in ways that supported the English during the Pequot War and King Philip's War. These facts bolstered the Iroquois' usefulness to New York. The basis for mutually advantageous relations was further reinforced by the relatively slow population growth of New York and by the continued economic importance of the fur trade.

In the 1680s, New York forged a military alliance with the Iroquois Confederation and certain groups subordinated to them, including the Mahican, the Delaware, and the Shawnee. This came to be known as the Covenant Chain. In the view of New York's governor, although not necessarily in the view of the Native Americans, this treaty made the Iroquois and their tributary tribes subjects of the English crown. It also allegedly made their territories part of New York.

The Intercolonial Wars

The few North American clashes associated with the Anglo-Dutch wars gave evidence that the colonies were becoming significant enough to attract the attention of Europe's war makers. After 1689, North America's connection to European wars would become more automatic.

By 1676 the major Native American groups of New England, the Hudson River Valley, and the Chesapeake Bay had been largely pacified, marginalized, or pushed into exile in remote regions. They ceased to operate as significant military or political forces. The physical and monetary costs of the wars also had reduced the political autonomy of the English colonies. The fact that the colonies were being drawn into European wars, however, soon increased the importance of larger Native American tribes and confederations situated on the frontiers between the colonies. This was particularly true during that intermediate period when each colony's enemies appeared strong enough to pose a threat and yet no colony felt itself strong enough to rely on its own resources for defense. These Native American nations, in turn, learned to play French, English, and Spanish colonies against one another, albeit for a limited time.

By the late 17th century, France, under King Louis XIV, was the most powerful country in Europe. Its power and aggressiveness, however, alienated a growing number of European heads of state. While France benefited economically from its colonies, it was much less dependent on overseas colonies than either Spain or the Netherlands had been.

Although North American colonies were increasingly drawn into the wars of Europe, they would have little impact on the outcomes of these conflicts. From the European perspective, fighting

in North America was intended less to seize strategic advantage than to seize easily acquired assets that could later be traded at the bargaining table. The governments of the mother countries merely sent instructions that the colonies of the rival empire were to be attacked. However, in the early wars, material assistance, even when promised, rarely arrived. Attention was devoted to North America primarily at the beginning of wars, when offensives were unexpected and assets could be most easily seized, and toward the end, when maneuvering for bargaining advantage was most acute.

The four wars between the English and French colonies in North America might better be described as two long wars, each interrupted by a brief interregnum. The first included King William's War (1689–1697) and Queen Anne's War (1702–1713). Then came an extended period that can be viewed as the colonial "Cold War." The second period of open conflict included the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744), King George's War (1744–1748), and the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Within this overall sequence, however, the French and Indian War must be distinguished. It was different from the rest in its sources and far more consequential in its scale, in the level of direct European military involvement, and in its impact.

King William's War

In 1685, King Charles II died and was succeeded by his Catholic brother, the duke of York, now known as King James II. James proved an arbitrary and capricious ruler. In the Old World, he closed down Parliament. In the New, he determined that the northern colonies had to be brought to heel. He revoked charters, closed assemblies, and merged the colonies into the Dominion of New England. Governor General Edmund Andros ruled with a hand-picked council from Boston; a lieutenant governor was stationed in New York. Andros deposed and replaced officials at will, imposed new taxes, and vigorously enforced the Navigation Acts in ways that induced a contraction of the economy.

In 1688 Protestant politicians in England launched the Glorious Revolution against James and invited William of Orange to lead it. William, a Protestant and the stadholder (leader) of the Dutch republic, which had been England's rival, was the grandson of Charles II, the husband of James's Protestant daughter Mary, and the leader of a multinational coalition against the Catholic king Louis XIV of France. William's "invasion" of England met little resistance, and James fled to France. In 1689 William and Mary became joint sovereigns of England, and England joined a coalition war against France. Thus began the first of the four Anglo-French colonial wars in North America.

The military balance in North America was not easily calculated. Whereas England had only one-fifth the population of France in the late 17th century, English settlers in North America outnumbered French settlers by more than 12 to 1. On the other hand, the English were divided into multiple colonies and failed to find a formula for effective collaboration.

More unified politically, the French colonists were disproportionately adult males, were more likely to have had military experience,

and made effective use of their Native American allies as force multipliers. Most French raiding parties were really composite French– Native American units.

In 1689, the English colonists were not only divided into separate political entities but also engulfed in the Glorious Revolution. That had spurred the collapse of the Dominion of New England and the arrest of Andros. In Maryland, Protestant planters overthrew the Catholic-dominated colonial regime. In neighboring Virginia, the royal governor was absent and the governor's council simply switched sides, declaring for William and Mary. In New York, Jacob Leisler, a German-born Calvinist merchant, deposed the lieutenant governor and assumed the office himself, invoking the names of William and Mary. Leisler, however, proved a divisive and ineffective leader. In the end, he was hanged for treason when he hesitated to give up his office to the actual representatives of the sovereigns in 1691.

In general, William was not interested in revolutionizing England or the colonies. Instead, he sought compromise solutions that would allow him to get on with the war with France. In the colonies, that included the return of elected assemblies, albeit controlled by small groups of intermarried elite families, with control over finances. Another concession that soon followed was the termination of the Royal African Company's monopoly on the slave trade. This opened the flow of enslaved African laborers for the plantations of North America. In return, the king expected greater cooperation in military operations and the expenditures they required.

New England troops, who were already at war with the Abenaki on the northern frontier, promptly abandoned their posts after the collapse of the dominion. Still, the colonies of New England and New York, situated adjacent to New France, bore the brunt of the fighting in King William's War. More distant colonies such as Virginia sat on the sidelines.

Realizing that they were vastly outnumbered, the French relied as well on the "skulking way of war," which put a premium on hit-and-run raids against vulnerable targets. Three such raids in early 1690 marked the operational beginning of King William's War, a war that set many patterns for those that followed. Destroyed were Schenectady, New York; Salmon Falls, New Hampshire; and Falmouth, Maine. Buildings were burned, livestock slaughtered, and inhabitants killed or taken as captives. Isolated communities throughout the frontier came to see themselves as potential targets, and many residents fled the frontier regions. But whereas an all-out attack on Albany might have done serious damage to both New York and the Iroquois, these smaller and brutal attacks served to strengthen the resolve of the northern English colonies.

The amateur military leaders of New York and New England gathered in Albany and devised a counterstrategy that would remain the basic model for decades to come. They imagined a coordinated, two-pronged attack against the great strongholds of Canada. The first would be an overland march through the Hudson River, Lake George, and Lake Champlain valleys toward Montreal. The other would be an assault by sea and the St. Lawrence River to

Quebec. A Massachusetts force, led by Sir William Phips, had already raided the fort at Port Royal, which had been singled out by the New Englanders for its role in supporting French privateers. Although Phips did not attempt to occupy the Acadia colony, the way to the St. Lawrence River was now open.

As it turned out, the two-pronged operation was a disaster. The Montreal advance ended with a raid on the settlement of La Prairie, across the river from Montreal, instead of the stronghold itself. The fleet attacking Quebec arrived weeks behind schedule only to discover that it lacked sufficient food and ammunition for a siege. Disillusioned, the English colonies attempted no further large-scale operations for the remainder of the eight-year war. Most of the remaining combat consisted of inconclusive, small-scale raids against the other side's outlying villages or Native American allies.

On the Maine frontier, King William's War merged with an ongoing conflict between Massachusetts and the Abenaki. The Abenaki had receded into northern Maine, Canada, and Acadia after King Philip's War. Frontier disputes and skirmishes followed, which escalated into full-scale war in 1688. When King William's War began, the French offered aid to the Abenaki.

Farther to the west, the Iroquois were once more at war with the French, triggered this time by a dispute over control of the fur trade along the Illinois River. This conflict also merged quickly with the new European war. The Iroquois sided with New York. It was with New York's encouragement that the Iroquois destroyed the village of Lachine on the St. Lawrence River in 1689. No doubt, the memory of the Lachine massacre played a role in the French decision to attack Schenectady in 1690.

The Iroquois, however, soon came to the conclusion that they, not New York, were absorbing the worst of the French attacks, including major assaults on Mohawk villages in 1693 and Onondaga and Oneida villages in 1696. They also suffered relentless attacks by the Ojibwa and other western nations, who drove them out of the former Huron territory. By the end of the 1690s, war, war-related diseases, and defections had cost the Iroquois half, possibly two-thirds, of their warriors.

The Iroquois were then isolated, and incensed, when the Treaty of Ryswick ended the war in Europe and the war between New France and New York in 1697. New York terminated what support it had been offering the Iroquois but encouraged them to fight on. This, and the damage suffered in many decades of warfare, contributed to a shift in the relative influence of Iroquois factions. It also resulted in a fundamental reevaluation of Iroquois relations with the European colonies. A series of meetings held separately with New York, on the one hand, and with New France and the Great Lakes nations, on the other, produced the 1701 Great Peace of Montreal. The Iroquois Confederation thereby declared its neutrality in future intercolonial wars. Although they nominally renewed the Covenant Chain, the Iroquois remained on the sidelines of intercolonial strife. While at peace with New York, New France, and the Great Lakes nations, the Iroquois nonetheless launched numerous raids against the distant Catawba and Cherokee, who were allies of the English colonies of Carolina and Virginia—much to the delight of the French.

During the brief peace between the wars of King William and Queen Anne, the French sought to assure control of the Mississippi River by establishing a colony on the Gulf of Mexico, at or near the river's mouth. New France, henceforth, would consist of two great provinces, Canada and Louisiana. Settlements were founded on Biloxi Bay (1699), Mobile Bay (1702, relocated in 1711), and on the Mississippi itself at New Orleans (1718). Anticipating the French move, the Spanish established a fort at Pensacola Bay (1698) to strengthen their claims to the Gulf Coast. The English colonists viewed Louisiana as well as the new French outpost at Detroit (1701) with suspicion.

Queen Anne's War

Peace in Europe lasted a mere five years. Carlos (Charles) II, the last Habsburg king of Spain and French king Louis XIV's brother-in-law, died childless in 1700. Pressed by Louis XIV, before his death Charles had willed his entire inheritance to Louis's grandson, Philippe of Anjou. Louis knew this must mean war, but Philippe duly succeeded his great uncle as King Philip V. The other major European powers were unwilling to countenance the prospect of Louis XIV's France dominating Spain and perhaps one day becoming a single, vast worldwide Bourbon kingdom, and they went to war against France and Spain in 1702. The alliance again included England, now led by Queen Anne, daughter of James II and sister of Mary. Once again the French and English colonies were informed that they were at war with one another, but now Spanish Florida was allied with New France.

This time there were no ongoing Native American wars on the northern frontier. Indeed, because of Iroquois neutrality, New York managed to stay out of the war entirely. Canada allowed this for fear of upsetting the Iroquois and driving them back to war. New York, which had tried to prevent Iroquois neutrality, was now content to take advantage of that situation as long as England remained unwilling to invest serious military resources in a North American campaign. Thus, while war raged in New England, New York continued the fur trade with the Iroquois and even, indirectly, with Canada. Understandably, this produced some bad blood among the northern colonies. No doubt the continued role of Dutch traders in New York's relations with the Iroquois added fuel to New England's suspicions.

Fighting on the North American mainland began when the Abenaki, with the encouragement of Gov. Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil of New France, attacked outlying settlements in Maine in 1703. In February 1704, a party of Canadians, Abenaki, and Catholic Iroquois attacked Deerfield, Massachusetts. The community had survived attacks in King Philip's War and King William's War, and its destruction in this war became a rallying cry for the New England settlers.

These French-sponsored raids were intended to disrupt New England and forestall a major offensive against Canada. The forces

of Massachusetts responded with raids against the Abenaki in Maine and Acadia. But they stopped short of attacking any significant French fortifications. Lacking any direct issues between each other, New France and Massachusetts quietly considered a separate peace in 1705–1706, but negotiations failed. Coastal interests in Massachusetts continued to focus on Port Royal, Acadia, as a haven for French privateers and a perceived recruiting station for hostile Native Americans. Giving up hope of help from England, the New Englanders made two halfhearted and unsuccessful attempts to take the fortress in 1704 and in 1707.

Another two-pronged attack on Canada, with promised support from England, was planned for 1709. But it failed to materialize when the English forces were sent to Portugal instead. In 1710, supported by English warships and marines, the New Englanders seized Port Royal and held it until the end of the war. The two-pronged assault was resurrected once again in 1711, with the plan of taking Quebec and Montreal, this time with the support of a much larger English force, but it failed in the face of fog and high winds.

The seizure of Acadia had nonetheless changed the situation on the ground. Unlike King William's War, Queen Anne's War changed borders, although the overall outcome was mixed. In the general settlement known as the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Canada and Louisiana remained French. Nevertheless, France recognized Britain's claim to Hudson's Bay and ceded both Newfoundland and Acadia. Acadia was renamed Nova Scotia and became a new British colony. People in Massachusetts, who had made numerous expensive but unsuccessful efforts to seize the place, believed that they were now being excluded from the spoils of victory.

Massachusetts should have benefited from the closure of the French privateering base at Port Royal. The ultimate outcome, however, was not so straightforward. France retained Cape Breton Island (Île Royale) immediately to the east and there constructed a new military and naval base known as Louisbourg. Moreover, a diplomatic dispute soon arose over the borders of Acadia. Whereas Acadia previously had been understood to include the present-day Canadian provinces of Nova Scotia (including Cape Breton Island), New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, as well as parts of Maine, the French now maintained that in ceding Acadia they had given away no more than the Nova Scotia peninsula.

Spain was an integral part of Queen Anne's War. In North America, that meant fighting in the south, where Spain held Florida. Because the colony of Georgia did not yet exist, Carolina stood on the frontier. In a 1670 treaty, Spain had recognized England's possession of lands north of St. Helena Sound (South Carolina) in return for English recognition of Spain's claims to the south. Regardless, slaving expeditions by Carolina and its Yamasee and Creek allies had driven the Spanish mission villages out of present-day Georgia by 1686.

In 1702 the Creek were at war with the Spanish and their Apalachee allies in the Florida panhandle. They were also at war with the French-backed Choctaw to the west. In need of support, the Creek turned to Carolina, and thus Carolina was already supplying them with arms when news arrived of the outbreak of Oueen Anne's War.

Carolina governor James Moore led an expedition against the Spanish stronghold of St. Augustine in 1702, but he failed to capture the fort there despite a four-month siege. In 1703–1704, Moore, now no longer governor, led a Carolina-Creek expedition through the Apalachee mission province of northwest Florida, where the fighting climaxed at Ayubale. Whole villages were destroyed, and the captives were sold into slavery. Later, the Creek and Chickasaw made further raids against Spanish Pensacola, the Choctaw, and French Mobile. Neither the Spanish nor the French were able to mount a meaningful counterattack. Having secured their position, the Creek made peace with the French in 1712 and sought to maintain neutrality, much as the Iroquois were doing in the north.

The Peace of Utrecht: A Colonial Cold War

The Dutch had brought England into the wars with France back in 1689. Ironically, although the military outcome of the wars had been ambivalent, England emerged from these wars as a major imperial, military, commercial, and financial power while the Netherlands went into decline. The Utrecht treaty brought peace to Europe for most of the next 25 years, but there were exceptions. Under the treaty, Louis XIV's grandson, Philip V, continued as king of Spain, but the two thrones and the two countries were to remain separate. Nevertheless, when Louis died, Philip claimed the throne of France. Thus began the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718-1721), which uncharacteristically brought Britain and France together against Spain. The principal repercussion of this war in North America was a contest between French and Spanish forces over control of Pensacola, which changed hands three times in 1719. Spain did plan a campaign against Charles Town (today Charleston, South Carolina) and assembled an armada in Havana to that end. Nevertheless, the fleet had to be diverted to Pensacola and the campaign never occurred. Pensacola was restored to Spain by treaty at the end of the war. A brief war between Britain and Spain (1727-1728) provided South Carolina with another opportunity to besiege St. Augustine, but this too failed.

Taking advantage of the relative calm after Utrecht, English and French colonists resettled the exposed frontier areas and gradually extended the frontier into new areas. New York established a trading post and then a fort at Oswego, on Lake Ontario, in the 1720s. This was the first British outpost on the Great Lakes, permitted by the Iroquois to balance the French post at Niagara. The French immediately viewed it as a potential threat to their control of this vital inland waterway and to the fur trade it carried.

In 1733, settlement began in the new colony of Georgia, which was to serve both as a philanthropic project for the rehabilitation of debtors and as a military buffer between South Carolina and the Spanish and French outposts of the Florida peninsula and the Gulf Coast. Uncharacteristically, the British army stationed a regiment of Scottish Highlanders in Georgia after 1738. Normally, the only

regular British troops in the colonies were the four independent companies in still heavily Dutch New York.

While tensions simmered among the colonies, open warfare occasionally erupted between them and Native Americans. In Carolina, the Tuscarora, seeing themselves as hemmed in by North Carolina land developers and South Carolina slavers, attacked the surveyors planning a new Swiss settlement. In the resulting Tuscarora War (1711–1713), the Carolinians reapplied tactics they had used in Queen Anne's War. They led raiding parties composed mostly of friendly Indians, often failing to distinguish between hostile and neutral villages as targets of attack. In the aftermath, the surviving Tuscarora, a Southern Iroquoian people, relocated to live with their northern brethren in the Iroquois Confederation. Henceforth, the Five Nations of the Iroquois would be known as the Six Nations.

Trouble soon spread to Yamasee country. The Yamasee had long been allies of Carolina in the slave trade and in wars against other Native Americans and against Spanish Florida. Coastal planters viewed the Yamasee territory along the Savannah River as their defensive buffer. Now, however, the Yamasee warriors saw themselves subject to similar depredations, with traders seizing their wives and children in payment for debts. The result was the Yamasee War (1715–1717), in which the Yamasee were joined by the Creek and the Catawba. Running low on Indian allies, Carolina made the unusual move of arming and mobilizing 500 African slaves as part of the army of retribution. In 1716, first the Catawba and then the Creek dropped out of the war, and Carolina succeeded in bringing the wavering Cherokee into the war on its side. Ultimately, the Carolinians drove the Yamasee out of their territory.

The failure of Carolina proprietors to support the colony during the expensive and bloody war generated popular resentment. With that failure in mind, the colonists deposed the proprietors' governor in 1719, when they heard rumors that a Spanish fleet was coming to attack, and demanded a royal governor. The Native American slave trade, already in decline, largely faded out after the Yamasee War. Because the Carolinians had driven out the Yamasee, they eventually sought to reestablish their buffer zone by canvassing the European continent for poor Protestants to resettle the Yamasee territory.

On the Maine frontier, the Abenaki were of two minds about whether to allow the further expansion of New England settlers and whether to continue the fight or to seek some sort of accommodation. Arguing against accommodation was Sébastien Râle, an influential French Jesuit who had resided in the Abenaki settlement of Norridgewock, on the Kennebec River, for three decades. Skirmishes broke out, and in 1722 New Englanders burned Norridgewock, including Râle's mission. When the Abenaki retaliated, Massachusetts declared them in rebellion. Dummer's War (1722–1727), named for the acting governor of Massachusetts, put an end to Abenaki resistance for two decades. Râle himself was killed in a raid in 1724, a turning point in the conflict.

The early interest of Carolina traders in exploring and raiding the lands to their south and west had prompted the French to estab-

lish Louisiana to assure their control of the Mississippi. There they established Native American policies modeled on those in Canada, such as learning the languages, building outposts in the villages, and holding annual gift-giving conferences. Yet their success in winning allies was less complete than it had been in Canada.

Once they were planted on the Gulf Coast, the French began to extend their widely spaced system of trading posts, forts, and provisioning stations to form a chain from Canada to Louisiana. Indeed, as the resources available for France's colonies became scarcer, French ambitions appeared to become more grandiose. They built Fort Pontchartrain (Detroit, 1701) on the Detroit River, Fort Michilimackinac (1715) on the strait between lakes Huron and Michigan, Fort Rosalie (1716) among the Natchez on the Mississippi River, Fort Toulouse (1717) on the Coosa River, Fort Ouiatenon (1718) and Fort Vincennes (1729) on the Wabash River, Fort Chartres (1720) on the Kaskaskia River, Arkansas Post (1721) on the Arkansas River, Fort Niagara (1726) on the Niagara River at Lake Ontario, and Fort Beauharnois (1727) on the Mississippi in Minnesota.

The French had neglected their alliances with the peoples of the upper Great Lakes during Queen Anne's War. They had also ignored pleas for mediation as disputes began to flare among their allies. The Fox nation, whom the French had relocated from Wisconsin to Detroit, formed a fur-trading pact with the Iroquois. This was unusual if not unprecedented for Algonquians of the upper Great Lakes. In this and other ways they managed to alienate most of their neighbors, Native American and French alike.

In 1712, before Queen Anne's War was officially concluded, the Fox Wars began at Detroit. They continued off and on for two decades, culminating in 1730 when the Fox attempted to escape to Iroquois Country only to be stopped on the Illinois prairie by a vast coalition of Native Americans and French. The outbreak of the Fox Wars prompted the French to revitalize their alliances with the Great Lakes peoples and redouble their effort at building forts.

Farther to the south, Louisiana formed an alliance with the Choctaw of present-day Louisiana and Mississippi against the English-backed Chickasaw. Louisianans sought to compete with Carolina for the friendship of the Creek and the Natchez, and both groups invited the French to build forts in the aftermath of the Yamasee War. But irritations soon arose. The Creek, like the Iroquois to the north, sought to restore the position of neutrality between English and French first established at the end of Queen Anne's War. They managed to do so, with occasional lapses, but they became involved in a prolonged war with the Cherokee, erstwhile adversaries in the Yamasee War. The French took advantage of the turmoil to entice the usually pro-English Cherokee closer to themselves. Meanwhile, both the Creek and the Cherokee became increasingly divided and factious in the course of the war.

The Native Americans in and around Louisiana, as in many other places, were divided between the attraction of European trade goods and resentment over both the dependence created by them and the land hunger and frequent chicanery of Europeans. In 1729, the Natchez destroyed Fort Rosalie and massacred 300 people

there. But without access to rival European suppliers of arms and ammunition, they were quickly subdued. When the Chickasaw gave refuge to Natchez survivors, the French turned on them. They encouraged the Choctaw to attack the Chickasaw as well. Supplied by Carolina, the Chickasaw fared much better than the Natchez. In 1736 the Chickasaw defeated a combined attacking force of 400 from Canada (French, Illinois, and Wyandot) and 1,300 from Louisiana (French, Choctaw, and a company of 140 African slaves with black officers). Later, larger forces also failed to subdue them. Meanwhile, cross-pressures on the Choctaw contributed to a civil war within that nation.

The Renewal of the European Wars

In 1739 Britain and Spain entered into the Anglo-Spanish War (War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739-1744), purportedly caused by the loss of an English sea captain's ear to Spaniards who had caught him smuggling. By 1739, however, British leaders were looking for an excuse to demand that Spain amend the strict trade regulations that British and colonial seamen were already violating with great regularity. In particular, the British were hoping to strengthen their position visà-vis the French by expanding their hold in the Caribbean at the expense of a supposedly easy target—the decaying Spanish empire. A relatively minor war, the Anglo-Spanish War was the first colonial conflict to begin because of a colonial issue. It was also the first to be fought primarily in the New World, without a significant European component, and the first in which the British armed forces recruited sizable numbers of colonials into their ranks.

The first incident in North America that might reasonably be connected to the War of Jenkins' Ear was the Stono Rebellion, which actually occurred in the weeks building up to the declaration of war. Florida, sparsely populated and poorly policed, had been a refuge for fugitive slaves who were able to make their way there. Now, the Spanish governor promised as a matter of policy the emancipation of any British slave who arrived on Florida's territory. He did this not because Spain was opposed to slavery but because it appeared to be an effective way to undermine the economies of South Carolina and the new colony of Georgia.

On September 9, 1739, near South Carolina's Stono River, a band of African slaves broke into a store of arms and headed southward, killing some 25 whites along the way. They had covered about 10 miles before being overtaken by a hastily assembled militia. Thirty of the rebels died in the clash; others scattered. The colonial authorities recruited Chickasaw and Creek scouts to hunt them down, and all but 1 were captured over the course of the next six months.

One consequence of the Stono Rebellion was a heightened alert throughout the colonies for slave revolts fueled by "papist conspiracies." In 1741, after several fires in New York City were attributed to arson, a series of quick trials resulted in the execution there of 31 African slaves. Perhaps 70 suspect Africans were transferred to the West Indies and other Atlantic islands, where a slave's life was brutal and short. Also hanged were 4 whites, including 1 who was accused of being a Catholic priest in disguise and thus presumed to be in league with the Spanish. Laws regarding the treatment of slaves were tightened once again. Historians continue to debate whether the so-called Negro Conspiracy of 1741 really existed.

An assault on St. Augustine in 1740 constituted the only significant British land offensive of the Anglo-Spanish War. James Oglethorpe, founder and governor of Georgia, was given nominal command of Georgia and South Carolina forces. Still shocked by Stono, South Carolina sent him far fewer troops than requested and put a strict time limit on their deployment. Oglethorpe's force of Georgian and Carolinian militias, Highlanders, and Cherokee and Creek warriors, supported by a few Royal Navy vessels, thus had insufficient time to conduct a proper siege. One successful Spanish resupply operation condemned the entire operation to failure.

The other notable episode of the war was a large British operation intended to seize Cartagena, Colombia, in 1741. Vice Admiral Edward Vernon, who had already conducted a successful raid against the treasure fleet port of Portobello, Panama, had charge of the naval forces. The mission failed due to the hesitance of the army commander, Major General Thomas Wentworth, and an outbreak of yellow fever that claimed a large percentage of the force. Later efforts against Santiago and Panama also failed, again primarily because of Wentworth's reluctance. Minor raids and privateering operations constituted the remainder of the war.

King George's War

The War of Jenkins' Ear never really ended. Rather, it merged into another, larger European conflict, known in Europe as the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and in North America as King George's War (1744–1748). As with Queen Anne's War, this also began with the death of a Habsburg. Karl VI of Austria did not die childless, but he did die without a son, leaving the throne to his daughter Maria Theresa. Prussia invaded Austrian territory almost immediately in a blatant bid to seize Silesia, and France soon entered the war on the side of Prussia. Spain laid claim to fragments of Austrian territory, and France began lending support to Spain as early as 1740, although Britain formally entered the war against France and Prussia only in 1744. With the official declaration of war, the focus of British eyes shifted from Spain to their more powerful rival, France.

The North American colonies were again to go to war with limited expectations of support from Europe, although European fleets would play a larger role this time. The fighting began when French forces from Louisbourg seized the fishing station of Canso, Nova Scotia, in May 1744. Fortunately for the British, prisoners taken to Louisbourg and later exchanged provided Gov. William Shirley of Massachusetts with important intelligence about the condition of the fort. In 1745 Shirley mobilized 4,000 New Englanders. Under the command of William Pepperell, president of the Massachusetts Council, and with the significant help of a dozen Royal Navy menof-war, they succeeded in capturing the French stronghold.

The following year, the British ordered the other colonies to provide troops, which Britain would pay and equip, and promised to

send a fleet and eight battalions of British regulars to help seize Quebec. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and even Maryland and Virginia mobilized troops. As in 1709, however, the British forces failed to appear, having been diverted to an unsuccessful action against the coast of France. The combined colonial forces were eventually dismissed.

A New England and New York force, which had been assembled to attack Fort St. Frédéric (Crown Point) on Lake Champlain and possibly Montreal, was also recalled when word came of the approach of a French fleet. These troops too were dismissed. The Mohawk Iroquois, who had been convinced to undertake raids along Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence River, returned to their neutral stance. As it turned out, New York once again missed most of the war.

The French did in fact send a fleet, some 76 ships transporting 3,000 troops, to retake Louisbourg and Acadia. This force, however, was devastated en route by hurricanes, calms, drought, and small-pox. It arrived in North America in a terrible state, and its men then inadvertently spread the epidemic to France's Indian allies. The survivors quietly returned to France. Although it never engaged in combat, this unfortunate fleet accounted for the majority of all the deaths suffered in the North American portion of King George's War.

There were no more major campaigns in King George's War. Although New Englanders had always blamed Port Royal and Louisbourg for inciting Native American raids against their frontiers, after the fall of Louisbourg, Abenaki and Micmac attacks in Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts actually became more frequent. The Native Americans even pressed the occupied Acadians into resistance, perhaps worried about the long-term consequences to themselves of losing their allies. Canadian and Native American raids seized Fort Massachusetts; Saratoga, New York; and the garrison at Grand Pré, Nova Scotia.

The loss of Louisbourg and the successful British blockade of French ports, however, cut off the flow of supplies to New France. The sudden scarcity of trade goods had significant repercussions for French relations with their Native American allies. It contributed to a revolt by the Miami in the Ohio Country in 1747, strengthened the pro-British faction in the Choctaw Civil War, and generally increased Native Americans' interest in trade with the British.

Some in London were not pleased, however, with New England's success at Louisbourg. The loss had angered the French government and thus complicated the task of negotiating a mutually acceptable conclusion to the war. In 1748 a treaty was signed on the basis of European issues, not those of North America, and the war ended. As part of the settlement, a commission was formed to establish the borders of Nova Scotia, and an order went out to return Louisbourg to the French. New Englanders were incensed but could do nothing about it.

The French and Indian War

The next war actually began first in the colonies. The French and Indian War (1754–1763) was known in Europe as the Seven Years'

War (1756–1763). It broke with many of the precedents and patterns of the previous colonial wars. The conflict drew in the usual set of European powers, although in an unusual alliance pattern. This war pitted Britain and Prussia against Austria, most of the other German states, France, Russia, and Sweden. The war also spread beyond Europe and North America to places as distant as India and the Philippines.

American issues played a larger role in the course and the outcome of this war than in the earlier conflicts. This time successes in the field would not be negotiated away in diplomatic conferences in Europe. Rather than relying entirely on amateur militias and colonial troops, each side transported sizable professional armies across the ocean to meet in decisive engagements. Backed by such regular troops, New France would be far more aggressive than in the past. Early in the war, the French established new forward positions that were intended to block potential invasion routes and to keep the war closer to British population centers and farther away from their own. French commanders would rely far less on Indian forces.

The clash began in the peripheral areas of the colonial empires, where years of neglect had allowed many colonial claims to overlap, yet where each side appeared to consider its own stance so obviously legitimate that it was sure the other would back down when confronted with a moderate commitment of force. Specifically, it started along the headwaters of the Ohio River, a region claimed simultaneously by Pennsylvania, Virginia, New France, the Iroquois Confederation, and the Cherokee, as well as by the Delaware, Shawnee, and Mingo tribes who actually lived there.

By the 1740s Pennsylvania traders were moving across the Appalachians into the valleys of the Allegheny, Monongahela, and Ohio. They were simply following the gradual westward migration of Native Americans who had been pushed away from the East Coast by the Europeans and by the Iroquois. These ethnically mixed Indian refugee populations established villages in the Ohio Country and continued to be nominally linked to the Covenant Chain and thus theoretically subordinate to the Iroquois Confederation. They acted with increasing independence, however, negotiating with outsiders on their own behalf rather than through the Iroquois councils at Onondaga (Syracuse) in New York.

The French termed these settlements "Indian republics," using a word to which they attached a very negative connotation at that time. The French considered the Ohio fur trade marginal and had long neglected the Ohio Country. Nevertheless, they now viewed these incursions by British traders as potential threats to their control of a vital inland waterway, their ties to Native Americans in the nearby Illinois Country, and their lines of communication. French interest in the area derived less from its inherent economic value than from its strategic and political value. This was made more urgent only because the British were now there.

Pennsylvania claimed the headwaters of the Ohio River. As was customarily the case, however, it refused to take action to defend the region despite the demands of the frontier settlers. By the 1740s the Quaker-dominated Pennsylvania Assembly was more willing to

make compromises regarding some defense-related expenditures, but the issue remained controversial, touching off riots in Philadelphia during the elections of 1742. During King George's War, after a French privateer bombarded New Castle with impunity for nearly a week, the colony established its first-ever militia (known as the Association) in 1747. A strictly voluntary organization, it was abolished a year later when the war ended. Thus there was no militia when the Ohio Country heated up.

About 1748, a faction of the Miami that had rebelled against the French during King George's War established the village of Pickawillany on the Miami River. They invited Pennsylvania traders there, some 250 miles west of the Appalachian Mountains. In 1749 King George II granted the area to the Ohio Company of Virginia. A relatively minor dispute thus appeared to be developing between Pennsylvania and Virginia, but French authorities saw little reason to distinguish between these two. Indeed, they may have seen these "British" actions as more coordinated and more strategically motivated than was the case.

In the meantime, similar steps were being taken in Nova Scotia, where the old boundaries of Acadia were still under dispute. In 1749, to cement their hold on Nova Scotia, the British ordered the construction of Halifax. The French saw this step as a threat to Louisbourg and its supply lines, and they responded in 1750 with the establishment of Fort Beauséjour at Chignecto Bay, on the northern rim of the peninsula. On their part, the English viewed this as a forward base for the supply and incitement of hostile Acadians and Native Americans.

In 1749 New France authorities sent a tentative expedition under Céloron de Blainville to reassert its claim to the Ohio Country. In 1752 Pickawillany was destroyed by a party of 180 Ojibwa, 30 Ottawa, and 30 Canadians led by Charles Langlade, a métis (in this case, the son of a French father and an Ottawa mother) serving as an officer in the troupes de la marine. In response, Pennsylvania traders withdrew from the Ohio Country, abandoning their former customers. The security guarantees of the Covenant Chain also came to naught, and the "Indian republics" sought accommodation with the French.

In 1753 the French began building a series of forts to control access from the Great Lakes to the Ohio Country at Sandusky Bay, Presque Isle, and along the route from Presque Isle to the Allegheny River. Given the lack of action by Pennsylvania, Virginia, in its first real dispute with New France, sent a letter of protest, carried by young Major George Washington, which the French rejected.

In 1754 Virginia began building a fort at the Forks of the Ohio (today Pittsburgh). Some 500 French troops seized the uncompleted structure and then built their own larger redoubt, which they named Fort Duquesne. Washington attempted to take back the site but was defeated at a makeshift fortification that he dubbed Fort Necessity. The French and Indian War had begun. Yet Pennsylvania had no militia, and that of Virginia had become almost a social club.

As this was occurring on the western frontier, in June–July 1754, a congress met in Albany, bringing together representatives of the

Iroquois Confederation and those of seven colonies: Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. Meeting against the backdrop of spiraling Anglo-French tensions, the meeting had actually been spurred by Mohawk chief Hendrick (Theyanoguin). One year earlier, he had renounced the Covenant Chain because New York was not fulfilling its obligations. At the congress, the colonists sought to win the Iroquois back to their camp and, at the instigation of Benjamin Franklin, devised the outline for an intercolonial confederation.

The envisioned body would feature a "general government" capable of declaring war, raising armies, levying taxes, regulating trade, and negotiating with Native Americans. Although both projects would have greatly helped the war effort, neither enjoyed much success. The Mohawk were receptive to the idea of a pact against the French, but other Iroquois were far more reluctant, noting the failure of the British colonies to take significant action in the Ohio Country.

The outcome of the Albany Congress was a nominal renewal of the Covenant Chain, supported by donations to the Iroquois, but no promise to assist in any war with the French. The proposal for an intercolonial confederation was rejected by both the colonial assemblies and the British Lords of Trade. Within two years, however, the British government did take the power to negotiate with the Native Americans away from the individual colonies and established two royal superintendents of Indian Affairs. One was based in the Mohawk River Valley of New York and the other in Charles Town, South Carolina.

Despite the lack of resolute action on the part of the British colonies, the European powers responded to the events in the Ohio Country with unusual speed and strength. With a larger navy and a smaller army than France, London concluded that it was preferable to engage the French on this distant overseas battlefield and thus avoid French strength on land in Europe. About the same time, Paris concluded that a war in North America would divert British ships and troops from more vital targets, such as the Caribbean islands or France's own ports.

Although technically the two countries were still at peace, in 1755 Britain sent Major General Edward Braddock to Virginia with two understrength Irish regiments. His orders were to fill them out with American recruits and to recruit two entirely new regiments in the colonies. With Braddock's arrival, two colonial notables were also commissioned as major generals, although neither had any military training. William Johnson, a Mohawk River Valley landlord, was put in charge of provincial troops from Massachusetts and New York and made exclusive agent for negotiations with the Iroquois. William Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, was made second-in-command of British forces in North America and would serve for a time as commander after Braddock's death.

The French responded to the Ohio Valley events by dispatching 3,000 regulars to Louisbourg and Canada. The ships transporting them largely managed to avoid the British warships sent to intercept them. France also sent a new governor-general, Pierre de

Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial. This Canadian-born official had a much better understanding of both New France and its Native American allies than the rapid succession of military commanders who had recently passed through the governor-general's office.

The British planned simultaneous campaigns for 1755 against the four French outposts deemed the most egregious violations of their territorial rights—Fort Duquesne, Fort Beauséjour, Fort St. Frédéric, and Fort Niagara. Beauséjour and the newer Fort Gaspereau, which stood nearby, were surprised and fell with little resistance.

Although his move was uncharacteristic of 18th-century warfare, the British commander in Nova Scotia decided to secure his rear by expelling the entire Acadian population unless they pledged an oath of loyalty. The Acadians, whom the French authorities had also considered insubordinate, had formed their own separate identity, traded openly with both the French and the British, and steadfastly insisted on neutrality. To the British, however, they remained a "suspect" people who, if nothing else, got along too well with the "savages" who had so long harassed New England.

Thousands of Acadians were packed onto ships and scattered along the eastern seaboard of North America. Others escaped into the woods. Many of the survivors eventually returned or reassembled in Louisiana, where their name was distorted to "Cajun."

Elsewhere, events fared better for the French. On Lake Champlain, Major General Jean Armand, Baron de Dieskau, a German officer in the French service and commander of the French regulars in America, ambushed Major General William Johnson's forces before they reached Fort St. Frédéric. The French then built Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) farther south, near the confluence of Lake Champlain and Lake George. Johnson responded with the construction of Fort William Henry at the opposite end of Lake George, establishing that lake as a de facto border barely north of Albany. (The engagement was depicted as a significant victory by the British side, and Johnson was made a baronet.) Farther to the west, Major General William Shirley's forces, assigned to take Fort Niagara, failed to advance beyond Oswego, at the eastern end of Lake Ontario.

The biggest news, however, came from the Ohio Country. There, Braddock's advance force of 1,450 regulars and militia were ambushed on the Monongahela by 637 Native American warriors, 146 Canadian militia, and 108 troupes de la marine. The British were sent reeling back to Virginia. The colonial wars had generally begun with a French raid, which often bolstered their position with their Native American allies. But never had there been anything so dramatic as this. The Ohio Native Americans, abandoned and cut off from the British colonies in any event, reaffirmed their ties to New France. Subsequently, the French and their allies conducted raids from Fort Duquesne with the intention of tying down British forces in the west.

Confronted with the disaster of Braddock's defeat, London responded resolutely in 1756. It shipped another 1,000 regulars across the ocean, ordered the formation of four more new regiments in the colonies, and subordinated all military and political

authorities in the colonies to a new commander in chief, John Campbell, Lord Loudoun. France also dispatched about 1,000 more regulars and a new commander, Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, who would argue at great length with his superior, Governor Vaudreuil, over the appropriate conduct of the war. In May 1756, Britain and France finally declared war.

The French maintained the offensive in 1756 and 1757. In particular, they addressed what they considered the final contested territory, Oswego. In February 1756, they destroyed Fort Bull, cutting off Oswego's supply route from Schenectady. In July a 3,000-man force destroyed Oswego itself, securing Canada's flank and communications on Lake Ontario while exposing New York from the northwest. Fear and recrimination became widespread in the middle colonies. Colonial forces, and even some British units, began to incorporate Native American styles of fighting in their procedures. This was especially the case with the "Rangers," established by Robert Rogers, a New Hampshire frontiersman.

The following year, 1757, Montcalm, with 3,600 French and Canadian troops and 1,500 Native Americans, fell upon Fort William Henry at the south end of Lake George. The garrison surrendered after a siege, and Montcalm permitted his prisoners to return to their lines after they pledged not to engage the French in combat for 18 months. Montcalm's Indian allies, however, seeing this behavior as a violation of promises made to them, attacked the freed prisoners, seized captives, and then went home. The "Massacre at Fort William Henry" became a rallying cry for the British and a humiliation for the French. Again New York lay exposed, but with the season advancing and his allies abandoning the field, Montcalm dropped further plans for attacking Fort Edward and Albany.

A dispute ensued between Vaudreuil and Montcalm over the conduct of this campaign, after which King Louis XV transferred overall military command in Canada to Montcalm. The war was now to be fought on European terms, with concentrated armies in the Canadian heartland. It was not to be waged with Native Americans and raiding parties attacking frontier outposts and supply lines from forward positions. However, having considered Montcalm's defeatist view of Canada's strategic situation, despite a string of victories in the field, the king believed it prudent not to expend many more soldiers on its defense. Only 500 more reinforcements were sent out, raising New France's regular troop strength to about 6,000 men.

Britain responded differently to the trend of events. King George II placed William Pitt, leader of the House of Commons, in charge of the war effort in 1757. Pitt brought new determination and resources to the war. In Europe he paid subsidies to Britain's hardpressed ally Prussia and took over payment of the Hanoverian army in a futile attempt to avoid sending British troops to the Continent. In North America, he treated the colonies like allies rather than subordinates, rescinding the British commander's counterproductive political supremacy, elevating the status of colonial military units, and promising compensation for the colonies' war expenses. The number of British regulars stationed in North America grew to 20,000 men, in addition to 22,000 colonial troops and militia. Although the program was immensely expensive, over the next years Britain's forces carried out a slow, plodding, but ultimately successful replay of the four-pronged strategy of 1755 in Nova Scotia, Lake Champlain, Lake Ontario, and the Ohio River Valley.

The campaign began with a strategic setback in July 1758 as Major General James Abercromby, the new British North American commander, failed in an attempt to take Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) on Lake Champlain. Within days of that, however, Louisbourg surrendered to Brigadier General Jeffrey Amherst. This success led to Amherst's replacing Abercromby as commander. In August, Lieutenant Colonel John Bradstreet crossed Lake Ontario and destroyed Fort Frontenac, a key stronghold connecting the St. Lawrence Valley with the upper Great Lakes. In November, Fort Duquesne, short of supplies since the fall of Fort Frontenac, was abandoned by its Indian allies and then abandoned and destroyed by its own garrison as Brigadier General John Forbes advanced across southern Pennsylvania.

With the fall of Fort Duquesne, New France's Native American allies in the west began reevaluating their position. The Iroquois Confederation, perceiving the shifting trend and anxious to renew its lost position among the Ohio River Valley tribes, in 1759 ended more than half a century of neutrality and openly sided with the British.

This Iroquois decision opened the way for the British to Fort Niagara. When 2,000 troops and 1,000 Iroquois warriors under Brigadier General John Prideaux and Major General William John-son laid siege to Niagara, New France's allies (including some Seneca Iroquois) conferred separately with the Iroquois of the British force and then withdrew from the field. The Niagara garrison surrendered in July. The French then abandoned their remaining outposts in Pennsylvania, now completely isolated from the east, and withdrew these garrisons to Detroit.

The French gave up Fort Carillon and Fort St. Frédéric in rapid succession in July 1759 as Amherst's forces approached, and Montcalm consolidated his forces in the core Canadian territory of the St. Lawrence Valley. Quebec fell in September, after two European armies met in a rare conventional battle on the Plains of Abraham. Both Montcalm and the British field commander, Major General James Wolfe, died on the battlefield.

Also of significance were the Royal Navy's decisive victories over the French fleets at Lagos Bay (Portugal) in August 1759 and Quiberon Bay (Brittany, France) in November 1759. These successes left the British in control of the Atlantic. New France now had no hope of further supplies or reinforcements from Europe.

The fate of New France seemed sealed, yet the French were reluctant to concede. François-Gaston de Lévis, Montcalm's deputy and successor, counterattacked at Sainte Foy in April 1760, defeating the British forces on the Plains of Abraham. He then laid siege to British-held Quebec. The arrival of a British fleet on the St. Lawrence, however, forced Lévis back toward Montreal in May.

As at Niagara, a small Iroquois contingent accompanying the British persuaded New France's remaining Native American allies to withdraw. Indeed, the Indians, much of the Canadian militia, and even some of the French regulars simply melted away. Lévis consolidated the remaining French regulars and troupes de la marine around Montreal. British, colonial, and Iroquois forces approached from three directions, along the St. Lawrence River from Quebec and from Lake Ontario and along the Richelieu River from Lake Champlain. On September 8, 1760, surrounded, outnumbered, devoid of provisions, and presented with relatively lenient terms, Vaudreuil overruled Lévis and surrendered all of Canada to Amherst. Technically, Louisiana remained at war until the peace treaty was signed in 1763.

The following month, George II died. His grandson, George III, was far more frugal and far less interested in the war, which was going less well in Europe. The new king dismissed Pitt and opened negotiations with the French for a separate peace. The new government, however, found it difficult to extract itself from the ongoing war, especially with Pitt vocally accusing it of abandoning Britain's Prussian ally. Prussia, indeed, appeared on the verge of defeat by the end of 1761, but Elizabeth, then empress of Russia, suddenly died. Her successor, Peter III, was an open admirer of Prussia's Frederick II, and he promptly withdrew from the war. Although Peter was soon overthrown, his action was decisive. Russia did not reenter the war.

France sought to bolster its position by enticing Spain into the war on its side. Spain agreed out of concern that Britain was growing too powerful and too aggressive. Spain, however, proved weaker than expected, and British forces soon took Havana (Cuba) and Manila (the Philippines). By now France was ready to be done with the war, but Spain refused to stop without the return of its two key colonial ports in Manila and Havana. France finally agreed to compensate Spain itself, quietly offering New Orleans plus all Louisiana west of the Mississippi. The latter was a vast area, but one that France had never developed.

The war ended with the Treaty of Paris on February 10, 1763. The French empire in North America was at an end. France ceded all of Canada and all of Louisiana east of the Mississippi, save New Orleans, to Britain. France's position in India was also curtailed.

In financial terms, France's fate was less harsh because holding Canada had become far more expensive than the revenues it generated. Under the treaty's terms, France also retained access to lucrative Newfoundland fishing grounds and kept important sugar islands, such as Martinique and Guadeloupe, in the Caribbean. The British briefly considered giving back Canada, in which it had no particular interest apart from negating the French military threat, and keeping Martinique and Guadeloupe instead, but sugar growers in the British Caribbean objected to the added competition and the British authorities had already suffered considerable acrimony for returning Louisbourg in 1748.

At home, France threw itself into a complete overhaul of its army and navy, extending its modernization to equipment, administration, recruitment, and training techniques. For its part, Spain, in addition to New Orleans and western Louisiana, did receive Havana and Manila back from Britain. But it ceded Florida to the British as compensation.

The war's outcome was startling, to say the least, to those French settlers and traders who had expected conditions to return once again to the status quo ante bellum once all the treaties had been signed. It was also shocking to the many Native American peoples who had allied themselves with New France for generations and had come to rely on it. Whether they were allies out of conviction or simply to balance the power of the British colonies, they now found themselves confronted with the British colonies utterly alone. Even for allies of the British, it proved an uneasy situation as diplomats in Paris argued over which European power owned the lands the Native Americans considered theirs.

Pontiac's Rebellion

The British had promised in the Treaty of Easton (1758) to reserve the vast expanses west of the Appalachians for the Native Americans. That promise had contributed to the decision of the Delaware and other tribes to abandon the French at Fort Duquesne. Nonetheless, British forces quickly took possession of New France's western forts, starting with Fort Duquesne (rebuilt as Fort Pitt) that very year. Traders and settlers soon moved into the Ohio Country and other Native American territories. Seeing no further need to buy the loyalty of the Indians, Amherst suspended the practice of ritualized gift giving as an economy measure. The French had assiduously followed that tradition, and many Native Americans viewed it as both a sign of respect and a pledge of peaceful intentions. Thus they viewed this action as an ominous sign from the British as well as a direct economic threat to the tribes and a political threat to the established chiefs, who redistributed the gifts to strengthen their own tribal authority.

The first eruption of violence occurred on the southern frontier, where the Cherokee had long been favorably inclined toward the British. As early as 1759, hostile Cherokee factions attacked recently established settlements and forts in the western Carolinas. British regulars led punitive campaigns against Cherokee villages with little regard for the factions to which they adhered. The Cherokee fought alone, although they had solicited aid from numerous peoples, including the French of Louisiana. The ability of the latter to help, however, was undermined by the British control of the seas. Still to come was Pontiac's Rebellion (1763), an attempt by a large, multiethnic Native American coalition to drive European settlers from their territory.

A number of Delaware shamans had already been arguing that the sufferings of the Native Americans were a consequence of their dependence on Europeans and European trade goods. The future, they maintained, lay in a spiritual reawakening and renunciation of their dependencies. As early as 1760, individual tribes were proposing a joint operation to "oust" the British. Some openly expressed wishes for the return of the French, which led many British officials and colonists to assume that French conspirators were behind the sentiments. By 1763, as the terms of the Peace of Paris came to be known, a loose coalition of peoples from the upper Great Lakes and Ohio River Valley—including the Missassauga, Ottawa, Potawa-

tomi, Ojibwa, Wyandot, Miami, Kickapoo, Mascouten, Delaware, Illinois, Shawnee, and Seneca Iroquois—joined behind that goal. All had been allied at some point with the French, most of them for a prolonged period. Pontiac, an Ottawa leader who played a prominent role in the early stages of the war, initiated a siege of Detroit in May 1763. During the next two months British outposts in modern-day Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania came under attack. Nevertheless, the key forts—Detroit, Pitt, Niagara—held out. Thousands of traders and settlers were killed or driven out of the frontier regions claimed by Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Native American forces, however, were ill suited for siege warfare. Moreover, without a European ally, they ran low on ammunition and other supplies. After some months, the siege of Detroit began to fall apart.

A turning point came when Colonel Henry Bouquet, a Swiss officer in the British service, relieved Fort Pitt after defeating an attempted ambush by the Shawnee and Delaware at Bushy Run. Another key turning point was the Royal Proclamation of 1763, restating the earlier promise that British settlement would remain to the east of the Appalachians. This left the western lands reserved for the Native Americans. Moreover, Sir William Johnson, the superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department, advocated a return to the gift-giving rituals, arguing that this was far cheaper than large military expeditions.

The Indians' diplomatic position eroded as French authorities in Louisiana informed Native Americans and French traders alike that they no longer considered themselves at war with the British. In 1764 two British columns advanced westward along Lake Erie and the Ohio River.

British authorities attempted to negotiate with the rebellious populations, with mixed results. Certain nations, seeing the royal proclamation as vindication, fell way from the coalition and negotiated terms. Finally, Pontiac himself was captured and was called upon to represent the entire coalition in peace talks. Each side claimed victory, a most unusual situation in the history of the North American Indian wars. The return to gift giving and the announcement of the proclamation line would win Indian allies for the Crown during the upcoming American Revolutionary War. Colonists, who insisted on their right to expand westward, saw the proclamation line as a sellout of their interests to the benefit of the "savages."

An Unsettled Peace

Despite the end of the French and Indian War and the suppression of the Native American rebellions, true peace had difficulty taking hold in North America. Some ruptures came as offshoots of previous wars, as in the case of the "Paxton Boys" of Pennsylvania. Irate at the colony's inability to protect them during Pontiac's Rebellion, they massacred dozens of peaceful Conestoga in December 1763 and then marched on Philadelphia to attack Christian converts being held in protective custody. Their number grew to 500 by the time they reached Germantown, where troops armed with artillery finally dissuaded them from their course.

On the frontier, conflicting land claims led to clashes. The Proclamation of 1763 still permitted Native Americans to sell land west of the mountains if they wished. In 1768, invoking their authority under the Covenant Chain, the Iroquois agreed to sell the Shawnee-and Delaware-inhabited territory between the Appalachian Mountains and the Ohio River. The Cherokee, who had a rival claim to the territory, also agreed, but the actual inhabitants did not.

Pennsylvania and Virginia, which still laid claim to the Forks of the Ohio, issued conflicting grants of land in the new territory. The two colonies established overlapping counties, and each colony proceeded to arrest each other's settlers and officials. In 1774 Virginia seized Fort Pitt and renamed it for its governor, Lord Dunmore. In the meantime, the Shawnee had begun raiding Pennsylvania and Virginia settlers, to which Virginia responded by launching Lord Dunmore's War against the Shawnee. This effectively opened the area to European settlement; it also precluded any English-Shawnee alliance during the American Revolutionary War.

Other conflicts revealed further unsettled disputes between colonies. Vermont had been definitively secured from the French, but both New York and New Hampshire laid claim to it. The Privy Council officially awarded it to New York in 1764, yet both colonies continued to grant deeds to the same Vermont lands. This created tenure disputes that eventually resulted in Vermont's secession during the Revolution.

In northeastern Pennsylvania, farmers claimed and settled the Wyoming Valley in the name of Connecticut. This triggered the Yankee-Pennamite Wars, a string of armed disputes between Pennsylvania and Connecticut settlers, beginning in 1769.

In addition, some conflicts revealed social tensions within the colonies. Already by midcentury New Jersey was being torn apart by disputes between the colonial proprietors and "squatters," who had appointed their own courts, militias, and tax assessors. Disgruntled and rebellious tenant farmers disrupted New York's Hudson River Valley. In fact, the first instance of British regulars firing on colonial civilians occurred there in 1766, four years before the Boston Massacre.

In North Carolina, the Regulators, frontier farmers fed up with corruption and mismanagement, attacked courts and officials until the militia defeated them at Alamance Creek in 1771. In South Car-olina, another group of people who called themselves the Regulators wanted nothing more than to police the ill-secured frontier themselves, since the authorities refused do it. They too were declared rebels and violently suppressed. Unrest was also frequent in the cities, but colonial authorities did not apply the same ruthlessness against urban rioters that they showed to rural rebels because the urbanites were not as numerous, organized, or well armed.

Empire Rejected: From Triumph to Revolution

Colonial North America had evolved considerably over the previous century and a half. France had lost its huge but sparsely populated empire, although many of the settlers remained. Spain had

moved even further to the margins of power. The British colonies had grown from small, isolated, vulnerable, and often starving coastal settlements to integral parts of a transatlantic economy: supplying Europe with tobacco, whale oil, rice, furs, and skins; supplying the Caribbean islands with timber and with food for slaves (permitting the plantations there to concentrate on high-profit sugar production for the European market); and providing markets for European manufactures and enslaved Africans.

The colonies' relationship with the Native American population had also changed since the time when fractious little colonial settlements sided with one Native American group against another in return for protection and sustenance. The Spanish established a string of mission settlements, but then largely lost them to the attacks of the Carolinians and their allies. The French relied on an extensive Native American alliance system to both operate a farflung commercial enterprise and help defend it from the British and the Iroquois, but at the last minute they abandoned those allies in a failed attempt to fight a European-style war without access to European reinforcements or supply lines.

The British colonies had a particularly mixed record with the Native Americans. There were times and places where peace and cooperation prevailed, but the colonists planned to clear and settle the land, relied far more on their own growing numbers than on Native American allies, and often viewed the Indians as a hindrance and a threat. Relations were improving in the latter years of the French and Indian War, but then collapsed in the flames of the Cherokee and Pontiac rebellions. The removal of French power from the scene, and the consequent lack of a counterweight to British power, dealt a severe blow to the Native Americans' strategic position.

Finally, the wars among the Europeans in America also evolved, even if in some sense the British and the French fought the same war four times. The first one, starting in 1689, was a fairly amateurish affair conducted by colonial militias and Native American allies with the European mother countries providing little support or guidance and paying little attention. As the series of wars progressed, provincial forces became somewhat more professional; more assistance was promised, although it did not always materialize; and finally, European fleets became involved. In the French and Indian War, professional European armies virtually took over the war effort on both sides. Still, it is noteworthy that British relations with Native American forces were beginning to improve as New France's relations deteriorated. Turning points in the war corresponded with major shifts in Native American alliance politics.

By 1763, final victory at last appeared to be at hand. Indeed, historian Fred Anderson has called it the most complete victory in any European conflict since the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453). That victory, however, marked both the highpoint and the beginning of the end of the British Empire in North America. Within two decades the colonies of the Atlantic seaboard would break away (although the more marginal colonies of the north—Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and formerly French Canada—and the prosperous but

overwhelmingly slave-dependent islands of the British Caribbean remained loyal (Florida returned to Spanish control). The seeds of this rapid imperial collapse were sown by the British victory.

In expelling the French, the British had eliminated the threat (the "negative factor") that had helped hold mother country and colonies together. Without the French in Canada, the colonies did not see the need for the continued presence of the British Army. There was still the long-term "Indian menace," and colonial hostility toward the Indians was high in the wake of Pontiac's Rebellion. Still, the rebellion had been successfully suppressed and, more important, the colonists were quick to assume that the French had been the true instigators. To many colonials, the French and Indian threats had merged.

Nevertheless, this is when the British decided to station some 10,000 troops in North America on a permanent basis. Forced by the French and Indian War to pay attention to the North American colonies, British authorities discovered that they had become relatively prosperous. Indeed, commoners enjoyed a higher standard of living in the colonies than in Britain. Many colonists had come to think of themselves as "landowners," a tremendous affectation in a country where aristocrats owned the land. Compared to the British at home, moreover, the colonists were significantly undertaxed. Finally, the colonists had held the laws of trade (which, to be sure, had been designed to favor metropolitan over colonial interests) in flagrant disregard, even to the point of trading with the enemy in wartime.

The British had expended enormous amounts of blood and treasure to preserve and expand the North American empire, and now London was determined to see that it was managed properly. That meant enforcing rules that had gone unenforced for decades, which would have a general negative economic impact and would especially generate resentment among the numerous violators. Furthermore, the British intended to shift some of the burden of repaying the war debt onto the colonists.

Sharing the burden may not have been unfair in and of itself, but colonial leaders were quick to see the implications of the way in which it was being done. Once members of Parliament, elected by voters in England, learned that they could make someone else's constituents pay the bills, where would it end? The colonists (at least those who were not slaves or indentured servants) had struggled long and hard to have their own elected assemblies, to have decisions on taxes and expenditures decided by their own representatives. Those assemblies had actually grown stronger vis-à-vis the king's governors as a result of the war. Now London was imposing its will on those institutions, again treating the colonies as subordinates rather than allies.

This came as a blow to colonists who, during the war, had come to view themselves as partners in empires, not to mention equal British subjects and "landowners." Now, it appeared to many colonists, the purpose of the British troops was to enforce the collection of foreign taxes in order to support the oppressive presence of British troops. All this helped undermine the affective ties (the "pos-

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itive factors") that had helped hold mother country and colonies together. It also aggravated existing political divisions within the colonies. As colonial society was far from monolithic, various factions and interests took different sides in the evolving debate.

The overall effect was reinforced by other circumstances, also tied to the recent wars. The new British tax proposals came at a time when the curtailment of war-related spending had pushed the colonial economy into depression. The attitudes of aristocratic British officers during the recent war had offended the sensibilities of

colonists, especially in relatively egalitarian New England. George III's proclamations of 1763, made in the name of preserving peace and stability, were seen as defending the interests of "savages" and French Catholics over those of his own colonists (who, to be sure, were eager to expropriate the lands of the "savages" and French Catholics). The result was a rapid escalation of tensions and the development of an imperial crisis, an explosion known as the American Revolution.

SCOTT C. MONJE



Abatis

An obstruction placed in front of a field fortification. The word "abatis" comes from the French *arbes abattus*, which roughly translates as "felled trees." These obstructions were trees placed in a row in front of the earthworks. The branches of the trees were placed in a solid front facing the direction of a possible enemy assault. The trees were secured with their trunks into the ground and braced with either chains or ropes. The branches were intertwined to screen the front of the defensive works. If allowed to dry, the branches would become a strong barrier to attacking infantry, who would be forced to use axes to cut through the screen while being subjected to small-arms fire.

One of the most effective uses of the abatis was at the Battle of Fort Carillon (Fort Ticonderoga) on July 7–8, 1758, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). In this engagement, the French forces used an abatis to screen the only land approach to the fort. The British attempted a frontal assault and suffered heavy losses while trying to cross the abatis in front of the French positions. They were forced to retreat with heavy losses.

WILLIAM H. BROWN

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Fort Ticonderoga (New York), Battle of; Fort Ticonderoga (New York)

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Abenakis

Principal Native American nation of northern New England and allies of the French in nearby Quebec. The Abenakis represented a serious political and military impediment to English imperial expansion in the region. New Englanders often referred to the Abenakis as the "Eastern Indians," a term that ignored divisions between the western Abenaki bands of Vermont and the eastern Abenaki bands of Maine, or as "French Indians," which denied their autonomy and obscured their relations with other natives. Indeed, the Abenakis themselves preferred the name "Wabanaki" to express their affiliations with tribes such as the Passamaquoddy and the Micmac to the north.

The Abenakis joined Metacom's forces in a failed attempt to keep encroaching English colonists off their lands during King Philip's War (1675–1676), after which they incorporated remnants of shattered southern New England tribes into their ranks. They also increasingly collaborated with the French, joining with them in assaults against English settlements in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New York. Contrary to English assumptions, the Abenakis were not the simple subordinates of French officials. Rather, they maintained their own interests and objectives in these raids.

Much of the contemporary stereotype of the Abenakis as merciless savages stems from their involvement in attacks against weakly defended, peripheral New England towns in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. During King William's War (1689–1697), for instance, they targeted settlements at such places as Salmon

2 Abercromby, James

Falls (now Rollinsford) and Oyster River (now Durham) in New Hampshire. In January 1692, a band of approximately 500 Abenaki warriors launched a devastating attack against York, Maine, that killed upward of 80 inhabitants, left the town in shambles, and seared itself into New Englanders' collective memory as the Candlemas Massacre. The Abenakis were also among the tribes that participated in the devastating attack on Deerfield, Massachusetts, during Queen Anne's War. Indeed, many of the towns that fell victim to Abenaki attacks in this period still commemorate the events with local markers and tablets that perpetuate the image of the Abenakis as aggressively bellicose.

Yet the Abenakis were as often the victims of raids as they were the perpetrators. Puritan New Englanders considered them heathen and felt justified in seizing Abenaki lands and scattering their settlements. Mistakenly convinced that French political and religious leaders were behind several Abenaki attacks against expanding English outposts in the 1720s, New England soldiers under the command of Captain Jeremiah Moulton assaulted the Abenaki village of Norrigewock in 1724 and carried away the scalp of Sébastien Râle, a French Catholic priest who had been working among the Native Americans for decades.

Despite their general contempt for the Abenakis, the English respected their fighting skills, especially those of Chief Grey Lock, for whom New Englanders would name a prominent peak in the Berkshire Mountains. But by the end of the colonial period, a combination of forces, from repeated outbreaks of disease to devastating English raids during the French and Indian War, undermined the Abenakis' ability to oppose English intrusions.

JONATHAN M. BEAGLE

See also

Deerfield, Massachusetts, Attack on; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; King Philip's War; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Metacom; Micmacs; Norridgewock, Battle of; York, Attack on

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Abercromby, James

Born: 1706

Died: April 23, 1781

General in the British Army and commander during the French and Indian War. James Abercromby was born in 1706 in Glassaugh, Banffshire, Scotland. His powerful family purchased Abercromby a commission in the British Army and obtained for him the positions of commissioner of supply and justice of the peace in Banff-



Contemporary engraving of Major General James Abercromby, commander of British forces in America during the French and Indian War. (The Granger Collection)

shire. In 1734, Abercromby entered Parliament representing Banffshire, and in 1739 he was appointed lieutenant governor of Stirling Castle. Advanced to the rank of major in 1742, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Royal Regiment of Foot, or the "Royal Scots," in 1746. During the War of the Austrian Succession, Abercromby served as quartermaster general in James St. Clair's 1746 expedition against Lorient on the coast of France and was wounded at Hulst in the Netherlands in 1747.

Because of his close political ties with the Duke of Newcastle, Abercromby was named second in command in America in 1756 with the rank of major general in North America and colonel of the 44th Foot. By then, the French and Indian War had been raging for two years. After serving as an uninspired subordinate to John Campbell, Lord Loudoun, Abercromby was appointed to succeed him as commander in chief in March 1758. He received this appointment despite his never having previously held an independent command in his long military career. Britain's prime minister, William Pitt, immediately ordered Abercromby to attack Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) as part of the overall British strategy against Canada. Recognizing the dithering Abercromby's limitations, Pitt appointed the bold and robust Brigadier George Augustus Howe as his second-in-command.

By the beginning of July 1758, Abercromby had assembled an invasion force of 15,000 British regulars and American provincials. On July 5 the British made an unopposed landing on the north shore of Lake George. The following day, Lord Howe, while leading the

forward British elements advancing on Fort Carillon, was killed in a fierce skirmish with the French. The death of the charismatic Howe crippled the expedition's chances for success.

In the aftermath of Howe's death, Abercromby was unsure of how to proceed and only slowly moved to close up on the French positions. He disregarded the possibility of placing cannon on Mount Defiance, which could have forced a French surrender, or employing William Johnson's Iroquois warriors in an offensive role. Instead, after calling a council of war with his officers, Abercromby blundered in choosing to launch a frontal assault on the French lines without artillery support. This plan was not based on Abercromby's personal observation of the French positions but on the report of a junior engineering officer that the Marquis de Montcalm's lines were weak and could be stormed. On the afternoon on July 8 at the Battle of Ticonderoga, Abercromby shattered his force in successive attacks on the French entrenchments, none of which breached the enemy lines. After stunning casualties that included nearly 2,000 soldiers killed, wounded, or missing, the British abandoned the battle and retreated. In September 1758, Abercromby was dismissed and replaced as commander in chief in America by Major General Jeffery Amherst.

Despite his miserable performance, Abercromby was promoted to lieutenant general in 1758 and advanced to the rank of full general in 1772. He returned to Britain and served in Parliament before dying in Glassaugh on April 23, 1781.

BRADLEY P. TOLPPANEN

See also

Campbell, John, Earl of Loudoun; Fort Ticonderoga, Battle of; Fort Ticonderoga (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Pitt, William, the Elder, First Earl of Chatham

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Absolutism

Theory of kingship whereby the monarch ruled a centralized state with absolute authority. Absolutism prevailed in Europe from the 15th century to the end of the 18th century. Possessing unlimited power, the monarch was in theory subject to no laws but those of God. The principle of absolutism was often used as a unifying force in the consolidation of nation-states.

The justification for absolutism came from various sources and traditions. Above all, two influential figures validated the theory in



Portrait of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, who affirmed that absolute power could be justified through the divine right of kings to rule. This belief was known as absolutism. (Ridpath, John Clark, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

the 17th century. In France, Bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet affirmed that absolute power could be justified through the divine right of kings to rule. This was an authority given to monarchs directly by God. Because the monarch was God's representative on Earth, his decisions became unquestioned law. English political theorist Thomas Hobbes, on the other hand, justified absolutism politically rather than religiously. In *Leviathan* (1651), Hobbes wrote that absolute monarchy was the only system of government capable of maintaining order among the unruly masses.

Practical considerations also accounted for absolutism. After the events of the calamitous and chaotic 14th century, people were ready to accept a strong monarch. The Protestant Reformation contributed to absolutism as well. Papal influence had weakened in many states, and secular affairs required guidance from a powerful ruler. To establish order and control, monarchs required a bureaucracy, which in turn helped to maintain central authority. In addition, 15th-century mercantile policies, which produced unimaginable wealth, contributed to the rise of absolutism. The mercantile notion of a national, self-sufficient economy stimulated production and generated surpluses. To maintain that prosperity, monarchs regulated all aspects of economy and built large navies to protect their trade.

Absolutism first appeared in Spain, where dynastic marriages had significantly increased the Habsburg's territorial holdings. Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1519–1556) ruled over nearly half of Christian Europe in the 16th century. He was also nominally the secular head of the Roman Catholic Church. Yet the Protestant Ref-

ormation threatened to divide his Catholic kingdom. When King Philip II (1556–1598) succeeded his father Charles over the Spanish half of the empire, he firmly applied the divine right theory. Philip made every decision and micromanaged his expansive bureaucracy. He conquered neighboring Portugal, united the two thrones, and took over Portugal's overseas territories. Substantial income poured into the Spanish treasury.

French absolutism became the prototype for all the other European monarchies. Absolutism emerged in France partially in response to a rebellious aristocracy that had embroiled the country in internal conflict. Determined to suppress the nobles, King Louis XIV (1643–1715) took personal control of government in 1661. Louis believed deeply that he was God's lieutenant on Earth, and he was ruthless in his suppression of anyone who questioned his authority. He crushed the Protestant Huguenots and forced obedience to his decrees in the law courts. He also diminished the power of autonomous French towns. His ministers, who were totally obedient to him, helped cement the king's power. Louis also fought several major wars between 1667 and 1713. They were meant to enhance his prestige, enrich France, and place a French Bourbon on the Spanish throne. Indeed, Louis XIV came to be known as the Sun King, around whom all else revolved.

Absolutism developed differently in England. Although absolutist, the Tudor dynasty (1485–1603) achieved its objectives through adept and popular rulers. Tudor monarchs worked with the British Parliament to augment their power. With the Scottish Stuart dynasty, absolutism became more pronounced. James I (king of England and Scotland, 1603–1625) asserted his divine right to rule. But his arrogance caused many in England to resent his power. In turn, policies pursued by his son, Charles I (1625–1649), caused a constitutional struggle. After repeated disputes with Parliament, Charles dissolved the body and ruled alone during the so-called Eleven Years' Tyranny. In 1642, however, the English Civil War broke out as Parliament rose against Charles and his supporters. The victory of Parliament's New Model Army resulted in the overthrow of the monarchy and the execution of Charles in 1649.

After several years of rule by Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, the Restoration brought Charles II to the throne in 1660. Realizing that absolutism would fail, Charles used favors to gain parliamentary support for his policies. When Charles died, however, his devoutly Catholic brother, James II (1660–1688), soon ran into struggles with Parliament. After deeming that James had abdicated, Parliament offered the throne to the Protestant Mary II and William III in what came to be known as the Glorious Revolution.

In sum, the British Parliament had won the absolutism battle by deposing and appointing monarchs as it saw fit. The theory of the divine right of kings had been dealt a devastating blow. John Locke justified Parliament's actions in 1690 by arguing in favor of legitimate revolt against any type of tyrannical government. Locke's theories contributed to the American Revolution and the French Revolution.

In Russia, absolutism had existed since the reign of Ivan III in the 15th century. In the early 1700s, monarchs ruling the Holy Roman Empire attempted to establish their own brand of absolutism on the far-flung confederation. In Prussia, King Frederick I (1701–1713) established the Hohenzollern family as an important dynasty. With the help of a full treasury and a small but powerful army, he made Prussia a formidable player in European politics. Variations of absolutism also existed in Denmark, Sweden, and the Ottoman Empire. Yet after the French Revolution (1789), absolutism began to decline.

ANNETTE RICHARDSON

See also

English Civil War, Impact in America; France; Glorious Revolution in America; Great Britain; Mercantilism; Russia and Colonial America; Spain; Sweden

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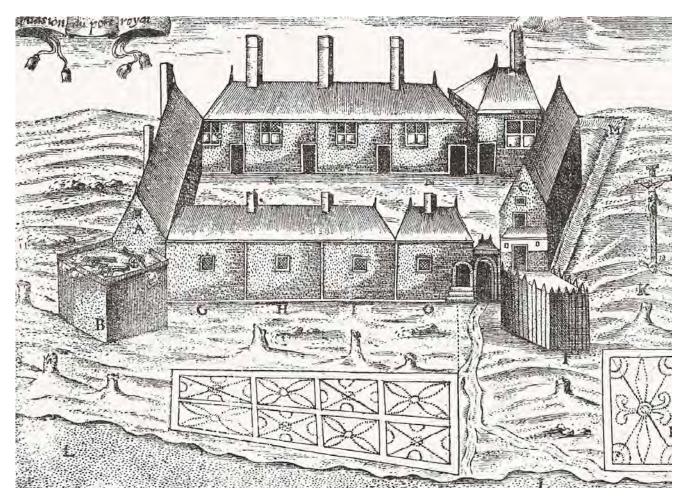
Acadia

A long strip of land variously described and claimed by European explorers along North America's Atlantic coastline, stretching from Florida all the way to the Arctic, though the term "Acadia" came to denote an area from Quebec, Canada, through the Canadian Maritime provinces, south to Maine and northeastern Massachusetts. During the colonial wars of the 17th and 18th centuries, the French and English fought over who would possess and occupy this region. Although Acadia played a relatively limited role in the course of the wars, the English saw French control of it as a constant threat to their security and sovereignty. This region was the homeland of the Micmac, Maliseet, and Abenaki Native Americans. There are two probable origins of the word "Acadia." Italian explorer Giovanni da Verrazzano may have heard the Native Americans he encountered refer to "cadie" or "quoddy" and then assumed it referred to the territory on which they lived. Or he may have used the classical Greek and Roman term for a terrestrial paradise—"Arcadia."

Verrazzano first used the term "Acadia" in 1525 to refer to coastal North Carolina. "Larcadia" subsequently appeared on Giacomo

Distribution of the Population of New France and British North America (1740)

Location/Group	% of Total Population
Acadia	1.0
Montreal	2.0
Quebec	2.4
Trois-Rivières	0.4
Other locations in New France	0.7
British settlements	71.0
Indians	22.5



Marc Lescarbot's map of Port Royal in 1609. Port Royal, Acadia (Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia), was settled by the French in 1605 and was the site of repeated conflict between the French and the English. (The Granger Collection)

Gastaldi's 1548 map near Cape Cod, Massachusetts, and then on Bolognino Zalttieri's 1566 map of Nova Scotia. By the mid-1600s, "Acadia" generally referred to the land nestled between Quebec and New England. In 1603, the French laid claim to a vast but ill-defined territory stretching from Florida to the Arctic Circle. King James I of England subsequently granted Nova Scotia to Sir William Alexander in 1621. Acadia, excluding Cape Breton Island and Prince Edward Island, was ceded to Britain under the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht.

In the 17th century, the major French settlement and administrative center in Acadia was Port Royal (in present-day Nova Scotia). Despite the granting of 55 seigneuries, this quasi-feudal land system never provided much stability, social organization, or leadership in the colony. After the cession of Acadia to England in 1713, the French constructed a new fortified settlement at Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. This settlement served as the French military, administrative, and trade center on the Atlantic. The main areas of French settlement in Acadia were Port Royal, Les Mines, and Beaubassin along the Bay of Fundy. In 1650, Acadia had a French population, known as Acadians, of 400 to 500. By 1714 that num-

ber had increased to about 2,500; and by 1754 there were about 13,000 Acadians. Acadia provided its colonists with livelihoods through trapping, trading, farming, fishing, and smuggling. In 1754, the British governor of Nova Scotia, Gov. Edward Cornwallis, fearful of the French and Micmacs, ordered the Acadians deported. Eventually many Acadians who had fled, hidden, or managed to return to New France established settlements in current-day New Brunswick. Meanwhile, English-sponsored settlers occupied land around Halifax and in the former Acadian communities.

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See also

Abenakis; Micmacs; New France; Utrecht, Treaty of

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Acadia, British Conquest of

Start Date: September 18, 1710 End Date: October 15, 1710

British offensive against French-held Acadia and the only demonstrable success of British and colonial forces during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713). By 1708, it had become apparent to many New England leaders that the British government did not place a high priority on military events in Canada, particularly with respect to the allocation of military resources. Prior campaigning with purely militia forces had invariably proved unsatisfactory, so in 1708 Gov. Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts began agitating for an influx of regular troops and naval vessels to stiffen future endeavors against Canada.

To this end the enterprising merchant Samuel Vetch, himself a former Scottish military officer, was dispatched to London to confer with governmental authorities on the subject. The ensuing Canadian campaign of 1709 came to naught, but the following year Vetch again visited London and prevailed on the Board of Trade to augment colonial forces through the addition of several Royal Navy warships.

Rather than the conquest of Quebec, Vetch set his sights on the French settlement of Port Royal, Acadia (present-day Nova Scotia). Port Royal was chosen owing to its activities as a privateering center and a relatively weak garrison. The British then agreed to provide five warships and a contingent of 400 Royal Marines under the command of Colonel Francis Nicholson, another energetic colonial administrator.

A large contingent of British regulars had also been promised but never materialized. Nonetheless, the efforts of Vetch and Nicholson were also greatly abetted by Governor Dudley, who proved instrumental in cobbling together a diverse body of New England militia. It included two regiments from Massachusetts and one each from Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. The usually hesitant Yankees, fired more by profit than patriotism, also responded with a degree of cooperation heretofore rarely seen in the war.

By the fall of 1710, an amphibious expedition of 3,500 colonial troops and Royal Marines had assembled in Boston under the aegis of Commodore George Martin. They departed on September 18, 1710, confidently anticipating what appeared to be an easy conquest. The fact that the season was far advanced and that ongoing peace negotiations in Europe could end the conflict added greater impetus to their endeavors.

Port Royal, despite its strategic significance, was poorly garrisoned by a force of just 300 French soldiers and a number of Micmacs. Their leader, Gov. Daniel d'Auger de Subercase, had pleaded with superiors for reinforcements when intelligence of the impending invasion was ascertained. Such aid never materialized. Therefore, when the first of Nicholson's 3,500 troops disembarked from 31 transports at Port Royal on September 24, 1710, the outcome was a foregone conclusion.

Subercase, lacking manpower and even adequate supplies, determined to put on as good a show as limited resources would allow. His forces gamely engaged Nicholson's men with what few cannon he possessed. Nicholson and Vetch responded with an unhurried deployment of siege works and batteries, completed by October 6, which took a gradual toll on the French garrison.

On October 15, Subercase was persuaded by his subordinates to submit to terms of surrender, and he was granted honors of war. The French troops paraded out of the fort with colors flying and boarded several vessels for a return voyage to France. Once home, the governor was tried for neglect but acquitted.

Port Royal, Acadia, was renamed Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, in honor of Queen Anne. Considering its strategic significance, this was an impressive little victory by an enterprising New England military establishment.

With Annapolis Royal secured, Nicholson departed for Boston shortly after the surrender formalities ended and left a 500-man garrison in place. Vetch was then appointed the new military governor there, and for the next three years he administered his charge effectively, although with only sullen cooperation from the French and Micmac inhabitants. Worse, the Native Americans, once reinforced by a party of hostile Abenakis, began a concerted guerrilla war against isolated British outposts. Vetch grew disappointed at Nova Scotia's relegation to a backwater by authorities in London, and his command remained small and undersupplied.

By 1712 conditions had deteriorated to the point where Vetch warned superiors that Nova Scotia might have to be abandoned, a revelation that brought about his replacement by Nicholson in 1713. The sole consolation for New England forces involved in the capture and garrisoning of Port Royal was its formal transference to Great Britain by terms of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Though small in terms of area, the loss of Port Royal was a serious blow to the already tenuous French foothold on North America, which grew successively weaker in the following two conflicts. Another result was to prompt Nicholson to venture to London, where he convinced the British government to commit even greater resources to the conquest of Canada. Indeed, success at Port Royal proved the genesis of the ill-fated expedition against Canada in 1711.

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See also

Acadia; Canada, British Expedition against (1709); Canada, British Expedition against (1711); Dudley, Joseph; Nicholson, Sir Francis; Port Royal (Nova Scotia); Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Vetch, Samuel

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Acadia, New England Attack on

Start Date: April 28, 1690 End Date: June 1690

The first English colonial offensive of King William's War (1689–1697, known in Europe as the War of the League of Augsburg). The governor-general of New France, Count Louis de Baude de Frontenac, began the fighting in North America when he launched an attack on New York in 1690. Frontenac hoped to isolate the Five Nations, divide the English colonies, and safeguard the fur trade. To accomplish these ends, he unleashed a three-pronged offensive against the northern frontier of the English colonies, attacking Schenectady, New York; Salmon Falls, New Hampshire; and Casco, Maine. A number of English settlers were slain by Native Americans attacking with the French.

The repercussions of the devastatingly effective French offensive were immediate. A number of terrorized English colonists along the New England–New York frontier moved to safer areas. The French offensive aroused widespread anger, united the English colonists against New France, and fueled demands for revenge.

In the midst of Frontenac's offensive, Massachusetts began preparations for its own military operation, a seaborne attack on French Acadia, present-day Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. This was actually prompted by concerns that France was moving to restrict the lucrative New England fishing industry. The new governor of Acadia, Louis-Alexandre des Friches de Meneval, had been endeavoring to refortify Port Royal on the western coast of Acadia and to exclude New England fishing vessels from Acadian waters. French frigates from Port Royal had seized a number of Massachusetts fishing boats and their crews, threatening to end New England's fishing livelihood as well as its trading interests in the Bay of Fundy. In addition, the colonists saw Acadia as a base for operations against their own northern settlements.

Sir William Phips commanded the expedition, which departed Boston on April 28, 1690. It consisted of a regiment of 446 Massachusetts militiamen transported in seven vessels. Anti-Catholic bigotry and, more importantly, the promise of plunder, had served as a powerful recruiting tool. Consequently, the New England force was comprised largely of unemployed citizens and low-paid laborers. Phips's objectives were to capture Port Royal, destroy or capture French shipping, and seize other French settlements along the coast.

After raiding the French coastal settlements at Penobscott, Machias, and Passamaquoddy Bay on their way north, the New Englanders reached Port Royal on May 9. Meneval was short of supplies, and there was considerable discontent among the 70-man French garrison over conditions. In consequence, Meneval was persuaded to surrender Port Royal after only two days, on May 11. Under the terms of the surrender, French property was to be secure. The victors immediately violated this provision and, over a two-day span, plundered the town. After desecrating the Port Royal Catholic Church by pulling down its high altar and smashing religious

images, the overzealous New Englanders then razed the fort and carried off its artillery. Before departing, Phips forced the local residents to swear an oath of allegiance to the British Crown. He also appointed a council headed by a French sergeant, Charles La Tourcasse, to govern Acadia under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

After sending off smaller forces to attack other French communities in Acadia, the victorious Phips returned to Boston by the end of the month, along with the plunder and 60 French prisoners, including Meneval. The operation was a great boon to Phips's ambitions. Despite his failure to capture Quebec in a much larger expedition in 1690, the success against Port Royal helped make Phips governor of Massachusetts in 1692. Some participants were also enriched.

In June, warships from New York again attacked Port Royal, with more destruction and the killing of several civilians. Any geopolitical advantages were fleeting, as no English force had been left behind to garrison the settlement and the French reclaimed the settlement the following year. Although the English victory had little strategic value, it served to bolster the morale of New England and served to unite the English colonists.

RICHARD J. SHUSTER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Acadia; Canada, New England Expedition against; Fort Loyal (Maine); Frontenac, Louis de Buade de, Comte de Frontenac et de Palluau; Glorious Revolution in America; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Massachusetts; Phips, Sir William; Port Royal (Nova Scotia); Quebec, Attack on (1690); Salmon Falls, Battle of; Schenectady, Battle of

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Acadia, New England Occupation of

Start Date: 1654 End Date: 1670

French Acadia was an area of continual dispute and conflict between the French and the British. At the beginning of the colonial period, Acadia comprised what is now Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, as well as portions of Quebec and Maine. Because of its strategic location south of the mouth of the St. Lawrence River and astride rich North Atlantic fishing grounds, Acadia was sought by both the English and French.

Acadia was in dispute early in the colonial period. It formed part of the original French grant to Pierre du Gua de Monts, but a portion of Acadia was also included in the 1620 grant to the Council of New England. In 1625, Samoset and Unongoit, both Sagamore chiefs, sold

12,000 acres of land that included Pemaquid and Bristol to English trader John Brown. The English further strengthened their claim in 1629 with the establishment of a trading post on the Kennebec River.

Both the French and the English claimed the region's rich fishing grounds, although the area between the Bay of Fundy and Marchais acted as a buffer between the two sides. In 1654, New England governor Thomas Temple encouraged successful attacks on the French outposts at Penobscot and Port Royal. The 1667 Treaty of Breda confirmed Nova Scotia as belonging to France, although the New Englanders did not abandon it until 1670. Nonetheless, the boundary between French and English territory was ill-defined, the French claiming it to be the Kennebec River. These disputes and the strategic importance of the region led to renewed fighting in 1688.

In 1688, Edmund Andros, governor of the Dominion of New England, asserted New England's claims in the region by promoting an attack against the French at St. Castin's trading post on the Penobscot River. The French retaliated by encouraging the Abenakis to mount raids on the English frontier settlements.

The formal outbreak of King William's War (1689–1697) brought a major New England operation against Port Royal, then an important base for French privateers. In 1690, William Phips led 450 men in a number of ships and took Port Royal (assisted by the fact that it was garrisoned by only 60 French troops). Phips required the inhabitants of the region to take an oath of loyalty to the British crown, but then made the mistake of leaving only a small garrison in occupation. The French soon recaptured it. Fighting resumed over Acadia during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713).

TAKAIA LARSEN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Acadia; Acadia, British Conquest of; Acadia, New England Attack on; Acadia Expulsion; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Phips, Sir William; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Ryswick, Treaty of

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Acadia, Virginia Attack on

Start Date: July 2, 1613 End Date: October 1613

In May 1613, Samuel Argall led his ship the *Treasurer* and another vessel from the struggling English colony at Jamestown, Virginia, to attack the French colony at Mount Desert Island in what is now Maine. The English had shown interest in the region they called "North Virginia".

ginia" and had explored it in the 1570s and again in 1610. Although they had not been able to establish a colony in the region, the English did not wish to yield it to the French, their traditional rivals.

Argall and his expedition arrived at Mount Desert Island on July 2, 1613, and found the site poorly defended. The colony's leader, the inexperienced French nobleman René Le Coq de la Suassaye, had failed to take steps to fortify the colony adequately. After destroying that settlement and seizing Suassaye's records, Argall headed back to Jamestown with some 15 French prisoners and a captured vessel. Among the prisoners was Jesuit missionary Father Pierre Biard, who left a narrative of these events.

Argall and company returned to Jamestown to refit. In August or September they again set sail, this time for the Bay of Fundy to find the colony of Sainte-Croixe. They arrived there in late September or early October. The settlement had been abandoned, however, and Argall only secured some salt. He then destroyed the few abandoned buildings.

According to Biard's account, a Native American who previously had dealt with the French helped Argall find the settlement at Port Royal. That French colony, under the command of inexperienced 21-year-old nobleman Charles de Beincourt, was poorly protected, with most of the settlers scattered in the forests gathering food. Argall burned the few buildings at Port Royal, torched the fields, slaughtered some cattle for immediate use, and took some other livestock on board his vessel.

Argall then set sail for Jamestown. En route, his squadron was hit by a storm. One ship sank, and that carrying Biard ended up in the Azores. Argall's ship returned to Jamestown in late November or early December.

Argall's raids were part of the many conflicts between settlers of the different European powers attempting to colonize North America. This particular raid kept the French out of "North Virginia" and made the region an acceptable destination for the Puritan Separatists seeking to establish a colony in America in 1620.

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See also

Acadia; Jamestown; Jesuits; Port Royal (Nova Scotia)

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Acadian Expulsion

Start Date: July 1755 End Date: 1762

Forced deportation by the British of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). When France ceded Acadia to England in 1713, the province had a large population



Expulsion of the Acadians by the English in 1755; a watercolor by Charles William Jeffreys. (Library and Archives Canada)

of French settlers concentrated along the western coast. Although the Acadians were peaceful farmers with little interest in imperial conflicts, British officials considered them a potential threat to their control of the province, which they renamed Nova Scotia. After the British established a settlement at Halifax in 1749, Gov. Edward Cornwallis also came to believe the Acadians were dangerous and recommended that they be removed from the colony. However, the Acadians did not interfere with the new British settlement.

When the French and Indian War broke out in 1754, the Acadian population numbered about 13,000. Fearing that the Acadians might aid the French, in July 1755 Lt. Gov. Charles Lawrence demanded that all Acadians take an unqualified oath of allegiance to Great Britain or face immediate deportation. The Acadians offered instead to make a pledge of neutrality and surrender their arms to the English. Lawrence and his council deemed the proposal unacceptable and on July 28 ordered the Acadians deported. Because Lawrence did not want to strengthen the French by sending the Acadians to a French colony, he ordered them to be dispersed throughout other British colonies and to England.

Employing 2,000 New England troops who had arrived to reinforce Nova Scotia, Lawrence rounded up as many Acadians as could be found and confined them at Annapolis Royal, Grand Pré, and other towns until they could be transported out of the province. Many Acadians fled to the woods while New England soldiers burned their homes and barns to deprive them of shelter. By the end of 1755, some 7,000 Acadians had been deported, and approximately 3,000 more were removed before the policy was ended in 1762.

Because the deportation was poorly planned, many Acadians died from hunger, thirst, and disease aboard overcrowded ships before reaching their destinations. Others died when their transport ships were wrecked. Although colonial officials attempted to provide for the Acadian exiles, poor living conditions led to additional deaths from disease and exposure. Virginia officials sent 1,000 Acadians deported there to England; these exiles were placed in internment camps and remained there for seven years before being sent to France. An estimated one-third of the deported Acadians—more than 3,000 people—died during their ordeal.

The survivors also experienced severe hardship as families and communities were broken up. British officials managing the deportation paid no attention to such matters as they crammed the exiles aboard ships bound for different destinations. Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and all the colonies farther south received Acadian exiles. The French-speaking, Roman Catholic Acadians were not welcomed by their English Protestant neighbors, however, and thus remained isolated. After the war, large numbers of Acadian exiles from the British colonies traveled to Spanish Louisiana, a former French colony, and established new homes there. Others went to Nova Scotia when the British government permitted their return in 1764, but they often found that their former lands had been granted to settlers from New England.

JIM PIECUCH

See also

Acadia; Cornwallis, Edward; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns

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Ackia, Battle of

Event Date: May 26, 1736

The key battle in the French-Chickasaw conflict of 1736, fought at the Chickasaw village of Ackia, near modern-day Tupelo, Mississippi. Europeans and Native Americans viewed each other as colonial allies in North America against their traditional rivals (France versus England and the Choctaw versus the Chickasaw, for example). Such was the context for the Battle of Ackia. The French hoped to link French Canada with French Louisiana via the Mississippi River and thereby contain the English colonies. Since the English enjoyed a 10-to-1 population advantage in colonists, French-native alliances were vital to French ambitions. But the English proved most successful in allying with the Chickasaw, whose lands bordered the Mississippi.

In the 1736 French-Chickasaw conflict, Gov. Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville of Louisiana sought to split his forces and contain English influence at the Chickasaw villages of Ackia, Apeony, and Chukafalaya. On March 25, 1756, the Chickasaws had defeated French forces from Illinois under Pierre d'Artaguette at the Battle of Ougoula Tchetoka. Twenty Frenchmen, including d'Artaguette, were burned to death. This setback forced Bienville's hand, and he moved decisively against the Chickasaw-English alliance, employing his Choctaw allies. Chickasaw peace envoys were sent out on May 25, but they were killed and scalped by the Choctaws, who were eager to capture the Chickasaws' home villages.

On May 26, 1736, approximately 275 Frenchmen under the command of Bienville and 600 Choctaw allies under Chief Aliba-

mon Mingo attacked the heavily fortified and English-supported Chickasaw villages, including Ackia, which was controlled by Chief Red Shoe. The attack began at 2:00 p.m. French grenadiers moved in first, hoping to use a mantelet transported by African slaves to protect them as they advanced within range to deliver grenades. This action was to "soften up" the defenses before a main charge by Choctaw-French forces. However, the slaves fled early in the advance, leaving grenadiers exposed to heavy losses before they could take a few fortified houses on the periphery.

Red Shoe's Chickasaw defenders were well protected with a four-foot-deep trench, earthen ramparts, and triple stockaded houses. Soon, Chickasaws from the neighboring villages came to support Ackia. Worse still for the French, the English presence meant the Chickasaws would be amply supplied with gunpowder and firearms.

The French forward force of grenadiers was pinned down and officers were dying at an alarming rate. The French decided to retreat, sending 80 additional men forward to protect the retreat and retrieve the dead and wounded. Chief Mingo dispatched a charge of Choctaw warriors to accomplish the task. By 4:00 p.m. he had lost 22 men to the well-designed Chickasaw defenses.

When the battle ended, French and Choctaw casualties numbered more than 70 men, including most of the French officers. No casualty statistics are available for the Chickasaws, though it is believed that their losses were slight. The defeat weakened French power in North America and meant the virtual loss of secure communications between Louisiana and Canada.

CHRISTOPHER HOWELL

See also

Chickasaws; Choctaws; Le Moyne de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste; Louisiana; Red Shoe

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Acoma Pueblo, Fight at

Start Date: January 22, 1599 End Date: January 25, 1599

Fierce battle at the Acoma Pueblo in New Mexico between Spanish forces and Acoma natives that resulted in the wholesale deaths of some 800 Acomas. Located on top of a mesa 357 feet above the desert floor west of the Rio Grande Valley, Acoma Pueblo (or Sky City) was home to approximately 6,000 Keresan-speaking Acomas at the end of the 16th century. Irrigated fields of corn and beans encircled the steep slopes of the mesa walls, and residents traveled between town and farmland by using a combination of stairs and



Acoma Pueblo and its reflection in a pool of water, photographed by Ansel Adams during 1941–1942. Acoma Pueblo is one of the oldest continuously inhabited settlements in the United States and was the site of the 1599 Acoma Massacre. (National Archives)

hand and toe holes carved into the red rock. Prior to the arrival of the Spanish, Acoma had been inhabited for at least 500 years, making it one of the oldest continuously occupied settlements in North America.

In the early 16th century, the viceroy of New Spain authorized expeditions north of Mexico in hopes of discovering riches rumored to be found among the adobe towns scattered across the landscape. Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, governor of the province of New Galicia in northern Mexico, led the largest of these expeditions from 1540 to 1542. Coronado's captain of artillery, Hernando de Alvarado, visited Acoma with a small force of men on his way back from a foray to Zuni Pueblo in 1540 and noted the pueblo's virtually impregnable position atop the mesa.

Coronado's accounts of his unprofitable expedition dissuaded further ventures into pueblo country for over half a century. In 1595, Juan de Oñate was charged by the Spanish court with leading an expedition up the Rio Grande Valley to spread the Catholic faith, pacify the natives, and establish a permanent colony in the northern provinces of New Spain. In 1598, after a series of delays, Oñate and 500 men, women, and children entered New Mexico near present-day El Paso, Texas. By late May, Oñate had reached the upper Rio Grande and encountered the first of many pueblos he formally claimed for Spain.

In July 1598, Oñate arrived at the confluence of the Chama and Rio Grande rivers and established his headquarters at Ohke Pueblo, which he renamed San Juan, the capital of the new colony.

From San Juan, Oñate dispersed friars to the pueblos, and he personally led a party of colonists and soldiers on a reconnaissance of the province. On October 27, 1598, Oñate arrived at Acoma, ascended the mesa, and entered the city. Residents of the pueblo disagreed on how best to deal with the Spanish. Ultimately, the natives decided to treat Oñate and his party hospitably and gave them (as well as their horses) food and water. Before leaving, the governor informed the inhabitants of Acoma that they were now under Spanish rule.

In December 1598, Oñate's nephew, Juan de Zaldivar, arrived at the base of Acoma Pueblo at the head of a column of 30 soldiers en route to a rendezvous with his uncle. Zaldivar demanded food for his hungry men. The Acomas refused to comply with his request. They did, however, agree to trade cornmeal for tools if the Spaniards could wait until they completed the grinding process. After waiting three days for the promised cornmeal, Zaldivar and 16 of his men ascended the mesa and entered the city. What happened next is not entirely clear. Native accounts blame the ensuing violence on the Spaniards' mistreatment of Acoma women and

their exploitation of the pueblo's hospitality. Spanish survivors claim that the Acomas attacked by design. Either way, Zaldivar and his men were quickly overwhelmed. Only 4 of the 16 men were able to flee to the desert floor and safety. Zaldivar was among the dead.

When Oñate received word that his nephew had been killed, the governor dispatched Juan's brother, Vicente de Zaldivar, along with a force of 70 men, on a mission to punish the pueblo. On January 22, 1599, Spanish soldiers arrived at Acoma and, under the cover of darkness, managed to scale the steep-sided mesa and haul a cannon to the top. Zaldivar besieged the city for three days. Cannon fire destroyed adobe walls and soldiers gored villagers fighting to save their homes and families. When the carnage ended, approximately 800 Acoma men, women, and children lay dead; another 580 were taken captive.

Oñate quickly orchestrated a trial, over which he presided, and found the Acomas guilty of treason against Spain. Adolescents were sentenced to 20 years of servitude, and adult men were to have one foot amputated. The mutilation was to be conducted in the plazas of pueblos along the Rio Grande as a lesson to those who might question Spanish authority. The inhabitants of Acoma eventually rebuilt their city, but the bitter memory of the events of January 1599 contributed to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and remained transfixed in their minds for centuries to come.

ALAN C. DOWNS

See also

Oñate, Juan de; New Mexico; Pueblos

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Adair, James

Born: ca. 1709 Died: ca. 1780

Trader to the Cherokees and Chickasaws and author of *The History of the American Indians* (1775), a seminal book about Native Americans in the Southeast. Little is known about Adair's early life, besides the fact that he was born in Antrim, Ireland, around 1709. His father was probably Sir Robert Adair, a member of the Scottish nobility.

Well educated and ambitious, James Adair arrived in South Carolina in 1735 and within a year had begun trading among the Cherokees. His first major involvement in native affairs came in 1745, when he convinced Gov. James Glen to involve himself in the Choctaw Civil War. Adair and Glen both sensed a diplomatic and commercial opportunity to win Choctaw allegiance and profit from the deerskin trade with the Choctaws.

Fearing French retribution for his diplomatic foray, Adair moved east and spent several years out of the public eye. In 1758,

he reemerged with advice for William Henry Lyttelton, South Carolina's new governor, about a possible land invasion of Mobile. Adair offered to lead Native American warriors into battle, but nothing came of the plan. During the Cherokee War (1759–1761), Adair did lead a Chickasaw war party against the Cherokees and returned to trade among the western Chickasaws following the war, where he finished the work on his *History*.

This book, published in 1775, was Adair's most important contribution to history and has since served as a major source of southeastern native ethnography. Adair died around 1780, location unknown.

ROBERT PAULETT

See also

Cherokee War; Chickasaws; Choctaw Civil War; Choctaws; Glen, James; Indian Presents

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Admiralty Law

Admiralty law is a body of law dealing with trade, injuries, and various disputes that arise from seafaring. The deputy or the lieutenant of the admiral presided over the High Court of the Admiralty in England. The latter is believed to have been established as a civil court by King Edward III in 1360, although the power of the lieutenant of the admiral to decide disciplinary cases in the fleet, as well as matters of piracy and prizes, originated even earlier. At first there were separate admirals or rear admirals of the north, south, and west to deal with cases, but by the 1440s these were merged into one court presided over by a lord high admiral.

In theory the lord high admiral had the power to resolve all maritime disputes, but in practice he divided his power among judges appointed to head local courts of vice admiralty in various ports. The first of these was in Jamaica in 1662. The procedural rules followed by the vice admiralty courts resembled those in courtsmartial rather than the common-law courts.

The first vice admiralty court established in mainland North America was in Maryland in 1694. By 1768, there were 10 vice admiralty courts in the English colonies. There were courts in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. In 1768, the vice admiralty courts were reorganized into four regional courts located at Halifax, Boston, Philadelphia, and Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina).

Admiralty law included case law and rulings concerning acts of Parliament. In 1696, Parliament passed the Act for Preventing Frauds and Regulating Abuses in the Plantation Trade, which gave jurisdiction to courts of admiralty in the colonies. In the 18th century, Parliament passed other legislation that changed the jurisdic-

tion of the vice admiralty courts. These included the Piracy Acts (1700, 1717), the Prize Act (1707), the Molasses Act (1733), the Sugar Act (1764), and the Stamp Act (1765).

The vice admiralty courts in America had two basic jurisdictional areas. Prize cases occurred frequently because of the frequent wars Great Britain fought with other European powers during the colonial period. Both British and colonial authorities issued numerous letters of marque to privateers, privately owned vessels that preyed on enemy shipping. The privateers captured a large number of enemy vessels, known as prizes. These vessels had to be brought into an English port, with their disposition decided by a vice admiralty court. Only then could the vessel be condemned and sold.

The other jurisdictional area comprised "cases of instance." These were cases in which a plaintiff brought suit in the "instance" of some claim involving injury aboard ship, failure to pay wages to a seaman, suits for salvage, or rulings on bottomry bonds (a kind of lien) on a ship.

Piracy was not generally a matter for vice admiralty courts. Felonies on the high seas or piracy were normally tried in commonlaw court, sometimes with the participation of a vice admiralty judge.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Piracy; Privateering

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African Americans

African Americans had a long history of military service in North American colonial warfare, particularly in the Southeast and the Caribbean. They served as soldiers, sailors, fatigue men (erecting fortifications, improving breastworks, digging ditches, building bridges, etc.), pioneers (soldiers who prepared roads or terrain for the main body of troops), and musicians (drummers or fifers). Black participation in North American warfare often benefited both colonial governments and African Americans. Spanish, Dutch, British, and French colonies all used blacks (free, indentured, or slave) as a key source of manpower, and black participants frequently sought military service as a means of economic, social, political, and military advancement.

Throughout the colonial period, European imperial rivalries employed black men to clear land, plant crops, build fortifications, and to protect frontier boundaries of private landholdings and royal territories. The incorporation of African Americans and Native

Americans to fill the vacuum of manpower needs also had an economic benefit for colonial governments; non-Europeans were less expensive to house, equip, and feed. But as African Americans and Native Americans performed their labor-intensive roles to meet the defense requirements of extended colonial empires, they often faced poor living conditions, minimal pay, social and military exclusion, and prejudicial judgments of their skills and bravery. The military experience of black men, however, varied with each colonial government, and their treatment depended on the severity of the slave system in which they lived. Because of the variety of slave experiences, African Americans associated themselves with the government that could best address their self-interests and their demands for equality and inclusion.

Spanish Florida offered free blacks and runaway slaves one of the best opportunities for equality and inclusion in colonial America. By sheltering runaway slaves, Spanish governors were able to settle and protect territory threatened by colonial rivals and former slaves were able to find refuge in the Spanish colonies. Although runaway slaves could rebuild family ties, form new relationships, and earn rewards and social advancement for their militia service in Spanish America, colonial administrators still feared the autonomous African American. This was the case with Francisco Menéndez, runaway slave, veteran of the Yamasee War (1715-1717), and commander of a slave militia in Florida. Menéndez's loyal service, however, was not rewarded with freedom. Instead, he and nine other escaped slaves were reenslaved and sold at auction. But Menéndez and his militiamen persisted in their fight for freedom, arguing that their loyal service warranted liberty, not servitude. Their persistence eventually paid off; accompanied by his newly freed militiamen, Menéndez was appointed leader of the largest free black community of the era, Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mosé, located two miles north of St. Augustine. Unlike Spanish officials, French, Dutch, and English colonial authorities made no concerted effort to create an allfreemen or -slave militia except in the Caribbean during times of war and used African Americans on a more conservative basis.

The number of slaves and freemen in New France (except in Louisiana) was small in comparison to the number in Spanish America. New France required little skilled and gang labor because it was a colonial empire based on fur trade and mission colonies, with no economic base in which a slave system could produce profits. However, New France did attempt to answer their manpower needs by introducing large numbers of slaves between 1677 and 1704 to work fisheries, mines, and agricultural fields. But French officials could not obtain slaves immediately or profitably and never developed an intercolonial slave trade. After 20-odd years, New France abandoned the slavery system that could not be molded to fit to the economy of French North America. Only in Louisiana, where sugar plantations thrived, did slavery become firmly established.

War and rumors of war benefited slaves in the English colonies bordering New France. During King William's War (1689–1697), for example, French authorities appealed to the self-interests of slaves by offering them freedom if they left their English masters.

14 Aguayo Expedition

African Americans who sided with the French, however, discovered that they left behind an English slave system that offered some community inclusion for a French system that did not offer freedom, but rather domestic servitude.

In Dutch and English colonies, African Americans saw only intermittent service during times of colony necessity. Their semiexclusion was continually modified by colonial militia laws to restrict any black assertiveness that challenged the colonists' social structure. When the need arose to suppress Native American uprisings or to defend against European intrusions, African Americans were called to serve in the militia, which was a mixture of colonial mandate and community service. They were often compensated with noncommissioned officer promotions, pay, land, and freedom. A 1703 South Carolina act, for example, promised any slave who killed or maimed the colony's enemies his freedom, with the master of that newly freed slave to be compensated with public money to purchase a replacement. Their service, most often supervised by white officers, was usually mandatory and required all blacks between the ages of 15 and 60 to serve. Reluctant to empower blacks with weaponry, however, colonial and local authorities relegated African Americans to supportive roles. With the exception of slaves in frontier communities, African Americans were not allowed to carry arms or ammunition and were sent to work as pioneers, fatigue men, and musicians.

Similar to the militia laws in the northern colonies, southern militia statutes changed because of sociopolitical fears. The greatest concern for southern plantation owners was their large slave population. If African Americans were going to serve in the militia, the southern colonial governments had to ensure slave loyalty. When the need for African American service ended or when slave uprisings threatened, colonies disarmed blacks and prohibited them from serving in militias. For example, South Carolina, a colony that had incorporated slaves into its militia for more than 30 years, excluded all blacks from militia service after the Stono Rebellion in 1739. The causes for the rebellion are a matter of debate, but it is suggested that one of the reasons for the revolt was the many accounts of former slaves from Carolina obtaining their freedom by escaping to Spanish Florida. The 60 to 100 rebelling slaves seized a cache of weapons, burned plantations, and killed whites. Because of the Stono Rebellion, Carolinians put a 10-year hold on slave imports into Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) and created slave codes that banned slaves from earning money or becoming educated.

After 1763, the spread of republican ideology in Britain's American colonies led African Americans to petition for their freedom and take part in antislavery movements. The British desired to use blacks as a source of manpower and appealed to the self-interests of the slaves, who had little to lose in material goods or property. Even though African Americans met all the requirements to be labeled as revolutionaries, proslavery sentiments limited black military participation in the American colonies before 1776. Further-

more, the Continental Army could not employ black soldiers as readily as local militias because it was comprised of men from 13 separate colonies with varying degrees of racial acceptance.

As the king's representative in Virginia, John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, took full advantage of the Anglo-American hesitancy. His November 1775 proclamation declared that all indentured servants and slaves would be freed from bondage if they enlisted into the ranks of the British Army. The proclamation did more than fill the ranks with laborers who desired escape from repression; it also played on colonists' fears of servile insurrection. Dunmore's desired effect was to create panic among rebellious planters and cause them to leave the revolutionary cause and return home to protect their families and property. The colonials reacted swiftly when word of Dunmore's proclamation reached them, and they immediately took countermeasures. Virginians quickly responded with their own declaration. Their declaration condemned Dunmore's proclamation as an attack on Virginia's society and threatened slaves who joined him.

Nevertheless, it was not loyalty to the Anglo-Americans or British that led African American soldiers to fight, but the promise of personal freedom, which British officials used to draw thousands of slaves who performed important support functions for the British Army.

James J. Schaefer

See also

King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Lord Dunmore's War; Menéndez, Francisco; Militias; Stono Rebellion; Yamasee War

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Aguayo Expedition

Start Date: 1720 End Date: May 1722

Spanish effort to resettle Spanish colonial lands in East Texas, organized by Joseph de Alzor y Virto de Vera, Second Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, in response to French incursions from Louisiana in 1719. At the time, neither the Spanish nor the French had much of a presence in the region, which was controlled by Hainai and Caddo natives. Aguayo set out to change that, and the Spanish viceroy of New Spain commissioned him to do so with a

500-man force organized as the mounted infantry Battalion of San Miguel de Aragón. A staggering 4,000 horses and livestock provided transportation and provisions. Aguayo's strategy was to use overwhelming mounted force and negotiations to bring about Spanish reclamation of East Texas.

The French had already occupied Natchitoches and gained control of the Old San Antonio Road from Natchitoches to San Antonio and into Mexico. The road was a trade route for illegal goods into Mexico from French and English North America. The French also began to divert trade through newly established New Orleans. Aguayo sought to use his massive expedition to reestablish Spanish trade dominance and regain control of the region without engulfing Spain in a prolonged war that might threaten both.

From Mexico the expedition reached San Antonio on April 4, 1721. It then proceeded toward old Spanish settlements on the Trinity River. Natives and Frenchmen east of the river responded favorably, and French commander Louis Juchereau de St. Denis agreed to withdraw to Natchitoches. Eventually, France would abandon Natchitoches and further settlement attempts in the region, turning its attention to Louisiana. The Aguayo expedition reestablished six new missions, rebuilt the presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes to protect missions from hostile natives and prevent future French intrusion into East Texas.

After leaving some of his men in East Texas, Aguayo returned to San Antonio in the fall of 1721. While in San Antonio, he established a new mission, San Francisco Xavier de Náxara, and rebuilt the presidio of San Antonio de Béxar. He then moved to La Bahía, where he founded the Nuestra Señora de Loreto presidio and the Nuestra Señora del Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga mission. Aguayo ultimately returned to Coahuila in May 1722 after leaving behind 219 men who had participated in the expedition.

Aguayo's expedition permanently established the Spanish claim to Texas by increasing the number of Texas missions from 2 to 10, the number of Texas presidios from 1 to 4, and the number of soldiers stationed in Texas from 50 to 269. Never again would France seriously dispute the territory, partly because New Orleans was becoming a new, if somewhat independent, center for illicit trade and piracy in the Gulf of Mexico.

CHRISTOPHER HOWELL

See also

Louisiana; Presidio San Antonio de Béxar (Texas); Texas

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Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of Event Date: October 18, 1748

Agreement concluded on October 18, 1748, in Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen, Germany) that marked the end of the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748). Generally speaking, the principle of status quo ante bellum, or restitution of the situation before the war, shaped the terms of the treaty.

Under provisions of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the House of Hanover retained the succession in both its German states and in Britain. The treaty also guaranteed the right of Habsburg archduchess Maria Theresa to Austrian territory in the Pragmatic Sanction. However, it weakened her position considerably because of its recognition of Prussia's conquest of the Austrian territory of Silesia. Conversely, Prussia's acquisition of this rich territory marked its arrival as a great power in Europe. The agreement also provided that Don Philip, the second son of King Philip V of Spain, be given Parma, Piacenza, and Gusastalla in Italy; his brother Charles retained Naples and Sicily.

Maria Theresa was determined to recover Silesia, and her subsequent success in forming a powerful coalition of states against Prussia led Frederick II of Prussia to mount a preemptive strike against Austria in 1756, beginning a new general European struggle known as the Third Silesian War or Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle also failed to resolve the Anglo-French struggle for commercial supremacy in the West Indies, Africa, and India. The treaty provided for the return of the fortress at Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island in North America to France, and Madras in India was returned to Great Britain.

The return to France of Louisbourg was a particularly bitter pill for the British colonists in North America to swallow. This great fortress commanded the entrance to the St. Lawrence River, the lifeline of New France. Louisbourg also served as a base of operations for French privateers who harassed New England commercial interests. During King George's War (1744–1748), the North American phase of the War of Austrian Succession, in May and June 1745 a colonial force of 4,000 men led by William Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, and William Pepperrell, a wealthy merchant from Maine, conducted a successful siege of Louisbourg. Two subsequent French attempts to recapture the stronghold ended in failure.

The restoration of Louisbourg to France without consultation with the colonists produced a wave of indignation throughout British North America. Consequently, the British government agreed to bear the cost of the Louisbourg expedition, but this failed to allay colonial concerns over the designs of the leaders of the British Empire. In turn, that discontent fostered a belief among the colonists that they must take control of their own affairs in order to defend their interests. Indeed, the seeds of discontent that would in 1775 erupt in rebellion were sown in the 1740s.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle thus merely served as a truce in the long-running Anglo-French contest for control of North America. That rivalry would finally be decided in favor of Great Britain as a consequence of the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

DEAN FAFOUTIS

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); France; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Great Britain; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Louisbourg Expedition; Pepperrell, Sir William, Jr.; Privateering; Shirley, William; Spain

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Alamance, Battle of Event Date: May 16, 1771

Battle fought on May 16, 1771, in Guilford County, North Carolina, between 1,500 militiamen under the command of Royal Governor William Tryon and 2,000 to 3,000 so-called Regulators, who were protesting farmers from the backcountry counties. The Battle of Alamance was the largest violent confrontation between opposing forces of Anglo-Americans in the entire colonial period.

Between 1768 and early 1771, backcountry farmers in North Carolina had accused several county and colonial-level officials of corruption. In the summer of 1768, Governor Tryon confronted approximately 3,700 Regulators who had gathered in the town of Hillsborough to observe and protest the trials of several of their leaders. With this show of force, Tryon was able to convince the Regulators to return to their homes. In late 1770 and early 1771, however, backcountry protests once again flared and Tryon began planning an assault on the Regulators in the spring.

Tryon mustered militia companies from several counties in March 1771 and began marching west toward the Regulator strongholds. At the same time, General Hugh Waddell, a general charged with raising loyal militia forces in the western counties, marched toward the east. While a large force of Regulators blocked Waddell's advance, Tryon's force camped on Great Alamance Creek, near present-day Burlington, North Carolina.

On May 16, 1771, a force of poorly armed Regulators numbering between 2,000 and 3,000 men approached the militia encampment and demanded to entreat the governor. Tryon agreed to none of the Regulators' demands but offered all except their leaders amnesty if they swore an oath of allegiance and returned to their farms. After the last parley, Tryon held hostage one of the Regulator negotiators and later ordered his execution within view of the main body of Regulators. The battle commenced shortly afterward.

In the early minutes of the battle, the Regulators held their own against the militia. Both sides were relatively disorganized, and it is

clear that many of the Regulators had not anticipated a real battle. In fact, several of the principal Regulator leaders had departed from the main force before the fight had begun. Without a clear rank structure or any sort of commanding authority, the Regulators failed to mount any real threat to the governor's force. Once the militia began firing its artillery piece, the Regulators were soon dispersed. Each side lost 9 men. Sixty-one militiamen were wounded, and an unknown number of Regulators were injured in the fight. In the days after the battle, 12 Regulators were convicted of treason and 6 of them were hanged. Although several Regulator leaders remained at large, the insurrection was effectively ended.

CRESTON LONG

See also

North Carolina; Tryon, William

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Albany Conference

Start Date: June 19, 1754 End Date: July 11, 1754

The Albany Conference, also known as the Albany Congress, met from June 19 to July 11, 1754, to repair deteriorating relations between the government of New York and the Iroquois Confederacy. In 1753, Mohawk leader and spokesman Chief Hendrick (Theyanoguin) had informed then-governor George Clinton that "the Covenant Chain is broken between you and us" and that New York's proximity to New France necessitated good relations to protect the fur trade and frontier defenses. The French had already begun reasserting old claims to the territory from the Great Lakes down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and asserting new claims to the Wyoming Valley. Their claims were emphasized by the construction of Fort Duquesne at the Forks of the Ohio. The Board of Trade ordered the northern colonies to convene at Albany in order to renegotiate Indian alliances and trade agreements and assess the status of frontier defenses. As the delegates arrived, George Washington's debacle at Jumonville's Glen in May and his besiegement at Fort Necessity should have added a note of dire urgency to the proceedings.

On the contrary, however, the Albany Conference became a tangle of political intrigue interlaced with the backroom maneuvering of land speculators, primarily from New York, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania. They all coveted Wyoming Valley territory and other Iroquois lands and sent agents to negotiate purchases of lands occupied by the Delawares and Susquehannocks, who generally were not privy to the proceedings. Spurious land claims conflicted

with fraudulent deals brokered by unscrupulous Indian representatives and white middlemen, and these exacerbated preexisting rivalries centered on territorial claims and acquisitions. New York, which saw itself as the primary theater in any future colonial war with France, demanded that Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New England assist in financing the construction of a string of defensive forts in Iroquoia, demands that were summarily rejected. New England was particularly loath to do anything for the benefit of New York, as Massachusetts intermittently clashed with New York over joint claims to the land in present-day Vermont. Further, it saw no sense in committing precious funds to an endeavor that would not protect New England, which was also concerned about New France's proximity.

The political and economic ambitions of the presiding officer, New York's Gov. James Delancey, who was also New York City's most powerful merchant, were also on display at the conference. The assembly provided Delancey a platform from which to advance his mercantile interests in the Iroquois fur trading network as well as the political and financial aspirations of William Johnson, an influential Mohawk Valley trader. Together they cultivated the patronage of Thomas Pownall, a younger brother to the secretary of the Board of Trade, who sent to the Earl of Halifax reports of the conference that emphasized the positive contributions of Delancey and Johnson. Benjamin Franklin, a Pennsylvania delegate, likewise networked with Pownall to advance an idea he had for an intercolonial union. However, like the local politico-mercantile intrigue that infected the conference, larger scale political rivalries involving the American and British clients of aristocratic patrons in England precluded substantial progress toward viable colonial defense.

Franklin's Albany Plan of Union, for which the Albany Conference is best known, and which Pownall enthusiastically supported, involved an ambitious redefinition of the colonies' status within the British Empire. Cognizant of the uneven British administration of colonial affairs in America and the dangers of American disunion, Franklin proposed to solve these problems with the creation of a grand council composed of elected delegates from each colony. The council would administer affairs directly involving military defense, Indian affairs, intercolonial relations, and western land policies, as well as have the power to tax the colonies for mutual defense. It would be overseen by a royally appointed president general who would report to the secretary for the Southern Department and thus streamline imperial administration. Despite some initial interest in the plan, it was soundly rejected by the delegates, who knew that their respective assemblies would not share authority with another body, and by Whitehall, which did not wish to relinquish its growing direct control over the American colonies. Although the Albany Conference was a failure in terms of grand designs, it turned out to be lucrative for a number of men, especially William Johnson, who was appointed superintendent for northern Indian affairs in 1756 and eventually received a knighthood for his work during the French and Indian War.

IOHN HOWARD SMITH

See also

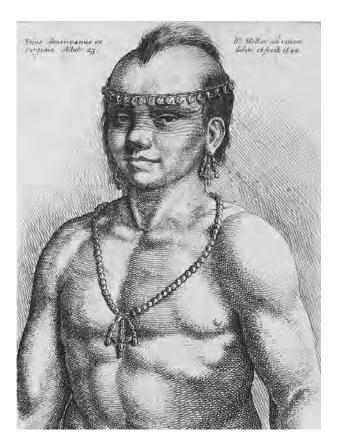
Covenant Chain; Franklin, Benjamin; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Intercolonial Relations; Iroquois Confederation; Johnson, Sir William; Jumonville's Glen, Action at

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Algonquins

Native American people who occupied the Ottawa River Valley, the border between the present-day Canadian provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Either Algonquin or Algonkin are acceptable spellings of the tribal name, although in their own language the Algonquins call themselves "Anishnabe" or "Anishnabe," meaning "original person" (the plural is "Anishnabek" or "Anishnabeg"). The word "Algonquian" (Algonkian) refers to a group of languages that include those of not only the Algonquins but also the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Crees, Blackfeet, and Ojibwas, among others.



A 1645 portrait of an Algonquin Native American with facial markings and wearing a necklace and head ornaments. (Library of Congress)

Algonquian is, in fact, the largest North American native language group. The Iroquois, however, referred to the Algonquins as "the Adirondack" (literally, "they eat trees").

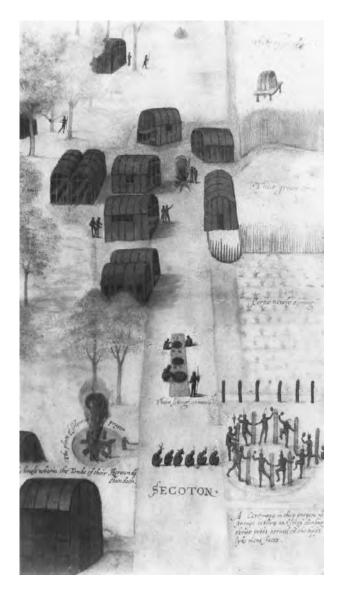
In 1603, when they first encountered the French, the Algonquins probably numbered some 6,000 people. In 1768, the British estimated their population at 1,500 people. The Algonquins were a seminomadic people, being too far north for settled agriculture. In contrast to the neighboring Iroquois to the west and the south, who lived primarily by agriculture in large fortified communities, the Algonquins were hunter-gatherers and trappers who lived in villages. Their shelters were of birchbark, known as waginogans or wigwams, and Algonquins traveled by water in birchbark canoes. In winter the villages split into smaller extended family units for hunting. The harsh winter conditions would not allow additional burdens, and the Algonquins were in consequence often known to kill the sick or badly injured among them. Algonquins were patrilineal, with hunting rights passed down from father to son. The Algonquins were known as fierce warriors, and they dominated the Iroquois until those tribes came together in the Iroquois Confederation.

When Jacques Cartier first arrived in the St. Lawrence River in 1534, he found only Iroquois-speaking people living in the area between Stadacona (Quebec) and Hochelaga (Montreal), but following near-continual warfare between the Iroquois and the Algonquins from 1570 and the resultant formation of the Iroquois Confederation, the Iroquois drove the Algonquins north from the Adirondack Mountains and upper Hudson River Valley. The Alqonguins in turn displaced or absorbed Iroquois-speaking native peoples along the St. Lawrence.

In 1603, Samuel de Champlain made contact with the Algonquins when he established a French trading post along the St. Lawrence at Tadoussac. He soon learned that the Hurons rather than the Algonquins dominated the upper St. Lawrence. Anxious to secure both free passage and furs, in 1609 Champlain joined the French to the struggle among the natives of the region by committing himself to aiding the Algonquins, Montagnais, and Hurons in an expedition against the Mohawks of the Iroquois Confederation. Although by the time of the battle, the French contingent numbered only Champlain and two others, their firearms proved the difference and the Mohawks fled.

This victory brought a formal alliance between the French and Algonquins and trade in furs in exchange for the European tools and weapons sought by the Native Americans. By 1610 the Algonquins, led by their chief, Piskaret, dominated the St. Lawrence Valley. In the process, however, the French had made an implacable enemy of the Mohawks. In 1614, Champlain participated in an Algonquin-Huron attack on the Oneida and Onondaga natives, cementing the Iroquois enmity toward the French. Soon the French were doing most of their fur trading with the Hurons rather than the Algonquins, much to the displeasure of the latter.

Intermittent fighting continued between the Mohawks and the Algonquins and Montagnais. In 1629, the Mohawks attacked the Algonquins and Montagnais near Quebec in what is usually consid-



Drawing of an Algonquin village by John White, ca. 1585. His paintings of the Indians of the North Carolina coast are among the earliest to be created by a first-hand witness to the lives of the native peoples. (Library of Congress)

ered the beginning of the so-called Beaver Wars, which lasted until 1700. This fighting was prompted by the desire of the Iroquois to expand northward. During 1629–1632, taking advantage of the temporary defeat of the French by the English, the Mohawks drove the Algonquins and Montagnais from the upper St. Lawrence Valley. Peace terms allowed the French to return to Quebec in 1632, when they sought to restore their allies by furnishing firearms to a number of them. This effort proved unsuccessful, especially as the Dutch in turn provided the Mohawks with large quantities of the latest firearms. By the end of the 1640s, the Mohawks and Oneidas had driven the remaining Algonquins and Montagnais from the upper St. Lawrence and lower Ottawa River areas. The Iroquois had also defeated the Hurons.

The arrival of a contingent of regular French troops in 1664 allowed the Quebec government to conclude a lasting peace with the Iroquois three years later. The French then resumed trading

with the western Great Lakes region. The peace also permitted the Algonquins, now greatly reduced in number, to begin returning to the Ottawa Valley.

Although only some Algonquins converted to Catholicism, the nation as a whole was bound to the French cause during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). In August 1760, after British forces had taken Quebec, the Algonquins and other French Native American allies made peace with the English, agreeing to remain neutral in any future fighting between the English and French. This agreement sealed the fate of New France.

The Algonquins continued their new loyalty to the British, fighting on their side during the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783) and taking part in Lieutenant Colonel Barry St. Leger's campaign against Patriot forces in the Mohawk Valley in 1777. Following the war, when many British Loyalists fled to Canada, the British government settled a number of them on lands in the lower Ottawa Valley purchased from the Algonquins. Despite this, the Algonquins also fought on the British side in the War of 1812, helping to defeat U.S. troops in the Battle of Chateauguay in October 1813. The Algonquin reward for their loyalty was to be continually pushed off their ancestral lands. Ultimately, purchases by the Canadian government resulted in the establishment of reserves (reservations) for the Algonquins in their former homeland. Today the majority of remaining Algonquins live on nine reserves in the province of Quebec and one in Ontario.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Beaver Wars; Champlain, Samuel de; Hurons; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Mohawks

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Amherst, Jeffery

Born: January 29, 1717 Died: August 3, 1797

British Army officer and commander in chief of British forces in America (1758–1763) and commander in chief in Britain (1778–



Lieutenant General Jeffery Amherst, British commander in North America during 1758–1763. (Library of Congress)

1782, 1793–1797). Jeffery Amherst was born on January 29, 1717, on his family's estate of Brooks Place, in Riverhead, Kent, England. Amherst's military career began in 1731, when his influential neighbor and patron, Lionel Cranfield Sackville, Duke of Dorset, used his influence with Sir John Ligonier to help Amherst obtain a commission in the 1st Foot Guards. Amherst first saw active service during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) as an aide-de-camp to Ligonier. He secured the rank of lieutenant colonel by 1745. During the early part of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Amherst served on the staff of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, second surviving son of King George II.

Amherst's career accelerated in 1758, when Prime Minister William Pitt appointed him to command a joint Anglo-American expedition to capture the French fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island in North America, with the temporary rank of major general in America. British and American forces landed on June 8, 1758, and forced the garrison's surrender on July 26. The British owed their success as much to naval superiority as to Amherst's abilities, though he managed effectively both the siege and his sometimes impetuous subordinate James Wolfe.

In September 1758, Pitt appointed Amherst to overall command in North America. Amherst marched from Albany and occupied Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point before poor weather ended the campaign. In the opinion of some, Amherst moved too sluggishly, but he recognized the importance of pacing his own advance with that of Wolfe down the St. Lawrence River. Wolfe prevailed at Quebec, and the following year Amherst commanded a successful offensive against Montreal, forcing the surrender of New France on

September 8, 1760. Rarely before had any commander coordinated the convergence of three forces from such widely distant starting points. Amherst received honors for his accomplishment, including promotion to lieutenant general in January 1761.

Although Amherst disliked American provincial troops, he maintained the all-important working relationship with American colonial officials. Americans later named several towns for him, including Amherst, Massachusetts, the home of the University of Massachusetts and Amherst College.

France's surrender altered the balance of power to the disadvantage of many northern Native Americans. This situation called for skillful diplomacy, but Amherst was lacking in this area. He sought to halt the British practice of providing "gifts" to the Native Americans, which the latter regarded not as simple grants but the reasonable cost of purchasing their political partnership. British officers experienced in Indian politics warned Amherst that his policy change would bring war. Even though Amherst's intransigence brought about the ensuing conflict, known as Pontiac's Rebellion (1763), he acted forcefully to quell the rebellion. During the conflict, the British employed biological weapons, namely, blankets allegedly laced with smallpox. While Amherst approved of their use, several subordinates likely introduced biological agents on their own initiative. Amherst was recalled and left for Britain on November 10, 1763.

While Amherst never received the public accolades he hoped for on his return, he received several promotions and offices, was made a peer, and sat in the House of Lords. He was offered command of British forces in America in 1774 and 1777 but declined both times. In 1778, he was promoted to general, became commander in chief in Britain, and organized the defense of Britain against the planned Franco-Spanish invasion of 1779. In 1780, he commanded the forces that suppressed the Gordon Riots. He was recalled as commander in chief in 1795 and promoted to field marshal that year. Amherst died on August 3, 1797, at Riverhead, Kent. While he never enjoyed consistent success, Amherst was nevertheless one of the foremost British soldiers of the 18th century and contributed significantly to the development of early America.

MARK H. DANLEY

See also

Crown Point (New York); Fort Ticonderoga, Battle of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Louisbourg, Siege of; Montreal; Pontiac's Rebellion; Wolfe, James

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Amherst's Decree

Event Date: 1761

Decree issued in August 1761 by the British Army commander in chief in North America, Major General Sir Jeffery Amherst, that strictly regulated trade and exchanges with Native Americans in the North American colonies. A direct cause of Pontiac's Rebellion (1763), Amherst's Decree marked a dramatic shift in Britain's policies toward Native Americans as the French and Indian War drew to a close.

With France's power diminishing in North America in the late 1750s, its traditional Native American allies sought new arrangements with the British. Amherst sought to regulate Anglo-Native American relations by enacting a series of rules for such relations in the late summer and fall of 1761. In August of that year, simultaneously issuing a proclamation to all colonial governors and sending instructions to Indian Superintendent Sir William Johnson, Amherst announced a four-part policy change, mandating that (1) traders were prohibited from journeying to native villages to conduct business, compelling the native peoples to transport their trade goods to British forts; (2) British officials would no longer bestow on tribes large gifts, which had become substantial components of the Native American economy; (3) Native Americans were to be denied access to alcohol; and (4) only very limited amounts of ammunition or gunpowder could be transferred to native peoples. By these means, Amherst hoped not only to control Anglo-American contact with Native Americans but also to transform them into the British conception of sober, hardworking people.

Johnson vociferously protested Amherst's Decree. He argued that such measures would disastrously disrupt native societies and give them a common grievance that might unite them against the British. Amherst turned a deaf ear to his arguments, however, and the policies remained in place.

Elizabeth Dubrulle

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Johnson, Sir William; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Ammunition, Small Arms

Individual firearms projecting lead projectiles by means of the rapid burning of black powder probably were the single greatest factor in the European conquest of North America. On the arrival of Europeans in the New World in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, this weapon was hardly more effective—often less so—than the bow, which could fire arrows at the rate of a dozen per minute, or the crossbow, which fired its bolts or quarrels at the rate of several per minute. The European matchlock firearm was heavy, slow to load, and plagued by misfires. However, the black powder used to project a lead ball from the firearm initially had a tremendous psychological advantage over Native Americans, thanks to the drama of ignition.

When the Europeans first arrived in North America, they brought with them matchlock firearms. The French version was typical; it fired a .66-caliber bullet from its .72-caliber bore. The followon flintlock used the same lead projectile, but these weapons varied widely in caliber, especially among the militia, from .50 to .80.

An individual using a firearm had to contend with many problems. He had to have a cleaning needle ready to free a clogged touchhole. The lead ball had to be the right size to fit the barrel of the weapon. Repeated firing with black powder produced a considerable residue in the bore (fouling), which presented difficulties to forcing the lead ball down the bore, even with a metal ramrod. For that reason, the difference between the diameter of the ball and the diameter of the bore (windage) was often considerable. In the early matchlock, the powder charge was ignited by the use of a slow match. In rain or snow, the burning match might be extinguished, rendering the firearm useless.

With the slow match and resulting smoke, surprise attacks were difficult if not impossible. Flintlocks, which came into widespread use at the end of the 17th century (the first British military flintlock was introduced in 1682), improved the reliability to the firing process, but misfires were nonetheless common. Despite their shortcomings, firearms gave the Europeans tremendous psychological superiority over their native enemies until both possessed that weapon and its ammunition.

The universal projectile for the matchlock and flintlock was a round ball cast of lead. Its shape was suited to unstabilized flight. As firearms came in a bewildering array of different calibers, especially for militia (who supplied their own weapons), their owners usually cast their own shot. Bullet molds were of iron, brass, steatite, or soapstone.

In the early colonial period, it generally required 1 ounce of black powder to fire a lead ball weighing 1.25 ounces. Gunpowder varied widely in its quality and composition. During the colonial period, it was produced in limestone caves in Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, where saltpeter (potassium nitrate) was found. The second ingredient, sulfur, was imported from volcanic regions. Charcoal was produced locally from willow and poplar. The usual gunpowder formula used by the English was 75 percent saltpeter, 15 percent charcoal, and 10 percent sulfur. French manufacturers used 75 percent saltpeter mixed with equal amounts (12.5 percent) of charcoal and sulfur.

These three ingredients were ground and mixed in a mortar fashioned out of an old log or some other hard wood. The pestle was usually of bronze. The charcoal was moistened with water and then pulverized saltpeter; sulfur was then added to the mix. At the end of this mixing process, which lasted several hours, a cake was produced and dried for future use. Rather than go through this laborious process, however, some black powder manufacturers used a "rolling barrel" method to mix the three ingredients before making a cake destined for the same drying process. During the colonial period, very little black powder was manufactured in America, and little attention was paid to scientific standards. Unsatisfactory American-produced gunpowder remained a problem into the American Revolutionary War.

Black power was stored in 6.25-pound wooden kegs provided by the powder factories. When in the field, the powder was stored in metal flasks or horns from oxen. For regular army units, the powder might be made up in cartridges that contained the bullet and sufficient powder to fire it. The paper wrapper was torn open on loading.

Gun flints became the method of ignition for firearms, but obtaining good gun flint was never easy. The best flints came from Brandon quarries, near London. They were sold in tubs or sacks of 5,000 to 20,000. When exported, the quantities were cut and ranged from 2,000 to 5,000 flints.

Though trade in arms and ammunition was universally outlawed in the early settlements, the Dutch led the way in providing the natives with arms and ammunition. A high-grade beaver pelt might purchase 8 pounds of black powder. The same beaver pelt bought 40 pounds of lead for bullets. During this period, the French demanded four beaver pelts for 8 pounds of black powder or three beaver pelts for 40 pounds of lead.

It was impossible for the colonial authorities to end the trade in guns and ammunition. The Native Americans soon recognized the value of firearms and were anxious to trade for them. Traders were eager to oblige, no matter what laws had been passed to stop such traffic. In 1640, the English Crown passed a law forbidding ammunition and arms trade with Native Americans. The law was ignored, and English traders subsequently armed the Cherokee and Catawba tribes. Farther north, the Iroquois Confederacy enjoyed the best ammunition that the trade could supply. Nevertheless, uniformity of supplies was unknown.

THOMAS BLUMER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Artillery, Land; Artillery, Naval; Bow and Arrow; Harquebus; Lance; Muskets; Pistols; Rifle

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Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts

Elite Massachusetts Militia unit chartered in 1638 and still in existence today. The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts became an important foundation of what would later become the tradition of the American citizen-soldier. The company's purpose has changed over time from training young gentlemen officers for militia duty to patriotic and historic preservation with special emphasis on supporting the military.

English colonists brought the militia tradition with them to New England and formed several such organizations in the New World. In 1637, former members of the Honorable Artillery Company of London organized to provide military training and discipline in Boston. The company gained its charter from Gov. John Winthrop of Massachusetts and the General Court in 1638, despite their initial resistance to such a venture. The colony's Puritan elite distrusted the merchants, who made up much of the company's membership, because the merchants engaged in transatlantic and Native American trade, exposing them to outside ideas and tendencies toward religious toleration.

The colony's leadership nevertheless concluded that the private company would be helpful to defense, despite the dangers collecting such men under arms might present to the establishment. Company men such as John Underhill led nearly all of the militias in New England's subsequent colonial wars and served prominently in the American Revolutionary War. Since then, company members have served in all of the wars of the United States. The company served as an elite social club as well as a military organization, a function that assisted in its transition from an active military unit to a historical and military-supporting organization. Company members have included four presidents and eight holders of the Medal of Honor.

GRANT WELLER

See also

Massachusetts; Militias; Underhill, John; Winthrop, John

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Andros, Edmund

Born: December 6, 1637 Died: February 19, 1714

British soldier and royal governor of New York (1674–1681), the Dominion of New England (1686–1689), and Virginia (1692–1698).



Sir Edmund Andros, English soldier and royal governor of New York (1674–1681), the Dominion of New England (1686–1689), and Virginia (1692–1698). (Library of Congress)

Edmund Andros was born in London on December 6, 1637. His first experience with war came when he was a boy and his father's connections to King Charles I forced the family to flee the city during the English Civil War. Andros's military career began as an ensign in the Dutch army while he was still in exile from England. However, the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 brought him into the service of the burgeoning royal army, and for his dedication to the Stuart Crown, James, Duke of York, appointed him governor of New York in March 1674. Andros was among the most powerful and controversial of England's colonial administrators and military commanders.

Andros's diplomatic skills not only enabled New York largely to avoid the devastation of King Philip's (Metacom) War (1675–1676) but also led to the creation of the famed Covenant Chain, a 1677 treaty that secured decades of peace between the English and the Iroquois. Yet Andros was also willing to use force to protect and expand English interests in North America. Those critical of Andros's authoritarian style and his ties to the troubled Stuart monarchy repeatedly ousted him from office, only to find him reappointed to positions elsewhere in the colonies and even knighted for his services to the Crown.

Recently seized from the Dutch, New York held many challenges for Andros. When Andros arrived in New York following his appointment in 1674, he immediately set to work improving the colony's defenses while winning over influential Dutch merchants and Iroquois leaders. His relations with neighboring Connecticut proved more contentious, especially after the outbreak of King Philip's War

in 1675. Officials there condemned the governor's policy of offering asylum to Native Americans and accused New Yorkers of arming Metacom's forces. Although Andros's request for an Iroquois attack on Metacom helped turn the tide of war and saved New England from further ruin, its Puritan leaders were dismayed by the Crown's later decision to have the devoutly Anglican Andros govern them.

Andros was removed as governor of New York in 1681 following accusations that he had mismanaged royal revenues. Yet he still retained the duke's favor. After James became king in 1685, he chose Andros to administer the newly created Dominion of New England in 1686, which effectively stripped New Englanders of self-governance. Again Andros was quick to strengthen the dominion's defenses by rebuilding decaying forts, reorganizing the militia, and beefing up frontier forces.

In 1688, Andros personally led troops against Abenaki warriors who had begun attacking settlements in Maine. While there he learned of the "Glorious Revolution" against James II, which Andros's political opponents used to force his resignation in April 1689. Bereft of the governor's military and diplomatic skills, New England would suffer badly during the war with France that followed.

For his part, Andros won the patronage of the new sovereigns, William and Mary, who appointed him governor of Virginia in February 1692, a position he retained until his retirement in May 1698. Learning from his New England experience, Andros showed considerable flexibility in handling a variety of complex issues. Nonetheless, a feud with commissary James Blair led Andros, who was by then both elderly and ill, to retire. Returning to England, Andros served briefly as governor of Guernsey. He died in London, on February 19, 1714.

JONATHAN M. BEAGLE

See also

Abenakis; Covenant Chain; Dominion of New England; Glorious Revolution in America; Iroquois; King Philip's War; New York; Virginia

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Anglo-Dutch War, First

Start Date: May 1652 End Date: April 1654

The first of three 17th-century wars between the English and Dutch. As with its sequels, the First Anglo-Dutch War was a naval conflict with its roots firmly planted in the heated commercial maritime competition between the two rival nations. By 1650, the Dutch presence in the waters around England and in the vicinity of the English colonies had become a concern to English commercial

interests. Because of their vast merchant fleet, the largest in Europe, the Dutch were the leaders of the European carrying trade. Indeed, much of what was imported into England came to port in Dutch ships. In the North Sea, Dutch fishing fleets were beginning to outnumber and crowd out those of England. Meanwhile, the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, at the mouth of the Hudson River, was a constant threat to London's edict that its North American colonies trade only with the mother country.

England's maritime power in the middle of the 17th century was much less developed than that of the Dutch, but that was beginning to change. In the wake of the English Civil War (1642–1649), Parliament began to play a greater role in the governing of England. Because much of Parliament represented the burgeoning merchant class, government policy became more responsive to commercial interests. As such, the maritime dominance of the Dutch began to draw more concern and resentment. Also contributing to the growing animosity was the fact that Dutch ships often carried French goods and France had openly sided with the Royalist cause during the Civil War. To answer this, Parliament began expanding the English Navy with ships specifically built for battle. By the end of the Civil War, England possessed the largest number of purpose-built warships of any European nation.

In the wake of the war, Parliament turned more directly to the problem of the Dutch. Thus, in August 1651 it passed the first Navigation Act. This legislation decreed that goods coming into England had to be carried in English ships (or at least the ships of whatever country from which the goods in question came), fish sold in England had to be from English fishing fleets, Parliament had the authority to tax the North Sea fishing areas, and that foreign commercial ships were excluded from the English coastal trade. Moreover, England claimed ultimate sovereignty over the Channel waters and that English ships had the authority to stop and search any ship, and to demand a formal salute from foreign ships passing through these waters. The Dutch, realizing the threat to their economy created by this act and the likelihood that the policies regarding the Channel would inevitably result in conflict, began taking steps to protect their shipping.

In 1650, there was no clear agreement on either the most effective type of ship for battle or on naval tactics. These questions would be settled by the long experience of the three Anglo-Dutch Wars.

As far as battle fleets were concerned, the Dutch Navy stood in sharp contrast to that of England. The bulk of the Dutch fleet consisted of hundreds of armed merchant ships. The few purpose-built Dutch warships tended to be lightly armed. The *Brederode*, by far the largest warship in the Dutch fleet, could carry as many as 60 guns, but it was the exception. The Dutch naval policy reflected the traditional ideas of combat at sea. The most famous Dutch admiral, Maarten Tromp, was devoted to the time-tested tactics of grappling and boarding opposing ships, for which expensive purpose-built battle ships were less necessary.

In contrast, the English fighting fleet emerging under Parliament's design boasted almost 20 ships mounting more than 40

cannon each. Furthermore, and just as important, the English ships carried far heavier cannon than those of the Dutch ships. The largest English warship, the *Sovereign of the Seas*, mounted 100 guns. Alongside these were numerous other warships, including many of the new class of frigates, which usually mounted between 32 and 38 guns. These ships were designed not for a grappling and boarding melee at sea but for stand-off battle with cannon fire.

In 1651, the English began seizing hundreds of Dutch ships in the English Channel, making a clash all but inevitable. In May the next year came the first real fight between English and Dutch fleets. When the English, led by General at Sea Robert Blake, demanded a salute from Tromp's fleet, the latter refused and Blake opened fire. Tromp lost two ships before retiring. Immediately after, war was formally declared. Most of the fighting over the next three years involved one battle fleet trying to attack merchant convoys or fishing fleets while its opposite number tried to escort such unarmed ships. On September 28, 1652, in the Battle of Kentish Knock, the English under Blake battered a Dutch fleet, in the wake of which several Dutch commanders were imprisoned for cowardice. Two months later, however, on November 30, in the most heavily contested fleet action of the war, Tromp bested Blake and the English fleet off the southeast coast of England near Dungeness. The defeat came as a shock to the English. It was then compounded by the unacceptable results of a lengthy engagement during February 18-20, 1653, off Portland in which the Dutch lost 12 warships and more than 40 merchant ships. The English lost only 1 or 2 ships; 3 others were disabled. The Battle of Portland was, in fact, a turning point in the war, for the Channel was now effectively closed to Dutch shipping. Yet in spite of the heavy losses, Tromp was able to escort the bulk of an important convoy through the Channel to the Netherlands.

In the wake of these engagements, the English reviewed their tactics, leading to the issuance of the first Fighting Instructions in March 1653. These called for line-ahead formations to make maximum use of the heavier broadside guns. More than any other single innovation, this tactic brought an end to grappling and boarding. It grew naturally out of the heavy armaments of the English ships. Given that most of the English commanders were former land generals (hence the rank of "general at sea") who had been shifted over to naval warfare, and that linear tactics were firmly established as the way to fight on land, this highly disciplined "lineahead" formation was not that surprising. It did, however, prove to be extremely effective, especially with large, slow, and heavily armed warships. Soon, such ships, capable of standing in the main battle line, would be known as ships of the line or line-of-battle ships. The term survived into the 21st century.

By July 1653, the English fleet was blockading the Dutch coast, determined to use economic pressure to force an end to the war. Just as determined to break the blockade, Tromp sailed out in August with more than 100 ships. In the Battle of Scheveningen off the Dutch coast on July 29–31, the English purposefully set out to maintain the line-ahead formation once the fleets came into close contact even though the Dutch kept up their melee tactics and the

use of fire ships. Tromp was killed early in the action and the Dutch lost several warships that the increasingly strapped government could not soon replace. Even though the English fleet was too damaged to sustain the blockade and was forced back to port, the Dutch began to see the conflict as hopeless. Scheveningen proved that for the time being, at least, the English heavy-gun battle fleet would be able to control the North Sea.

Scheveningen was also the last major battle of the war. Oliver Cromwell, who gained control of the English government and declared himself "Lord Protector" of the Commonwealth in late 1653, had little desire to continue a bitter and costly struggle with another Protestant nation. At his insistence, the Treaty of Westminster was signed in April 1654, bringing the first Anglo-Dutch War to a conclusion.

The end of the war, however, was anything but conclusive. On the one hand, England's Navigation Acts remained in place. On the other hand, however, so too did the Dutch carrying trade, despite the fact that the Dutch had lost around 1,500 merchant ships during the conflict. England dropped its most ambitious claims regarding its right to tax fishing in the North Sea, but little of substance was resolved. Ultimately, neither nation achieved the real goals for which it had been fighting.

During the war, fighting almost occurred between the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam at the mouth of the Hudson River and the surrounding English colonies. In April 1653 delegates from the New England colonies met with Dutch director general Petrus Stuyvesant at New Amsterdam and accused the Dutch of stirring up the natives to attack the English in Connecticut. Although Stuyvesant denied the charges, the English colonies threatened war before departing. Stuyvesant took these threats seriously and caused the northern defenses of the colony to be strengthened from the East River to the Hudson.

The New England governments were not able to agree on a common policy toward the Dutch, however. As it worked out, the most damaging part of the war for New Amsterdam was the cutting off of trade with the Netherlands. In 1654, England did send a squadron of four ships to New England with the intention to employ them in a descent on New Amsterdam. Peace was declared before that expedition could be mounted, however.

Peace did not last long, for the first Anglo-Dutch War proved to be merely one act in a longer struggle. Indeed, the English seized Jamaica in 1655. Fighting resumed a decade later with the issue no less than which power would control the sea.

DAVID A. SMITH

See also

English Civil War, Impact in America; Great Britain; Great Britain, Navy; Naval Warfare; Navigation Acts; Netherlands; New Netherland; Warships

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Anglo-Dutch War, Second

Start Date: January 1664 End Date: July 21, 1667

Armed conflict between the Dutch Republic and England, primarily waged at sea. The Second Anglo-Dutch War had its beginnings in the compromise ending the First Anglo-Dutch War of 1652–1654. The April 1654 Treaty of Westminster, which ended the fighting, had left largely untouched the serious issues growing out of the economic competition between the two nations. In retrospect, the treaty could be more accurately described as a cease-fire rather than as a substantive settlement. To no great surprise, neither state was willing to lay aside practices it regarded as central to its national interest. Because these national interests were seen as mutually incompatible, it was only a matter of time before hostilities flared up again.

In the wake of the restoration of the English monarchy and the ascension of King Charles II to the throne in 1660, trade remained the central point of irritation between England and the Dutch Republic. The ongoing development of the economic concept known as "mercantilism" ensured that the two countries would remain bitter rivals. Charles II saw the well-developed and world-wide Dutch trading system as no less of a threat than had the merchants who had dominated the House of Commons during the previous decade. As colonies, particularly those in North America, became more important for the prosperity of both the English and the Dutch nations, tensions far removed from the North Sea and the English Channel increasingly had the capacity to drive the two countries back into war.

Awareness of this tense situation was not limited to London or Amsterdam. From the East Indies to the African coast to the Caribbean and the Atlantic seaboard of North America, wherever colonies of the two competitors found themselves in close proximity, there was the likelihood for competition to spill over into conflict. Isolated and independent fights were common. The Dutch East and West India companies and Dutch operations in West Africa were all more developed than any English colonial endeavor. Dutch colonial administrators were not hesitant to harass English shipping or activity in what they regarded as their own area of interest.

It did not take long before bitter complaints over this activity began to reach Parliament. In 1661 and again in 1663, Parliament authorized small squadrons to cruise the western coast of Africa and take reprisals against the Dutch for affronts both real and per-



Gov. of New Netherland Petrus Stuyvesant destroys a summons to surrender New Amsterdam to the English. Alienated by Stuyvesant's tyrannical rule, the people of New Amsterdam surrendered to the English without a shot being fired in 1664 during the Second Anglo-Dutch War. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

ceived. In January 1664, Captain Robert Holmes, in command of a small squadron, captured the Dutch fort of Goeree and attacked three other outposts in western Africa. When word of this reached the Netherlands, the Dutch government ordered Admiral Michiel Adriaanszoon de Ruyter to sail down the coast and retake the forts.

Before de Ruyter arrived, however, Holmes had departed the African coast and sailed across the Atlantic to attack New Amsterdam, the Dutch colony in North America. In August, Manhattan Island fell to the English squadron supported on land by a colonial force of militia from nearby English colonies such as Connecticut. New Amsterdam was promptly renamed New York in honor of King Charles II's brother, James, Duke of York and lord high admiral of the British Navy. De Ruyter, in response, hastened across the Atlantic himself and attacked English merchant fleets around Barbados. The Dutch formally declared war in January 1665. The English responded the following month, and the Second Anglo-Dutch War was on.

Both fleets were substantially more prepared for war in 1665 than had been the case in 1652. The Dutch had modernized and now relied

not on hastily armed merchant ships but on heavily armed ships of the line similar to those of the English. While each fleet had about the same number of total ships, Dutch ships rarely mounted as many and as heavy cannon as did comparable English ships. None, in fact, carried more than 76 guns, whereas the English boasted at least eight ships with between 80 and 100 guns. The heaviest English guns were 32-pounders, whereas 24-pounders were the heaviest guns shipped by the Dutch. The shallow bays and estuaries of the Netherlands limited the new Dutch ships to two gun decks, whereas the English possessed some deep-draft three-deckers. England also was moving toward a better organized fleet, separated into squadrons with lines of battle divided into van, center, and rear divisions, commanded by vice admirals, admirals, and rear admirals, respectively. Maneuvering into battle was now based on the line-ahead tactic.

The English were the first out of port and promptly moved to blockade the Dutch. While the Dutch fleet was assembling, the English took up station just outside the string of barrier islands known as the Texel. For more than two weeks the English fleet remained in place, capturing several merchant ships. But the Dutch did not emerge to challenge. Bad weather and a shortage of provisions required the English fleet to return to port, after which the Dutch fleet emerged in mid-May.

The first big battle of the war occurred on June 3, 1665, off Lowestoft on the eastern coast of England. The English fleet was led by Prince Rupert, Duke of Cumberland; James, Duke of York; and Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich (van, middle, and rear, respectively). The Dutch were led by Baron Opdam van Wassenaer, backed up by Cornelius van Tromp. Early that morning, the two fleets sailed past one another, both in line-ahead formation, exchanging heavy fire. The two lines then wheeled around and passed each other again, still exchanging fire the entire way. The sound of cannon fire could be heard all the way to London. The English tacked about and this time came on the same heading as the Dutch. Consequently, the exchange of fire became heavier and more continual.

Shot from the English ships ignited the magazine in Opdam's flagship *Eendracht*. A resulting massive explosion literally blew the ship apart and killed the admiral and all but five of the men aboard. Dutch ships then began to break out of formation, shattering the tactical integrity of the Dutch line. Soon the Dutch were in flight, but the English pursuit was halfhearted because of a dispute over who should assume command. Nonetheless, for the loss of only 1 of their own ships, the English captured 14 and sank 18 of the Dutch. While Lowestoft was a great victory for the English, the weaknesses it exposed manifested themselves again in later engagements.

In January 1666, France joined in the war on the side of the Dutch. The French Navy, in the midst of reform and modernization, suddenly became a serious concern of the English. To guard against the rumored arrival of a French squadron from the Mediterranean, the English chose to divide their naval strength. Against the resulting smaller force, the Dutch saw an opportunity. The fleet they assembled in the spring of 1666 was the strongest ever faced by the English to that point and actually outnumbered that of the English.

Beginning on June 1 when the fleets came into contact, the Dutch and English pounded one another. In the bloody running fight that became known as the Four Days' Battle, the Dutch took numerous English ships. When the battle ended with the Dutch breaking it off and returning to port, the English had suffered a tactical defeat. They had lost 10 ships and the Dutch only 4.

In the wake of the Four Days' Battle, much to the astonishment of the Dutch, the English were able to refit and refloat a substantial fleet within weeks. On August 4, 1666, St. James' Day, the two fleets met again, southeast of Orfordness. The English had 89 ships, the Dutch 88. It ended in an English victory and a subsequent attack on August 9 by English fire ships on Dutch merchant ships riding at anchor and the destruction of some 150 of them.

Despite this success, the English were under heavy financial strain from the war. Sailors' pay was in arrears and oftentimes ships put to sea with insufficient provisions. By the summer of 1667, the English crown was in such dire financial straits that the entire battle fleet was holed up at bases downstream from London in the Medway River. Charles believed that the Dutch were on the verge of collapse themselves, and that commerce raiding alone could carry the war that year.

This was an opportunity that de Ruyter could not let pass. In June his fleet sailed into the Thames estuary, up the fleet's primary anchorage of the Medway River, cut the protective booms, and burned, sank, or towed away numerous ships, including the English flagship *Royal Charles*. It was the darkest day in the history of the English Navy, and an utter humiliation for Charles II.

After the raid, de Ruyter kept up a blockade of the Thames. The English economy was crippled and Charles quickly opened negotiations. In a matter of weeks, on July 21, 1667, England, France, the Netherlands, and Denmark concluded the Treaty of Breda, bringing the Second Anglo-Dutch War to an end.

The English conceded to the Dutch demand that shipped goods would be covered by the flag of the ship on which they sailed, not the country of origin. This secured the Dutch carrying trade. Also the English modified some of the Navigation Acts to allow for more Dutch participation in English commerce. The main achievement for the English, on the other hand, came in America, where New Amsterdam (New York) remained an English colony.

Not only Manhattan Island but also several pieces of territory in the Western Hemisphere changed hands as a consequence of the war. In compensation for the loss of Manhattan, the Dutch retained control of Suriname on the northern coast of South America, increasing their presence in the Caribbean, whereas England regained control of the Caribbean islands of Antigua, Saint Kitts, and Montserrat, which had been taken by the French. Elsewhere in North America, the Treaty of Breda returned Acadia from English to French control.

Clearly the English had failed in their principal war aim to wrest control of the seas from the Dutch. The Dutch understood that they no longer had to win a war with the English but only to avoid defeat. In the wake of the Treaty of Breda, England and the Netherlands

temporarily laid aside their differences and, with Sweden, formed a short-lived alliance to resist the expansionist policies of King Louis XIV of France.

DAVID A. SMITH

See also

Anglo-Dutch War, First; Great Britain, Navy; Naval Warfare; Navigation Acts; Netherlands; New Netherland; Warships

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Anglo-Dutch War, Third

Start Date: March 13, 1672 End Date: February 9, 1674

Armed conflict that pitted the Dutch Republic against England and France. The Third Anglo-Dutch War was substantively different from the previous two conflicts between the English and the Dutch. The most obvious difference was that France inserted itself into the ongoing rivalry between the two powers. This action was in part prompted by the Dutch having joined England and Sweden in the anti-French Triple Alliance of 1668 in the wake of the Second Anglo-Dutch War. However, the primary French motive was King Louis XIV's desire for territorial aggrandizement. Despite longstanding animosity between the French and English and growing rivalries overseas in places such as North America, the two monarchies this time saw common ground.

King Louis XIV's chief minister, Controller General of Finance Jean-Baptiste Colbert, was more responsible than anyone else for a rapid and substantive buildup of the French Navy. He knew that England coveted Dutch trade (as did the French) but that apart from slight territorial change in North America, the two previous Anglo-Dutch Wars had done little to advance English ambitions. Colbert also understood the desperate need of England's King Charles II for money. Most important, Colbert knew that his own sovereign was bent on acquiring Dutch territory. An alliance with England, secured by French financial aid, could bring Louis XIV the territory he sought.

In 1670, the French government offered Charles II an annual payment of £200,000 (almost half the English naval budget) and the pledge of a French fleet that would operate under overall English command in concert with the Royal Navy if Charles would join his nation to France against the Dutch. On May 22, 1670, Charles agreed



Michiel Adriaanszoon de Ruyter, one of the greatest admirals in Dutch history and a key figure in the Anglo-Dutch Wars. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

and signed the secret Treaty of Dover. Charles not only secured desperately needed funds but also hoped to secure for England some territory in the Netherlands.

The war began on March 13, 1672, when English ships attacked in the Channel the Dutch Smyrna convoy, which nevertheless escaped. France then sent 120,000 troops to attack the Dutch frontier forts on land. Once again Admiral Michiel Adriaanszoon de Ruyter led the Dutch fleet at sea. He hoped to prevent the allied naval forces from combining and descending on the Netherlands. Owing to delays in the arrival of the Zeeland squadron, de Ruyter failed to prevent the allied convergence.

The French ships sailed to Portsmouth in early May and were there soon joined by the English fleet. Admiral Comte Jean d'Estrées, flying his French flag in the 78-gun *St. Philippe*, commanded an impressive force of 33 ships of the line and frigates, including 7 ships of 70 guns or more each. James, Duke of York, again led the English fleet, this time from the 100-gun *Royal Prince*, an imposing three-decker. The Earl of Sandwich was again his second in command. Shortly thereafter the allied fleets put to sea.

De Ruyter captured one French ship in the North Sea, then sighted the allied fleets on May 19. Although de Ruyter was anxious to engage the enemy force, heavy fog precluded this and the two fleets separated. Instead of attempting to renew contact with the Dutch, the allied fleet moved to Solebay (Sole Bay, today

Southwold Bay, Suffolk), England, on the English east coast, just south of Lowestoft.

Together the allied French and English possessed 74 ships of 40 guns or more, the Dutch but 62. In total number of ships, the English had 98 and the Dutch 75. The English and French ships were both heavier in tonnage and weight of broadside. Many of the English and French ships were also new, whereas the Dutch had launched no new ships since 1667.

Although he was outnumbered, on the morning of May 28 de Ruyter came on the allied fleet unawares and thus had the tactical advantage. The agreed-on tactic was to form in line-ahead formation. De Ruyter had adopted the line-ahead tactic as well, along with the English practice of forming his fleet into distinct and partially independent squadrons. He still intended, however, that the battle would be decided by close action and, if possible, boarding. Because the allies had been caught by surprise, they were not able to complete their line of battle as planned before battle was joined.

As de Ruyter bore down on the English and French ships, d'Estrées missed a crucial English signal flag and led the French ships generally southward. The English ships, once underway, sailed north. De Ruyter sent a smaller number of his ships after the French, mainly to contain them, but led the bulk of his force against the English.

The fighting, especially the action between the Dutch and English, was intense. James's *Royal Prince* was set afire and he had to transfer his flag not once but twice. The Earl of Sandwich eventually ordered his crew to abandon his ship, the *Royal James*, after it was set ablaze by a Dutch fire ship. Sandwich himself was killed transferring his flag. Ultimately, both sides were exhausted and the Dutch withdrew. Dutch losses included two ships and 1,600 killed, against the allied loss of the *Royal James* and 2,000 killed. Both sides claimed victory in the fiercest naval engagement of the three Anglo-Dutch wars, but de Ruyter had been successful in his immediate objective of preventing or delaying a direct allied naval thrust against the Netherlands.

Animosity between the allies flared in the wake of the battle, with many Englishmen accusing the French of cowardice or even treachery. Public sentiment throughout much of England was already aggravated by the French alliance. Since the end of the Second Dutch War, relations had actually improved between England and the Netherlands, and although few in England regarded the Dutch as friends instead of competitors (and many desperately wanted revenge for the Dutch raid on Medway in the second war that had destroyed much of the English Navy), most saw Catholic France as the real foe.

As events at sea unfolded, the French Army took the field. As Louis XIV's armies drove on Amsterdam in 1672, the Dutch government was obliged to open miles of dikes protecting the city and flood much of the low-lying countryside. This desperate move stopped the French and saved the Dutch Republic.

In May 1673, in preparation for an English invasion of the Netherlands, Prince Rupert of the Rhine, who had replaced James as commander of the English fleet on account of the latter's conversion to Catholicism, led an attack on the Dutch fleet in its coastal anchorage. In the ensuing May 28 and June 4 battles of Schooneveld (a long, narrow basin controlling seaborne access to the Scheldt and Maas rivers), de Ruyter with 52 ships contested and drove off 76 heavier gunned and better manned English and French ships under Rupert and Comte d'Estrées. The net effect of the battle was that the English expeditionary force remained in port. De Ruyter then went on the offensive, driving the English ships into the Thames, but he was forced to raise his blockade of the river on the outbreak of plague aboard his ships.

In August, the last great sea fight of the war occurred off the Dutch coast. Following completion of repairs in mid-July, Prince Rupert took the English fleet of 62 ships of the line and frigates to sea, where they joined 30 French ships of the line and frigates under d'Estrées. Counting fire ships and smaller vessels, the allies had 143 ships. On July 17, the allied fleet, transporting a large number of soldiers, sailed for Scheveningen to effect a landing. De Ruyter put to sea from Schooneveldt at about the same time as the allies. He had 115 vessels, including 70 ships of the line and frigates.

The allies refused battle and, after inconclusive maneuvering, de Ruyter returned to port. The Prince of Orange then ordered de Ruyter to do battle, but bad weather delayed the Dutch fleet sailing until August 7, when de Ruyter made for the Texel, a coastal island, where the allied ships were reportedly located. The two fleets sighted one another on the morning of the 10th.

De Ruyter fought the ensuing August 11, 1673, Battle of the Texel (also known as the Battle of Kijkdiun) with great skill. No ships of the line on either side were lost, although the Dutch inflicted many more personnel casualties because of the large landing force aboard the English ships. Despite the inconclusive nature of the fight, de Ruyter had freed the Dutch ports from blockade and frustrated the allied invasion plans.

Fighting also occurred overseas. The British repulsed a Dutch attack on Bombay but, in the New World, a Dutch squadron under Cornelius Evertsen ("the Youngest") and Jacob Binckes, wrought considerable destruction to the French possessions in the West Indies, then sailed north. On July 28 it appeared off New York, which several days later was forced to surrender. Before the Dutch had lost it as a consequence of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, the colony had been known as New Amsterdam. Now the Dutch named it New Orange.

Bereft of funds to continue the fight in the teeth of public opposition, Charles II on February 9, 1674, reluctantly signed the Treaty of Westminster. This took England out of the fight, ending the third, and last, Anglo-Dutch War. The treaty was quite advantageous to the English. The Dutch agreed to strike their flag in the Narrow Seas (English Channel), places taken by either side during the war were to be returned (thus New Orange reverted to New York), and the Dutch agreed to pay an indemnity of 800,000 crowns (which, however, was in effect cancelled out by debts owed the English crown to the House of Orange). In December, both sides concluded a treaty

of commerce. Most important for future developments, in 1677 the Anglo-Dutch alliance was recognized in the marriage of Princess Mary of York to William Prince of Orange.

The war between the Dutch Republic and France continued for four more years, with Spain and Austria ultimately joining the fight against France. When peace was finally restored in 1678, the Dutch regained all the territory lost on land. Nonetheless, the severe financial strain of the war and the need to maintain an effective land force against possible future French aggression, assisted the English in their quest to control the seas, for they were able to concentrate on the fleet alone. Also, during the continued fighting between the Dutch and France, English shippers were able to secure much of the Dutch carrying trade.

The three Anglo-Dutch Wars brought about fundamental changes in the English Navy as well as new tactics, helping it to prepare for the next struggle at sea, this time with France. Politically, the conflict saw the rise of William of Orange, future king of England and architect of the alliance against France that would initiate a century of intermittent global conflict.

DAVID A. SMITH

See also

Anglo-Dutch War, First; Anglo-Dutch War, Second; France; France, Navy; Great Britain; Great Britain, Navy; Naval Warfare; Warships

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Anglo-Powhatan War, First

Start Date: August 9, 1610 End Date: April 5, 1614

The first war between a Native American nation and the English, which began in Virginia in 1610. The main catalyst for war was European encroachment on traditional Powhatan lands and the latter's violent reaction to these usurpations. With the end of the war, the issue of land ownership remained unresolved as European settlements covered an ever increasing area. In the end, the only solution for the Native Americans was to retreat to the interior in the face of steady European migration westward.

It took only three years for large-scale violence to erupt between Native Americans and English settlers, who had arrived at Jamestown in 1607. Sporadic violence between the colonists and the Powhatans had taken place from the beginning, but leaders on both sides had tried to exercise restraint. There was, of course, a clash of cultures but the concept of land ownership was the chief cause of antagonism. The natives used land communally; private ownership was an entirely foreign concept for them. Europeans, on the other hand, believed strongly in private land ownership and erected fences and walls to demarcate such ownership. As more and more Europeans arrived in Virginia, they also cut down the forests and killed or drove away the game on which the natives depended for both food and clothing.

Chief Powhatan, leader of the confederacy of tribes that bore his name, naively believed that he could tolerate a colonial trading post at Jamestown, where his people would have access to European trade goods, such as metal tools. It took three years for Powhatan to realize that Europeans had come to the new world not to trade but primarily to obtain land, land heretofore within his area of control. In the end, war was Powhatan's answer to European encroachment.

Although the Europeans possessed firearms, Powhatan's warriors were armed with the bow and arrow, a highly effective weapon in the early 17th century. The natives also enjoyed the advantage of knowing the land.

In 1610, Powhatan informed the Jamestown settlers that he would tolerate no further exploration of the region. He also warned the English to restrict themselves to Jamestown, the trading post he had desired from the beginning. Almost immediately after Powhatan's warning, on July 6, 1610, members of the Nansemond tribe murdered a group of English settlers who were living among them.

That summer, Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, newly arrived governor of Virginia, chose to ignore Powhatan's continuing threats and sent a group of explorers up the James River to search for valuable minerals. At the time, the colonists still harbored quixotic visions of becoming rich from discoveries of rare minerals such as gold and silver. At the Indian village of Appomattox, the natives convinced the explorers to enter their village to eat and rest. The explorers naively accepted the offer, and all but one were slain.

The settlers sought retribution and, acting on de la Warr's orders, on August 9, 1610, George Percy, a member of the powerful Northumberland family who had been appointed a deputy in the colony's government, led 70 men to the village of Paspahegh of the Powhatan Confederation. There the English took captive a wife and children of Chief Wowinchopunch, who ruled the town but was subordinate to Powhatan. His wife was taken into the woods and killed. Once they reached the James River, the English threw the children into the water and shot them as they struggled to escape. In all some 50 natives were slain. Wowinchopunch vowed revenge for the attack. Percy's men burnt some other Indian villages and seized their stocks of corn before returning to Jamestown.

The fighting quickly spread. Native warriors, led by Opechancanough, attacked Jamestown and laid siege to its fort. The settlers raided native villages and burned crops. Over a three-year span, both sides continually harassed the other, although no pitched battles occurred. The actual number of fatalities on both sides is unknown.

The war was fought native-style, replete with ambushes, kidnappings, and torture until 1614. Powhatan's favorite daughter, Pocahontas, had been lured aboard an English ship and captured by Captain Samuel Argall and held hostage since April 1613. Three months later Powhatan agreed to negotiate an end to the violence and offered the English food in return for his daughter's release. Argall saw the value of his prisoner and made greater demands; Powhatan accordingly offered a considerable ransom for Pocahontas's return. In the meantime, English reinforcements arrived, lifting the native siege of Jamestown.

In the end, the English arrived at a political solution. John Rolfe had settled in Jamestown in 1610. He introduced tobacco as a cash crop and was among the wealthiest of Virginians. Rolfe and Pocahontas married at Jamestown on April 5, 1614. The wedding of Powhatan's daughter to one of the most important men in Virginia sealed the peace agreement, which required Powhatan to return all of the English captives, runaways, tools, and firearms in his people's possession.

THOMAS JOHN BLUMER

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Jamestown; Nansemonds; Native Warfare; Opechancanough; Pocahontas; Powhatans; Virginia

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Anglo-Powhatan War, Second

Start Date: March 22, 1622 End Date: 1632

Armed warfare between the Powhatan people and English settlers near Jamestown, Virginia. Also known as the Virginia-Indian War, the Second Anglo-Powhatan War began on March 22, 1622, with a massive, surprise assault by the Powhatans on the English settlers near Jamestown.

The Powhatans' attack stemmed from native fears that the English were becoming too numerous and were taking too much territory. But hostilities had been simmering between the English and the Powhatans since the end of the First Anglo-Powhatan War (1610–1614). The Powhatans were frustrated by English exploration, their demands for food, and the way in which they self-righteously pushed their culture and religion on them.

After Chief Powhatan settled that first war without a victory in 1614, his actual power declined. Although Powhatan remained paramount chief until his death in 1618, his younger brother Opechancanough and others hostile to the English dominated Powhatan diplomacy after that time.

For years, Opechancanough lulled the colonists into a sense of security with friendly overtures and by ignoring their abuses. The English saw the period between 1613 and 1622 as a golden age in their relations with the Powhatans. They traded freely with the natives and frequently welcomed them on their plantations and in their homes. The English thus felt shocked and betrayed when the attack occurred.

While Opechancanough was appeasing the English, he quietly negotiated with the various Powhatan tribes to join in a fight that would eliminate the English threat. More tribes were persuaded to fight after 1617, when tobacco became an extremely profitable crop in Virginia. Between 1617 and 1622, some 3,000 English settlers arrived to take advantage of the tobacco boom. Thus, settlement spread far beyond Jamestown and put unprecedented pressure on the local natives.

Just before the first assault on March 22, 1622, two Powhatans betrayed Opechancanough's plans and warned the English of the coming attack. Nonetheless, the native offensive was indeed costly to the colonists. The Powhatans killed 347 settlers that day, about one fourth of the entire English population in the colony.

Once the colonists regrouped from the devastating March attack, bitter fighting ensued between them and the Powhatans. The English launched raids against Powhatan towns and sniped at any native in range of their firearms. They made treaties with the Powhatans only to break them, as in 1623 when they brought poisoned wine to a feast to toast a new peace accord.

Still, nearly another quarter of the English population died in the following year from small-scale native raids, starvation, and from dysentery and other diseases. The climax of the war came in a large-scale battle at the town of Pamunky in 1624, in which the English were victorious. The native threat to the English diminished greatly after the battle, and peace was finally negotiated in 1632.

The Second Anglo-Powhatan War permanently changed English views toward Native Americans. Prior to 1622, many settlers envisioned living harmoniously among the natives, whom they expected to convert to Christianity and English cultural mores. The English, however, had not recognized how these goals were nearly impossible to achieve. Working against them were deep-seated cultural differences, and their desire to settle on "unoccupied" native land. As a result of the betrayal the English suffered by the conflict, they no longer desired to incorporate Powhatans as English subjects. Most English now wanted to rid the land of natives altogether, or at the least to keep them as servants or slaves.

Another result of the war is that King James I came to believe that the Virginia Company of London was mismanaging the colony and endangering the lives of the settlers. In 1624, the king declared



Depiction by Matthaeus Merian in 1628 of a surprise attack by Powhatan Native Americans on the English in the area of Jamestown on March 22, 1622. A total of 347 settlers died in the attack. (MPI/Getty Images)

Virginia a royal colony, which gave the settlers many new rights that they had not enjoyed under Company control.

Jennifer Bridges Oast

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, First; Anglo-Powhatan War, Third; Jamestown; Opechancanough; Powhatan (Wahunsonacock); Powhatan Confederacy; Powhatans; Virginia

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Anglo-Powhatan War, Third

Start Date: March 18, 1644 End Date: October 1646

The last major conflict between the English colonists and Powhatan Confederacy in Virginia. Also known as the Virginia-Indian War of 1644–1646, it broke the power of the Powhatans forever.

Following their defeat in the Second Anglo-Powhatan War, the natives had watched the growing number of settlers in Virginia occupy more and more Powhatan land. Eager to profit from the sale of tobacco, a crop that rapidly depleted the soil, the English expanded their settlements from the area along the James River to the territory on the York, Rappahannock, and Potomac rivers. At



Opechancanough, a leader of the Powhatan Native Americans in Virginia and younger brother of the powerful sachem Powhatan. An important negotiator with the English settlers, Opechancanough later led raids against them, including the massacre of English settlers around Jamestown in 1622. (North Wind Picture Archives)

the same time Virginia's settler population grew rapidly, reaching an estimated 8,000 people in 1640.

Opechancanough, the Powhatan leader, had few options. His people, whose population had dwindled below its 1622 level, had been pushed to the far western reaches of their land. If the Powhatans chose to abandon their homes and try to reestablish themselves among their native enemies in the West, they might lose their cultural identity and possibly their lives. To allow the English to occupy their remaining territory would render the Powhatans powerless, and the destruction of their culture was certain. War, the only remaining choice, seemed reckless given the odds against the Powhatans and the likelihood that defeat would mean annihilation.

Although Opechancanough was elderly (perhaps nearly 100 years old) and frail, his determination remained strong. Believing that the turmoil caused by the English Civil War might distract the Virginians and perhaps even bring Catholic Maryland into alliance with the Powhatans, he organized an attack on the Virginia settlements. Opechancanough also had the support of the native tribes along the Rappahannock.

The Powhatans and their allies struck on March 18, 1644. Borne on a litter by some of his men, Opechancanough led attacks on plantations in the heart of the English settlements along the James River. Other native parties attacked settlers on the upper reaches of the York and Rappahannock. The assault took the colonists by surprise, and 400–500 were killed in the natives' initial onslaught. Many others abandoned their farms and took refuge in fortified

buildings. Although the Powhatans had killed many more settlers than in their attack of 1622, the impact of the new attack was less significant. While the attack of 1622 killed a quarter of the English population, that of 1644 brought the deaths of one-twelfth of the settlers.

As in 1622, the Powhatans hesitated after their initial victories. Regrouping swiftly, the Virginians launched counterattacks against the natives' towns, burning buildings and crops and killing any natives they found. Within six months, the settlers had reoccupied all of their abandoned plantations and the Powhatans and their allies were in retreat. Sporadic fighting continued until the late summer of 1646, when Opechancanough was captured and brought to Jamestown. Shortly afterward, he was murdered by one of his guards who shot him in the back.

Opechancanough's death marked the end of Powhatan resistance. His successor, Necotowance, signed a treaty with Virginia in October 1646 in which the Powhatans ceded most of their remaining land to the English. The natives would henceforth be confined to the small portion of their territory allotted to them by the victors, in effect the first Indian reservations in North America. The Powhatans also agreed to surrender all English prisoners and firearms, to return any runaway servants who might come to them, and to pay an annual tribute of furs to Virginia. Unfortunately, only a few years passed before the English were again covetous of the land left to the Powhatans in the treaty. Thus, in less than 40 years, the powerful Powhatan Confederacy had been destroyed and English domination of the tidewater region of Virginia had been secured.

JENNIFER BRIDGES OAST AND JIM PIECUCH

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, First; Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Opechancanough; Powhatans; Virginia-Indian Treaty (1646)

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Anglo-Spanish War

Start Date: August 11, 1718

End Date: 1721

Relatively minor conflict between Britain and Spain arising from a European war. The Anglo-Spanish War in North America, which began in 1718, was part of a larger struggle in Europe, where the conflict was known as the War of the Quadruple Alliance. In the years following the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, Spain sought better rela-

tions with Great Britain, and the two nations had signed commercial treaties in 1715 and 1716. However, when Britain signed the Treaty of Westminster with Austria in November 1716, Spanish officials considered the agreement a threat to their ambitions in Italy, where Austria controlled territory coveted by Spain's King Philip V. Concern over Spain's Mediterranean policies and King Philip's dynastic claims to the French throne led Britain, France, and the Netherlands to form the Triple Alliance on January 4, 1717.

Spain opened hostilities in November 1717 by seizing Sardinia from the Austrians, and in July 1718 Spanish forces captured Sicily, a territory of Savoy. Austria responded on August 2, 1718, by signing the Treaty of London in which the Netherlands withdrew from the Triple Alliance and Savoy and Austria joined Britain and France in the Quadruple Alliance. The tide immediately turned against Spain, as a British fleet under Admiral George Byng destroyed Spain's naval forces in the Mediterranean at the Battle of Cape Passaro on August 11, 1718. British vessels also landed Austrian troops in Sicily.

The Spaniards countered with an attempt to incite an uprising in the French province of Brittany in 1718, and in 1719, 300 Spaniards landed in Scotland in hopes of inciting a Jacobite uprising. Both efforts failed. France retaliated by invading the Basque region of Spain in April 1719. And the British Navy exacted retribution with raids against the Spanish coast. The Netherlands declared war on Spain in August 1719.

Little fighting took place in North America between Britain and Spain, however. Spanish officials in Florida labored to consolidate their position there in case of a British attack. The post at Apalachee, which provided a link between St. Augustine on the Atlantic and Pensacola on the Gulf of Mexico, was reestablished, and the Spaniards strengthened their ties with the Creeks. The British, however, took no action other than to shore up their own defenses by constructing forts to protect the frontier of South Carolina. The Spanish hoped to mount an attack on the Bahamas and South Carolina, but the campaign was postponed when the fleet sailing from Havana to attack Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) was diverted to retake Pensacola, which had fallen to the French. At sea, warships and privateers from both sides engaged in commerce raiding.

The most severe fighting in North America was between France and Spain, and centered on Pensacola, which fell to the French early in 1719. The Spanish forces that had been diverted from the invasion of South Carolina recaptured the town in August 1719, only to lose it again a month later. A Spanish attack on the French at Mobile—also in August—was repulsed.

Warfare almost erupted between Britain and Spain in 1721, when the British established Fort King George on the Altamaha River (present-day Georgia) on territory claimed by Spain. South Carolinians also accused the Spaniards of giving refuge to escaped slaves. By then, however, the European war had ended with the signing of the Treaty of the Hague on February 17, 1720. Both England and Spain therefore sought a diplomatic solution to the

Florida-Georgia border dispute, which became moot when a fire destroyed Fort King George in 1725.

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See also

Florida; Fort King George (Georgia); Pensacola during the War of the Quadruple Alliance; South Carolina; St. Augustine

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Anglo-Spanish War

Start Date: October 1739

End Date: 1744

A conflict, also known as the War of Jenkins' Ear, between Spain and Britain during 1739–1744, fought mainly over commercial interests, which merged with the War of the Austrian Succession (King George's War) in 1744, when France entered the war. The Anglo-Spanish War broke a relatively peaceful interlude after the Treaty of Utrecht, signed in 1713. Although the American colonies would play an ancillary role in the war, fighting over English and Spanish possessions in southeast America was important in determining the future course of the empires.

Clashes over imperial commercial interests played a large part in the outbreak of the war. The Treaty of Utrecht allowed the British to sell slaves and one shipment of goods per year in the Spanish West Indies. But British merchants often exceeded the treaty's limits, and Britain became indignant about Spain's practice of boarding and searching its vessels for contraband. One such incident occurred in 1731, when the Spanish cut off the ear of a British seaman, Robert Jenkins, during a boarding skirmish. Amid rising tensions in 1738 over freedom of the seas, Jenkins brandished his severed ear before Parliament as an example of Spanish atrocities toward British merchantmen in the West Indies. His declaration committing his soul to God and his cause to his country helped whip the public into a frenzy of indignation over Spain's armed searches of British merchant ships. Despite Spain's offer to compensate English merchants, it did not repudiate the right to search. As a result, Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole's government declared war on Spain in October 1739.

England quickly established a clear set of war aims. Following an ambitious policy of aggressive commercial imperialism, the British hoped to destroy Spain's shipping, interdict its trade, and take possession of territory in the Spanish empire, particularly the disputed land in southeastern North America. The British had previously established Georgia as a military buffer state between English South Carolina and Spanish Florida, setting up forts in strategic locations and building settlements with security in mind. A fortified Georgia, however, threatened Spain's empire in North America, especially

Florida, which protected Spanish Cuba as well as Spanish shipping in the Gulf of Mexico and the Bahama Channel. As English colonists pushed their settlements as far south as the periphery of St. Augustine, Spain feared for the survival of Florida. Under the leadership of Colonel James Oglethorpe, the English colonists constructed Fort Frederica on St. Simon's Island and two more forts on Cumberland Island in the 1730s.

After attempts to settle on an Anglo-Spanish boundary between Georgia and Florida failed, Spain and England prepared for war. Spain sent supplies from Cuba in anticipation of an invasion of Georgia, whereas England sent 700 men to Georgia under Oglethorpe's command. With international tensions already brewing in Europe, the construction of Fort St. George on the St. Johns River, the gateway to interior Florida, led to the outbreak of hostilities between Britain and Spain in 1739.

On learning of the official declaration of war, Oglethorpe acted quickly. With a force of 200 men, he captured two Spanish forts behind St. Augustine and prepared for an attack on the fortress itself. With 1,200 Georgians, South Carolinians, and Native Americans, as well as a Royal Navy squadron of four 20-gun ships, Oglethorpe set out to attack St. Augustine in the spring of 1740. Disease and exposure to the oppressive Florida summer decimated the fighting strength of his men, however, and Oglethorpe could only manage an ineffective shelling of Fort San Marcos before calling off the siege. Britain's plan to expel Spain from Florida was thus put on hold.

The English also focused attention on Caribbean conquests. A small British fleet under Vice Admiral Edward Vernon captured Portobello, located near the northern point of the Isthmus of Panama, in November 1739. England's attempt to capture Cartagena, a fortified seaport on the northern coast of South America, however, was a dismal failure. Disease and supply shortages plagued the offensive. Out of roughly 3,600 American colonial recruits, only about 600 survived the expedition. Britain blamed the defeat on its colonial forces, considering them untrained and inexperienced, and so a visible distrust between the English and American colonials began to emerge.

Spain, meanwhile, had not given up on its desire to push the British out of Georgia, and in the fall of 1741, King Philip V issued orders for an attack on Georgia and South Carolina. Spanish forces, totaling as many as 1,800 men and under the command of Manuel de Montiano, began the assault the following spring. In a matter of weeks, the invasion crumbled in the face of Oglethorpe's stiff resistance, and Spanish fear of the appearance of the Royal Navy led to a withdrawal of their forces. Now a hero in the American colonies, Oglethorpe once again set off to attack St. Augustine in March 1743, but victory remained elusive. Returning to England, Oglethorpe continued the fight in Europe and eventually rose to the rank of full general in the army.

By the beginning of 1744, the Anglo-Spanish War in America had become a stalemate, and France reemerged as England's primary imperial rival. In addition to dynastic and territorial concerns in the Old World, the significance of worldwide commerce and empire in the New World was pushing the traditional enemies toward war. In

March 1744, the two countries made it official. Known as King George's War in America, the War of the Austrian Succession continued for another four and a half years.

RICHARD J. SHUSTER

See also

Cartagena, Expedition against; Florida; Florida, British Invasion of; Fort Frederica (Georgia); Georgia; Great Britain; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Montiano, Manuel de; Oglethorpe, James Edward; Portobello, Attack on; Spain; St. Augustine, Battle of; Vernon, Edward

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Apalachee Revolt

Event Date: February 1647

Insurrection of the Apalachee Native American people against the Spanish in Florida. In response to a variety of grievances, disputes with Spanish officials, and fears of Spanish colonization, Apalachee warriors revolted against Spanish missionaries in 1647. The Spaniards had developed friendly relations with the Apalachees beginning in 1597. After the initial meeting between the two nations, informal missionary work began throughout the province, but officially sanctioned missions did not appear in the Apalachee province until the early 1630s.

Unlike other areas where the Spaniards built missions, officials in St. Augustine considered the Apalachee province an excellent location for a future settlement. Thus, the government in St. Augustine kept a closer eye on the activities of its missions there than in other Spanish-administered areas. Despite the extra attention, however, the Franciscan friars entered Apalachee communities and went to work converting the native population. By 1635, approximately 5,000 of the 34,000 residents of Apalachee had converted to Catholicism.

Despite the Franciscans' successes, the missionaries injected significant tensions in Apalachee communities. Compared to Catholic missionary work elsewhere, the Spaniards in Florida rarely entered an area with a heavy hand. By the late 1630s, however, Spanish soldiers entered the province and tensions between the Apalachees and Spaniards increased.

In part, the soldiers entered the area to provide protection for the missionaries and act as peacemakers between the Apalachees and their neighbors. Prior to the arrival of the missionaries, the Apalachees had fought nearly constant wars with their neighbors. The Florida government hoped to establish Spanish settlements in the Apalachee province, however, and to many Apalachees the first soldiers brought a glimpse of a future dominated by the demands of the Spanish government.

Spain's desires to settle the area became very clear when St. Augustine appointed an official governor of the province in 1645. The Apalachees were to become something more than just a target for conversion; they were to be colonized. As more Apalachees converted to Catholicism, additional conflicts emerged between the converted and those who rejected the new religion. Catholic friars and converted native peoples began to eliminate and ban traditional religious practices. Also, any social activities considered offensive to the Catholic faith were forbidden. For the Apalachees who had rejected the new religion, these changes represented a cultural attack. Internal dissent coupled with a growing Spanish presence helped create an environment primed for rebellion.

Factions within the Apalachee community ultimately led to revolt. In February 1647, Apalachee warriors attacked, killing three friars in the initial raid. In addition, the leaders of the revolt captured and killed the deputy governor and his family. After killing the principal leaders at Mission San Luis, the Apalachees moved throughout the region, destroying seven of the eight Catholic compounds. Most participants in the revolt were non-Catholics, but the warriors also received help from members of the neighboring Chisca community.

When authorities in St. Augustine learned of the revolt, the reaction was swift and strong. Officials sent a large group of Timucuan warriors and several dozen Spanish soldiers to quell the rebellion. The Apalachees, however, stood their ground and fought the Timucuans to a draw. Shortly after the initial response to the revolt, Timucuan, Spanish, and Christian Apalachee forces came together to fight the rebellious faction. Ultimately, these combined forces prevailed, capturing and executing the leaders of the revolt.

Unlike other native revolts, this one did not drive the Spaniards from the area. Instead, Christian Apalachees found common cause with the Spaniards and together each side helped rebuild Apalachee province and its missions. Once reconstructed, Catholic missionaries continued their efforts with the Apalachee communities until virtually every inhabitant of the province accepted Christianity.

SHANE RUNYON

See also

Apalachees; Florida; Franciscan Order; Spanish Mission System, Southeast

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Apalachees

A group of Native Americans that lived in the Florida panhandle area through the 18th century. Prior to European contact, the Apalachee chiefdom participated in a trade network that spanned much of Florida and extended through Georgia, Alabama, and the Mississippi River Valley. As soon as the first Spaniards crossed Apalachee territory in the early 16th century, however, the Apalachees became associated with the Spaniards and conducted most of their business with Europeans, a relationship that eventually turned deadly.

According to anthropologists, the Apalachees assumed many characteristics of Mississippian cultures. The Apalachees spoke a language related to the Muskhogean language family, organized their communities along the lines of other Mississippian cultures, and accepted a shared leadership by peace and war rulers. In the early 17th century, Catholic missionaries entered Apalachee Province.

Before the first missionaries constructed churches and attempted to convert the natives, the Apalachees interacted with the Spanish government based in St. Augustine, Florida. Initial contact between the two nations helped curb tensions between the Apalachees and their frequent enemy, the Timucuas. Timucuan and Apalachee communities maintained a near-permanent state of war; thus the arrival of the Spaniards created a power structure that settled many of these disputes.

The Franciscan Order built the first missions in Apalachee Province in the 1630s. Tensions between the newcomers and the Apalachees followed a familiar pattern seen throughout Spanish North America, but when soldiers accompanied missionaries in the late 1603s, hostilities came to a head. Apalachee violence against the Spaniards peaked with the Apalachee Revolt in 1647. Following the violence, Spanish officials took a more active role in the management of the Apalachee Province.

Authorities in St. Augustine viewed Apalachee Province as an ideal location for settlement expansion. After the revolt, St. Augustine instituted a labor requirement known as the *repartimiento*. According to this system, Apalachees were expected to provide food and labor for the benefit of the Spanish crown and the protection it provided. In the late 17th century, this tribute grew to include mandatory labor on Spanish fortifications such as the Castillo de San Marcos and participation in wars Spain fought against regional native communities.

Throughout the remainder of the 17th century, the Apalachees and Spaniards clashed frequently. Although most members of the Apalachee community accepted Catholicism, many refused to bow to other Spanish demands. When the British settled Carolina in 1670, Apalachees and Spanish interests came together for the purposes of mutual defense. Unfortunately, the Spaniards could not defend the Apalachees, and in a series of raids in 1704, James Moore, governor of Carolina, captured hundreds of Apalachees as slaves. As a result of Moore's attack and slave raids by other native communities, the remaining Apalachee fled to Pensacola and dispersed under Spanish protection in the early 1700s.

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See also

Apalachee Revolt; Castillo de San Marcos (Florida); Franciscan Order; Spanish Mission System, Southeast

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Appleton, Samuel

Born: 1624

Died: May 15, 1696

Major in the Massachusetts Militia and commander of Massachusetts Bay forces in the western theater during King Philip's War (1675–1676). Samuel Appleton, born in Little Waldingfield, England, in 1624, came to America with his parents in 1635 and settled in Ipswich, Massachusetts. The Appleton family was prominent in political and military affairs. In 1668, Appleton was named a deputy to the colony's general court. He was first chosen lieutenant of the Ipswich Militia in 1669 and then promoted to captain in 1673.

With the outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675, Appleton was appointed the leader of an expeditionary company and ordered to the western frontier of Massachusetts Bay to protect settlements there under the command of Major John Pynchon. Stationed in the town of Hadley, Captain Appleton and his company patrolled the local area and responded to the October 5, 1675, attack on nearby Springfield. Appleton and other relief forces arrived too late to save the town, which was mainly destroyed by fires set by the attacking natives. Later that month, Major Pynchon, the leader of the Springfield settlement in addition to being the local military commander, asked to be relieved of his military duties in order to rebuild Springfield. The general court agreed and advanced Captain Appleton to the post of commander in chief of the western theater.

Appleton continued Pynchon's strategy of defending every frontier town, a tactic with which allied Connecticut disagreed. From October until December, Appleton and the Council of Connecticut exchanged an angry barrage of letters about the proper strategy for the region and the necessity of keeping Connecticut troops in Massachusetts. On October 19, Appleton and his men were instrumental in fighting off a large Native American assault on Hatfield. In this they had the assistance of the very Connecticut troops who had sought to return home.

In December 1675, Appleton, now promoted to major, was directed to take command of the Massachusetts contingent in the campaign against the Narragansett Indians in Rhode Island. Appleton and his men were said to have formed the storming column that ultimately gained access for colonial forces into the Indian fort. In the battle and subsequent retreat, Appleton lost 4 men killed and 19 wounded out of his company. Shortly after the Battle of the Great Swamp and the "Hungry March," Appleton retired from active service. He remained prominent in political circles, and was later arrested for his resistance to the Andros government of the Dominion of New England. Later released, Appleton was made a member

of the highly placed colonial council under the new government. Appleton died in Ipswich on May 15, 1696.

Kyle F. Zelner

See also

Andros, Edmund; Dominion of New England; Great Swamp Fight; Hungry March; King Philip's War; Narragansetts; New England Confederation; Pynchon, John

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Appomattocks

Native Americans residing in eastern Virginia. The Appomattocks belonged to a group of Algonquian-language tribes living in eastern Virginia that the leader Powhatan organized into the Powhatan Confederacy in the late 16th century. They lived in the area at the falls of the James River and adjacent to a James River tributary, the present-day Appomattox River. Captain John Smith noted the presence of their village in a 1612 map summarizing his earlier explorations of the region.

Much of the history of the Appomattocks is bound up with that of the Powhatan Confederacy. Powhatan, their chief, oversaw a confederacy of similarly cultured tribes, each owing their ultimate allegiance to Powhatan but retaining some local governing institutions (such as their own chief, called the *werowance*) and a sense of their ethnic identity. It was the confederacy's great task to confront the colony at Jamestown and the growing English expansion up the James River and beyond. Powhatan employed a number of both conciliatory and hostile methods for checking English encroachment, most notably the legendary rescue of captured English leader John Smith by his daughter Pocahontas. While some members of the Powhatan Confederacy maintained peaceful—or sometimes ambiguous—relations with the English, the English viewed the Appomattocks as generally hostile.

Indian-English relations deteriorated with the death of Powhatan in 1618. Growing English pressure on Indian lands probably meant an inevitable escalation of hostility. Powhatan's successor, Opechancanough, pursued a much more confrontational policy that became open warfare after a 1622 Indian retaliatory raid that killed more than 300 English settlers. As members of the Powhatan Confederacy, the Appomattocks were caught up in the resulting conflict. The years from 1622 to 1624 and 1644 to 1646 were ones of violent warfare that claimed lives and property. In 1646, Opechancanough was captured, ending all hope for a successful campaign against English conquest of native lands in eastern

Virginia. After 1646, the fate of the Appomattocks, along with all the natives of eastern Virginia, had been sealed.

By the mid-1640s, the Appomattocks had abandoned some of their traditional lands. The site of the native village of Appomattock switched over to English rule in 1652. English settlement marched steadily up the James River, displacing the Appomattocks with settlements and thriving tobacco plantations. During this time, the Appomattock population declined and their land holdings continued to shrink.

The fate of the Appomattocks indeed may have been sealed with the Treaty of Middle Plantation. Originally signed by area tribes in 1677, the Appomattock *werowance* was not allowed to sign until 1680. The treaty made the signers subjects of the British crown. After 1680, documentary evidence of the Appomattocks is scarce, until their final mention in the early 18th century. Their last appearance in the historical record is the word "Appomattock" engraved on a bronze badge (probably issued in 1711), which was likely given to Indian tribes as hunting permits by the government. Their name survives only in the Anglicized version, "Appomattox," which names both the town of Appomattox and the river.

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See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Opechancanough; Powhatan (Wahunsonacock); Powhatans; Smith, John

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Arkansas Post

A succession of French and Spanish trading posts and fortifications, located at various points along the Arkansas River, roughly 5 to 30 miles west of the Mississippi River. Indian raids, flooding, and the changing course of the Arkansas River necessitated frequent relocation. Arkansas Post was the first European settlement in the lower Mississippi Valley.

The last of the French forts was described in the 1760s as a quadrangular stockade about 180 feet long on each side, situated 200 yards from the Arkansas River. It had 3-pounder cannon mounted on the flanks and faces of its bastions. Within the stockade were a three-room barracks, the commander's house, a powder magazine, a provisions magazine, and a commissary apartment. There were eight houses with families nearby. The inhabitants subsisted by hunting and by exporting bear oil, tallow, salted buffalo meat, and a few animal skins each year to New Orleans.



Replica of the cross marking Henri de Tonti's 1686 French trading settlement, Arkansas Post National Memorial, Arkansas. (North Wind Picture Archives)

René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle landed at the Quapaw Indian village of Osotouy on March 14, 1682, and granted a seigneury (a feudal style land grant) on the Arkansas River to his lieutenant, Henri de Tonti. In April 1686, while searching for La Salle, who had disappeared, Tonti left six Frenchmen and four Native Americans at Osotouy. Their assignment, while watching for La Salle, was to erect a cross and build a fur-trading post (activating Tonti's seigneury) and thus demonstrate France's sovereignty in the region. This constituted the founding of Arkansas Post (from "Akansea," the Illinois name for the Quapaws). Tonti's trading operation failed, however, and it appears that the original Arkansas Post was abandoned in 1699.

During 1719–1720, the area was the center of a failed project initiated by a Scot named John Law, to settle Alsatians and African slaves. In association with this project, the first actual military detachment, commanded by a lieutenant, arrived in 1721. In 1726, the Jesuits assumed responsibility for relations with the Quapaws, and the small military presence withdrew. In 1728, however, the resident priest died, leaving the post vacant.

Then, in 1732, an ensign and 12 soldiers arrived to build a small fort, the first actual military structure, at or near the site of the original Arkansas Post just north of the Arkansas River. During 1751-1755, a larger fort was built farther upstream on the higher ground of Écores Rouges ("Red Bluffs"), where it was closer to the nearest settlement and farther from the flooding. This one had a palisade 720 feet long and 11 feet high; it encircled 10 buildings. In 1756, however, this too was abandoned in favor of a new structure (described above) in a swampy area south of the Arkansas River and only five or six miles west of the Mississippi River. There it would be more useful to convoys plying the Mississippi during the French and Indian War (and there it remained until it returned to Écores Rouges in 1779). In 1756, the garrison numbered 60. That declined to 31 in 1763 and 15 in 1770.

France ceded the Louisiana Territory to Spain in 1762. The Spanish formally took possession of the Arkansas Post in 1766, but French officers remained in command at least through 1770. At about that time, the post was renamed Fort Carlos III. After that, most of the enlisted men, and several of the commanding officers, were French soldiers who declared an oath of loyalty to Spain. Spain surrendered the post to the United States in 1804. The territory had been ceded back to France in 1800 but then sold to the United States in the Louisiana Purchase.

The community at Arkansas Post never prospered. A French census taker in 1726 commented that "the people are all poor, and they live only from the hunting of wild animals." Later descriptions were similar, if more derogatory. Nevertheless, Arkansas Post played a role in maintaining relations with the Quapaws, who proved a reliable ally to the French, especially against the Chickasaws (a British ally). It also served as a stopping point between France's Illinois and the Gulf Coast settlements. A Loyalist raid on the post in 1783 was surely the only action of the American Revolutionary War fought in Arkansas. Arkansas Post was also the first capital of the U.S. territory of Arkansas, and a Civil War battle was fought there in 1863.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Chickasaws; Louisiana; Mississippi River; Quapaws

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Armstrong, John

Born: October 13, 1717 Died: March 9, 1795

English colonial surveyor and colonial militia officer. Born in Brookeborough, County Fermanagh, Ireland, on October 13, 1717,

John Armstrong apprenticed as a civil engineer and arrived in Pennsylvania as a surveyor for the proprietors of the colony. In 1750, he surveyed and laid out the town of Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Armstrong was also one of its first settlers.

Appointed a provincial lieutenant colonel at the beginning of the French and Indian War (1754-1763), Armstrong led an expedition of 300 militiamen against the strategically located Delaware settlement of Kittanning along the Allegheny River, roughly 25 miles north of French-held Fort Duquesne. Armstrong needed no prompting in this endeavor as his brother, Edward, had recently fallen victim to the Delawares.

The main target of the expedition was a Delaware chief called Captain Jacobs, who had sought a British alliance in vain and allegedly participated in the rout of Major General Edward Braddock's British forces in 1755. Attacking at dawn on September 8, 1756, Armstrong's party met formidable resistance and suffered 40 casualties at the hands of warriors who refused to surrender. With the defeat of the natives, Armstrong put the town of 30 cabins to the torch, which detonated gunpowder supplies and killed several noncombatants. Eleven captives were recovered and an equal number of Delawares slain, including Captain Jacobs, for whom a British reward had been posted.

This raid by Armstrong, who became known as the "hero of Kittanning," provided one of the few successes in an otherwise dismal year for Anglo-American fortunes. Indeed, English settlers suffered heavier losses along the Pennsylvania frontier in the ensuing months from Delaware counterattacks. In 1758, Armstrong joined British troops led by Brigadier General John Forbes, who forced the French to vacate and torch Fort Duquesne. During that expedition, he befriended Lieutenant Colonel George Washington. They remained lifelong friends.

Named a brigadier general in the Continental Army in March 1776, Armstrong was ordered to Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina), where he helped supervise construction of the defenses that withstood the British attack later that same year. Resigning his commission in the Continental Army in April 1777, Armstrong immediately was appointed a brigadier general in the Pennsylvania Militia, and in June he was made a major general. Militia under his command took part in the battles of Brandywine Creek and Germantown that autumn.

Armstrong continued his strong support of Washington and the Patriot war cause through his efforts in the Continental Congress, to which he was elected in November 1778. Armstrong served in that capacity until 1780 and later was a strong proponent of a new U.S. Constitution. He served in the Congress again during 1787–1788. Known as the "first citizen" of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Armstrong died there on March 9, 1795.

JEFFREY D. BASS

See also

Braddock's Campaign; Forbes Campaign; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Kittanning, Battle of; Washington, George

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Artillery, Land

During the colonial period, artillery underwent significant technological and organizational changes. Long a peripheral arm of European armies, artillery that fired projectiles by means of black powder became a full-fledged part of the battlefield, particularly during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Traditionally, the word "artillery" referred to any missile-throwing device. Weapons capable of firing large projectiles date to the *ballistae* of the ancient Greeks and *trebuchets* of Medieval England. The use of combustible material to launch a projectile, however, can be traced to the Arabian *madfaa* and the French *pot de fer* of the Middle Ages.

The 15th century witnessed the birth of the first modern cannon. Called *bombards*, these primitive guns were made of long, flat iron bars placed lengthwise and welded together on a mandrel in cylindrical fashion. The interstices were then filled with molten lead. Over this iron hoops were forced for added strength. The bombards were then mounted on a grooved, wheelless, wooden platform. Though some *bombards* were capable of firing stone balls up to 25 inches in diameter, these early artillery pieces possessed both limited range and power, were expensive to build, and proved difficult to move. As a result, European armies long viewed artillery as an ancillary weapon best used to either attack or defend forts.

Once gun barrels began to be solid cast in the late 1400s, artillery took a decisive step forward. The two metals most commonly used—iron and bronze—revealed their own respective strengths and weaknesses. Iron was far cheaper than bronze but was more likely to fracture; bronze (90 percent copper and 10 percent tin), being a softer metal and easier to work with, was less likely to burst. European nations continued to use both metals well into the 19th century.

By the middle 1500s, the armies of Europe developed an abundant array of artillery pieces. The size and calibers of guns varied widely. Furthermore, each nation referred to each of its own cannon by different names, such as a "serpentine," a "demicannon," or a "falcon."

Guns were of different types. Cannon were designed to project shot at great range and flat trajectory. Mortars were short pieces designed for high-angle fire; they proved particularly valuable firing over enemy earthworks and castle walls.

Another artillery piece, the swivel gun (also known as a *patarero*, a "stock-fowler," and a "murderer") was a small, breech-loading gun mounted atop fortress walls and also on the rails of smaller ships. Designed for antipersonnel fire at close range, swivel guns were common in the 17th century.



An artist's depiction of an artillery piece being moved forward during King George's War (1744–1748). (North Wind Picture Archives)

Eventually, European armies came to refer to cannon by the actual weight of their projectile (i.e., a "24-pounder," a "16-pounder," etc.). A number of these artillery pieces attained quite formidable size. The English culverin measured 11 feet long, possessed a 5-inch bore, and weighed two tons. Using a 12-pound powder charge, the culverin could hurl its 18-pound shot up to 5,000 yards. Such guns were not easily transported; some of the largest cannon required up to 40 horses to move.

Regardless of the size or caliber, artillery pieces required a laborious series of steps to be successfully loaded and fired. First, a measured amount of gunpowder was forced down the barrel with a rammer, followed by a small piece of cloth or wood wadding, and then the ball. After priming with small-grain powder a small vent on the top of the gun's breech (rear), the piece could then be fired by a match. The barrel was intermittently swabbed with a wet sponge to remove fouled powder (which frequently coated the inside of the barrel) and to extinguish any lingering sparks before the placement of the next round. Moreover, the cannon frequently needed to be repositioned because of recoil. While a well-trained artillery crew could sponge, load, and fire a light gun every five seconds or so, a much longer time would be required to "run up" the carriage after it had recoiled and re-lay it on its target. The average recoil of a light gun on firing was about 3.5 feet.

Cannon used a wide variety of projectiles. In the late 1400s, iron balls replaced handcut stone balls. The former type of projectile greatly reduced "windage," the difference between the diameter of the bore and the diameter of the projectile. Windage allowed propulsive gasses released by the burning powder to escape, thereby lessening both the speed and distance of a fired round.

Some of the more common projectiles included solid shot (round iron balls), chain shot (two solid shot attached by a short length of chain), and cross bar shot (a single, solid shot cut into two halves and joined with a straight iron bar). The latter two were especially used at sea to attack an enemy ship's spars and rigging. Two particular types of projectile notorious for their lethality against personnel at short range were grape and canister. Grape consisted of iron balls (usually nine) around a central spindle, held together by a canvas bag secured by twine and resembling a bunch of grapes. This broke apart on firing. Canister consisted of musket balls or simple scrap bits of metal in a canister that also broke apart on firing, and had the effect of a modern shotgun.

The emergence of artillery also witnessed a concomitant rise in interest in the science of gunnery. For centuries, such tasks as aiming a gun, determining how much powder to use, and calculating the point of impact of a projectile remained problematic. Gunnery was more akin to an art than a science. By the late 1500s, however, the first serious writings on gunnery appeared. Writers on the subject discussed topics like the effect of wind and the dynamics of shooting up (or down) hill. Yet not until 1742 did the first serious treatise on artillery ballistics appear, Benjamin Robins's pioneering New Principles of Gunnery. An English mathematician, Robins gauged velocity, calculated the striking energy of a fired round, and determined the impact of wind resistance. Robins argued for a reduction in both the length and weight of guns and also for elongated projectiles. He also invented the "ballistic pendulum," a device that measured the velocity of projectiles. Another important book on 18th-century artillery was Englishman John Muller's Treatise of Artillery (1757). Muller argued for lighter guns and for more scientific analysis in gun design and practice.

As a result of the rise of the science of gunnery, new emphasis was placed on accuracy. Instrumental to the process was the development of trunnions, large lugs cast on the sides of the gun barrel and at right angles to it. These additions allowed guns to be more easily leveled vertically. In addition, artillery pieces also appeared with a trail, a large heavy wooden projection leading rearward from the carriage to the ground that not only helped stabilize the gun, but, when raised, allowed the piece to be pulled by oxen or horses. Despite such improvements, however, many problems remained. Artillery lacked any type of accurate sighting or aiming mechanism other than sighting along the barrel, gunners could not fire on anything than they could not actually see, and projectiles tended to guide left or right depending on the quality of the barrel casting.

Artillery in North America consisted of a wide variety of guns, most of which were used for the defense of forts. The Spanish introduced the earliest cannon to the Western Hemisphere. Memories of attacking the walled cities of the Aztecs and the Incas convinced some of the viability of artillery against the indigenous peoples. For example, expeditions led by Hernando de Soto in Florida (1539), Francisco Vásquez de Coronado in northern Mexico (1540), and Juan de Oñate in New Mexico (1597–1598) possessed artillery. It was not until 1710, however, that the Spanish government officially

established artillery as a formal branch of its armed forces. Heavily influenced by the French, Spanish artillery consisted of a wide variety of guns, including 24-, 16-, 12-, and 8-pounders plus a 4-pounder field gun (*cañones de campaña*). By the 18th century, any significant Spanish artillery in the Americas remained concentrated in Florida, and most of these pieces were lost in the French and Indian War.

The French made significant contributions to the development of artillery. Beginning in the 1730s, the French were the first to standardize gun calibers and methods of cannon manufacture. Later, General Jean-Baptiste Gribeauval expanded on these reforms, introducing not only a comprehensive system that regulated the design of rolling stock (such as gun carriages and caissons), but created categories of field, siege, garrison, and seacoast artillery. The revolutionary "Gribeauval System," officially adopted by France in 1774, quickly spread to other European powers. The most noteworthy use of artillery by the French in North America in the 18th century proved to be the organization of Canonniers-Bombardiers, companies raised to defend Louisbourg, Saint Domingue, the Windward Islands, Canada, and Louisiana.

For the British and their American colonies, the use of artillery met a mixed reception. After the Restoration in 1660, the English Army neglected its heavy ordnance because of the expense and problems of maintaining the weapon in peacetime. Moreover, gunners were often civilians specifically hired for the purpose, and not professional soldiers.

Nevertheless, the English employed artillery from the very beginning of their exploration and settlement of North America. For example, the "Lost Colony" at Roanoke (1587) possessed several falcons and sakers, Jamestown (1607) wielded a number of guns, and the Pilgrims at Plymouth (1620) used artillery pieces removed from the *Mayflower*. In 1638, the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts was established. In the 18th century, heavier British artillery could be found at Fort Pitt, Fort Ticonderoga, and Castle William in Boston Harbor. Despite the size and intensity of imperial rivalries, artillery remained an ancillary combat arm in North America, and would not emerge as a singularly viable battlefield asset until the American War of Independence, beginning in 1775. In its field artillery, Britain usually used 3-, 6-, and 12-pounder guns.

One of artillery's greatest transformations occurred during the 18th century with the birth of "horse artillery." An improvement in casting techniques and a higher quality of powder allowed both smaller and lighter barrels. As a result, guns became more mobile. One individual who fully recognized the military potential of such a phenomenon was King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden (r. 1611–1632). He not only distinguished between "field" and "siege" artillery (everything under or over a 12-pounder) but boldly used his artillery as an aggressive, front-line arm directly against enemy infantry. Though the effect of Adolphus's tactics proved revolutionary on the battlefield, his methods were soon forgotten. Rediscovered by Frederick the Great in the 1740s, horse artillery was quickly adopted by European armies by the end of the 18th century.

FRANK HARPER

See also

Artillery, Naval; Muskets

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Artillery, Naval

Naval artillery followed much the same technological evolution as that on land. Using these often-unwieldy weapons at sea posed a series of unique and interesting challenges. Certainly the European powers employed cannon aboard ships in the second half of the 14th century. Most early guns at sea were small, averaging some 20 to 40 pounds in weight, and formed part of an arsenal that included such edged weapons as axes, swords, and cutlasses, as well as crossbows and bows and arrows.

The first cannon at sea were mounted to fire over the bulwarks (even today known as the gunwale). Undoubtedly, they were similar to the weapons on land and these short bombards served as an auxiliary weapon. Such early cannon might be loaded with "langridge" (scrap metal and small stones) to repel enemy boarders or assist one's own crew in a boarding attempt.

Eventually, cannon carried aboard ship increased in size, and with the advent of heavy guns at sea came the possibility of actually destroying an enemy ship by gunfire while limiting risk to both one's own ship and crew. Reportedly the first loss of a ship to naval gunfire came in 1513. Up to the mid-19th century and the advent of explosive shell, most ships in the age of fighting sail that sank at sea did so because of fire or the explosion of their magazines. Gunfire primarily served an antipersonnel function, enabling a ship to be taken by storm following the inflicting of heavy casualties among its crew.

Large ships could stand the heavier guns, and weight was not the factor that it was on land, at least for field artillery. At the end of the 15th century an important change occurred in the way guns were carried at sea. Up to that point the heaviest guns were mounted in the waist to fire over the bulwarks, whereas the lighter guns were in the castles fore and stern. The high castles designed to allow plunging fire by a variety of antipersonnel weapons against an enemy ship, however, made such warships unwieldy and top heavy, occasionally with disastrous result. New, heavier guns were mounted between decks and fired broadside out of holes cut in the sides of the ship, known as gun ports. The gun ports could be closed off in bad weather by means of lowering a lid over them. The largest guns were mounted on the lower decks. As cannon grew heavier and less numerous aboard a ship, the lines of warships changed, with a reduction in the

height of the castles and the advent of the relatively clean lines associated with ships of the age of fighting sail.

The early guns formed of wrought-iron bars welded together around a mandrel and secured by reinforcing rings were soon replaced by larger cast guns. Almost all were muzzle loaders. The breech-loading principle was retained only in the smallest mankilling guns set in the rails of the ship and known as swivels.

For some time bronze was the favored metal for cannon. Formed of 90 percent copper and 10 percent tin, it was both easier to cast and less likely to burst on discharge than iron. Iron guns, however, although heavier and more likely to burst in case of fracture, were far cheaper than those of bronze and by the end of the 18th century had become the predominant type aboard ship, where weight was not the consideration it was for field artillery.

Larger muzzleloaders were certainly not rapid fire weapons. According to one knowledgeable contemporary, the average for such guns in the mid-17th century was only about eight shots an hour. By the late 16th century, muzzle-loading cannon were divided into three broad categories of culverins, cannon, and perriers. Culverins were those around 30 bore-diameters (calibers) in length and had thick walls for long-range firing. Cannon were about 15–20 calibers in length. Usually 10-pounders or heavier, they were designed for medium-range fire. The shortest guns were the perriers (for stone thrower), usually 8–15 calibers in length, which included petards, howitzers, and mortars. Mortars evolved into very short weapons set in a fixed 45-degree mount and were by the end of the 17th century carried by special vessels, known as bombs or bomb vessels. They were used exclusively for shore bombardment.

Later, guns were denominated simply by the weight of the ball they fired. Thus a 12-pounder fired a ball weighing 12 pounds. The larger warships mounted the largest guns. In the late 17th century, the French *Soleil Royal* mounted a lower battery of 36-pounders. Most naval guns of the period were smaller. Dutch vessels of the 17th century, for example, rarely carried guns larger than 24-pounders. The largest guns in common use by the European navies at the end of the 18th century were 32-pounders.

The most common projectile fired at sea was solid round shot of iron. Round shot might also be heated in a furnace aboard ship and then fired at an enemy vessel. Such "hot shot" might actually set an opposing ship on fire. Other specialized projectiles included bar shot (a round shot split in half and joined by a single iron bar) and chain shot (two shot joined together with a chain). These rounds were used to attack spars and rigging. Grape shot was highly effective against boats or personnel. It consisted of iron balls, usually nine in number, positioned around a central spool and secured by a canvas bag bound with twine, the whole resembling a bunch of grapes. On firing, it broke apart. Canister shot was used at the closest ranges against personnel. It consisted of scrap metal or musket balls in a thin iron canister that also broke apart on firing and produced the effect of a modern shotgun.

A major problem employing artillery aboard ships was how to mount and secure the guns. Obviously, the rough and tumble of the



Early naval breechloading cannon. (Courtesy of Art-Tech)

ocean waves, coupled with the great recoil of the pieces during battle, required a sturdy mounting. Until the 1500s, guns were secured to simple wooden platforms, but these mountings were soon replaced by so-called truck carriages, which were heavy, wooden carts mounted atop four wheels known as trucks. By the late 15th century, cannon were cast with pivots, known as trunnions, along the side of the bore that supported the gun in its carriage. The carriage was secured by thick ropes (tackle) to the sides of the ship. The gun crew used tackle to help train the gun laterally and to return it to battery after discharge. Recoil was arrested by means of stout rope known as breeching. Truck carriages changed little in design and continued to be used into the mid-19th century.

Fleet actions consisted of warships in line-ahead formation blasting away at a similarly arranged enemy force, sometimes at dueling pistol range. In individual ship actions, the goal was to position one's own vessel perpendicular to an opponent so that all of one's own broadside guns could fire the length of the enemy vessel, whereas the latter could reply only with several guns at bow or stern. This was known as "raking" or "crossing the T."

Naval gunnery required great skill and physical stamina. The heavy guns might be worked by 10 or more men apiece. Since artillery came to constitute the primary method of both offensive and defensive operations for warships, everything depended on highly trained crews who could withstand the often terrible and destructive violence of naval battles and fire their own guns as rapidly as possible.

In battle virtually everything above the waterline proved vulnerable: sails, rigging, yards, masts, and, of course, the crews themselves. Wooden hulls could withstand considerable punishment and ships' carpenters could fairly easily patch holes at the waterline. Most ships taken at sea fell because of personnel losses that enabled them to be boarded and captured or from the crippling of the vessel through the loss of masts or rigging.

FRANK HARPER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also Artillery, Land; Warships

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Artillery Projectiles

Although infantry engagements dominated colonial American warfare, both European regulars and colonists made use of artillery in siege operations and in the defense of fortifications and in naval combat. In this period there were four basic types of artillery projectiles: round shot, grape shot, exploding shell, and specialty projectiles for use by naval guns.

Round shot was simply a solid iron ball. Artillerymen of this era typically designated a cannon's size by the weight of the round shot it fired. For example, a 3-pounder field piece fired round shot that weighed approximately three pounds. During a siege, round shot was particularly useful in disabling enemy artillery. Gunners from a besieging army would attempt to position their guns so as to enfilade the parapet of the enemy fortification. They would then use ricochet fire—the bouncing of the cannonball down the length of the parapet—to dismantle or destroy guns and inflict casualties. Round shot could also be effective in battering the walls of a fortification and ships' hulls. In open warfare, round shot was a deadly antipersonnel weapon. When fired at a formation of soldiers, successive bounds of the projectile inflicted gruesome wounds from the ball itself and from the secondary projectiles—rocks, bone, or broken equipment—created with each impact of the shot.

Grape shot consisted of iron balls, usually nine in number, assembled around a spindle. The balls and spindle were then wrapped in canvas and netted tightly with cord, giving the appearance of a bunch of grapes. When fired, the bag blew apart and the balls scattered. Artillerymen employed grape shot against both personnel and boats.

Exploding shell were hollow, iron spheres filled with black powder and fired from howitzers or mortars. Gunners inserted timed fuses (hollow wooden cylinders filled with a slow burning compound) into the shell and at first either lit the fuse before firing the gun or later relied on the ignition of the propellant charge to light the fuse. To ensure the shell exploded on impact, artillerymen cut the fuse based on the estimated amount of time the shell would be in flight. Exploding shell were essential for the conduct of sieges and were used against personnel.

While solid shot and grape shot saw common use both on land and at sea, naval forces also employed chain and bar shot. These projectiles consisted of two solid shot connected by a section of chain or a bar. When fired, they spun through the air, destroying rigging and tearing sails. In addition, solid shot was often heated white hot in furnaces and then projected against a ship or a fort in the hopes of setting it on fire.

Throughout the colonial period, gunners also used other variants of these basic types of projectiles as well as field expedients based on the materials at hand and the type of target to be engaged.

THOMAS A. RIDER II

See also

Ammunition, Small Arms; Artillery, Land; Artillery, Naval

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Asiento

Agreement by Spain that allowed other countries to supply African slaves for the Spanish colonies in the New World. "Asiento" (also "assiento") means "treaty" or "agreement." The term was a common one in Spanish law referring to a trading agreement that granted a monopoly in a particular commodity. Although other slave trade monopolies were concluded earlier, including with the Portuguese and the French, the most famous or infamous asiento was that of March 16, 1713, with the British government.

The Asiento of 1713 was concluded between Spain and Britain following the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713). With the establishment of the Spanish Bourbon dynasty in 1700, a French company was established that secured the slave-trading monopoly for the Spanish colonies, but the British claimed and secured that concession in the Peace of Utrecht, negotiated in the spring of 1713. The asiento of March 16, 1713, gave Britain the right to introduce

into the Spanish colonies 144,000 African slaves at the rate of 4,800 per year for a 30-year period. The British also secured the right to sell British manufactured goods in one ship of 500 tons per year to Portobello in Panama and Veracruz in Mexico. The British government then conveyed this concession to the private South Sea Company, which had been formed in 1711.

This British concession helped form the basis for the financial speculation known as the South Sea Bubble. It also pried open access to the Spanish colonies for British goods and led to a brisk illicit trade. Disputes over the agreement and British smuggling led to increasing bitter recriminations between the British and Spanish governments and some violence and helped bring on the Anglo-Spanish War or War of Jenkins' Ear in 1739, which merged into the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748).

In the 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended the War of the Austrian Succession, Spain agreed to let the asiento be renewed for the three years left under the agreement when war had begun, but increasing Spanish resentment led to the Treaty of El Retiro of October 5, 1750, whereby the South Sea Company gave up its claims in return for a payment of £100,000 from the Spanish government.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Utrecht, Treaty of

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Atkin, Edmond

Born: February 27, 1697 Died: October 8, 1761

Colonial trader, politician, and superintendent of Indian Affairs for the southern colonies (1758–1761). Born in England on February 27, 1697, Edmund Atkin emigrated as a young man to South Carolina, where he became a prominent deerskin trader in Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina). In 1738, he began his career in politics when he was appointed to the upper house (Council) of South Carolina's assembly. In 1750, he led an inquiry into the roles of two English traders in a disastrous revolt by the Choctaws and their French allies. On completing the report, Atkin returned to England. There he established himself as an expert on Native American affairs.

While in England, Atkin wrote Historical Account of the Revolt of the Choctaw Indians in the Late War from the French to the British

44 Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter)

Alliance and of Their Return Since to That of the French (1753). This essay provided a historical account that pointed to problems in the implementation of England's policies toward the natives. It also foreshadowed his later approach to native relations.

When the French and Indian War (1754–1763) began, many British colonists and officials concluded that trade with the American Indians needed better regulation. Atkin and others recognized that the French advantage in obtaining native allies had to be broken. They concluded that native support on the battlefield could best be secured through trading allegiances. In 1755, Atkin wrote *Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier*. In this extended essay, Atkin called for creation of a centralized native policy that could oppose the French and Spanish influences in the southeast. Such a policy, he asserted, would create a powerful alliance with the region's Native Americans.

Although appointed by the British Board of Trade in 1756 to serve as superintendent of Indian Affairs for the southern colonies in 1756, Atkin did not arrive in South Carolina to assume his post until 1758. As superintendent, he operated as a subordinate to the commander in chief of British forces in America, Major General Jeffery Amherst. Although colonial governments still had some influence over relations with Native American nations, the appointment of superintendents like Atkin significantly diminished the power that the English colonials had traditionally exercised.

In 1761, after a largely ineffective tenure in office, Atkin resigned and was replaced by John Stuart. Atkin died soon after on October 8, 1761, on his Mars Bluff Plantation near Florence, South Carolina.

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See also

Choctaw Civil War; Choctaws; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; South Carolina; Stuart, John

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Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter)

Born: ca. 1712 Died: ca. 1780–1785

Cherokee leader. Born some time around 1712 on Sevier Island in the French Broad River of Tennessee, Attakullakulla (also known as "Little Carpenter") became an important peace chief who shaped diplomatic relations between the Cherokees and the Europeans for more than 50 years. In his youth, he was one of seven Cherokees who traveled to London in 1730 to meet England's King George II. A leading peace chief by 1738, Attakullakulla was decidedly pro-British.

Captured by French-allied Ottawa warriors about 1740, Attakullakulla was held captive until 1748. On his return to the Overhill

Cherokees around 1750, he became the top lieutenant to his uncle Connecorte (Old Hop), the head chief of Chota and considered the Cherokees' best warrior.

In the 1750s and 1760s, Attakullakulla dominated the diplomatic scene. Although he usually favored the British, he was a consummate diplomat, always hoping for a peaceful resolution to problems but looking out for the best interests of the Cherokees. He negotiated with both French and English officials. He also curried favor among both the Virginians and South Carolinians as he negotiated advantageous trade relations. He championed the cause of increased military protection in the form of European forts, especially Fort Loudoun.

With the outbreak of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Attakullakulla and other Cherokees fought alongside the British. The Cherokee Nation as a whole, however, remained divided, eventually leading to the Cherokee War (1759–1761). In 1759, Gov. William Henry Lyttleton of South Carolina took a Cherokee delegation hostage, including the great war chief Oconostota. Attakullakulla successfully negotiated Oconostota's release, but the remaining hostages were killed. As a result, the Cherokees besieged Fort Loudoun and cut off all supplies.

Attakullakulla attempted to negotiate and prevent the escalation of violence. When he was unsuccessful, he warned the English of an impending attack and eventually ransomed Lieutenant John Stuart, helping him escape to Virginia. He and Colonel James Grant negotiated peace for the Cherokees in 1761. Attakullakulla was also part of the larger peace process again in 1763 when the French and Indian War ended.

Attakullakulla remained active in diplomatic affairs through the 1770s. He unsuccessfully argued against the 1776 Cherokee attack on the southern colonies and helped to negotiate the 1777 Treaty at Long Island on the Holston with the Patriot side, which ended the ensuing war. He lost prominence, however, as a large faction of Cherokees under his son, Dragging Canoe, continued fighting the Americans. Attakullakulla died sometime between 1780 and 1785 at an unknown location.

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See also

Cherokees; Cherokee War; Fort Loudoun (Virginia); Lyttelton, William Henry; Oconostota; Stuart, John

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Augusta (Georgia)

Settlement at the falls of the Savannah River in Georgia, created by the order of Georgia's Gov. James Oglethorpe on June 14, 1736. Augusta became a center of the Anglo-native deerskin trade from 1737 to 1775. Taking advantage of water routes to Charles Town, South Carolina (present-day Charleston), and Savannah, Georgia, the falls of the Savannah had been a trading outpost since 1715, centered at South Carolina's Fort Moore and the nearby town of New Windsor. In 1736, James Oglethorpe, hoping to divert the profits of the deerskin trade to his new colony of Georgia, ordered a town and fort for the Georgia side of the falls, naming both Augusta in honor of the Princess of Wales.

Offering generous land grants, Oglethorpe hoped to lure Carolina traders to his colony and support the struggling town of Savannah with profits from deerskin exports. In some ways, the plan worked, as native traders from New Windsor relocated across the river, but their deerskins still went to Charles Town for export and the older colony's influence over Anglo-native relations was never threatened by Georgia.

The town of Augusta quickly became the major center of the Anglo-native deerskin trade. Each year, traders from native villages went to the town to settle their accounts with the leading storekeepers and to exchange the previous winter deerskins for a fresh supply of trading goods. The wealth generated from the trade was centered in Augusta's leading merchant firms, including Brown, Rae, and Company and Macartan and Campbell. The former was by far the most powerful and influential trading house in the southeast, as its members included such prominent traders as Patrick Brown, John Rae, George Galphin, and Lachlan McGillivray. These men likewise enjoyed sizable landholdings worked by slaves purchased from Charles Town, and they dominated Augusta society, serving as justices of the peace, captains of the local militia, and members of the Georgia Assembly. The storekeepers' fortified homes also served as military refuges for the local white population during times of crisis.

Most important, however, was the influence of Augusta on Anglo-native relations in the southeast, particularly between the British colonies and the Creek confederacy. The traders' familiarity with Native American politics and language earned them a central role as informants and interpreters. The fact that many of them had married Native American women also gave them a powerful voice in native towns, and it was largely their influence that convinced the Creeks to cede large land parcels to Britain in two treaties signed at Augusta in 1763 and 1773.

While royal governors and native agents mistrusted the traders' motives, so long as the trade was centered in Augusta their influence was profound. Only with the beginning of the American Revolutionary War did the Augusta deerskin trade finally die out, replaced by a new generation of cotton planters and merchants.

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See also

Fort Augusta (Georgia); Fort Moore (South Carolina); Georgia; Indian Presents; Oglethorpe, James Edward

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Augusta, Congress of

Start Date: November 3, 1763 End Date: November 10, 1763

General congress among the governors of the four southernmost colonies and the leaders of the five major southeastern Native American confederacies in Augusta, Georgia, held during November 3–10, 1763. The royal governors of the four southern British colonies (Francis Fauquier of Virginia, Arthur Dobbs of North Carolina, Thomas Boone of South Carolina, and James Wright of Georgia) joined John Stuart, the British superintendent of Indian Affairs for the southern region to meet with Native American representatives for the Catawbas, Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws. The native delegation totaled more than 900 people. The Congress's main goals were to repair Anglo-native relations after the French and Indian War (1754–1763), settle grievances over the deerskin trade, and to establish a firm boundary between white settlements and Native American hunting grounds. The treaty signed on November 10 mostly unified various prior agreements made separately between the governors and natives, with one important exception. The Creeks, for the first time since 1733, ceded territory to Georgia in exchange for an enforceable boundary.

Land cessions and a peaceful southeast were priorities for the British government in 1763. Having exhausted the coffers in winning eastern North America from France and Spain, Britain soon found itself fighting Chief Pontiac's Rebellion (1763) in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes region. Recognizing that anti-English sentiment still lingered among southern tribes, the royal government ordered the governors to call a general meeting and prevent a southern expansion of the native uprising. Fauquier, Dobbs, and Boone attended out of obligation to the royal government, but felt little pressing need to do so, as their colonies had largely settled native affairs in separate treaties during the last days of the French and Indian War.

The same was true for many of the Native American delegates. The Catawbas and Cherokees used the congress to raise longstanding complaints of trader abuse and white encroachment, but little new came from the talks. The Chickasaws, staunch British allies and far removed from the irritation of British settlers, made few demands. The Choctaws, at war with the Creeks, believed the journey too dangerous and sent but two representatives. Despite the congress's goal of universality, its main significance lay in the particulars of Georgia-Creek relations.

For Georgia's Wright, the congress was crucial. For many of the Creeks, avoiding the congress was equally important. Anglo-Creek relations had been strained by the war with France, fueled by Creek fears that the British wanted to seize all their lands. Word had quickly spread in advance of the congress that the British wanted

to purchase Creek lands in Georgia, giving new life to old fears. A month before the congress, these tensions increased as Creek warriors killed a number of Georgia traders. Wright, whose young and sparsely populated colony would bear the brunt of an Anglo-Creek war, eagerly sought to ease tensions, convincing the governors to move the congress from Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) to Augusta to assuage Creek concerns. Even with this concession, few Upper Creeks (among whom anti-British feeling ran deepest) attended, and none of their most influential leaders went. The Lower Creeks were ultimately persuaded to attend and to cede lands by the influence of the respected traders Lachlan McGillivray and George Galphin. At the congress they allowed Georgia's territory to increase dramatically from the original seacoast grants made in 1733, giving Georgia its first true native boundary. The Upper Creeks disagreed with the cession, but ultimately ratified it a year later.

For the Creeks, the Augusta Congress was the major turning point in their relations with the British. Their decades-old policy of neutrality was unsustainable without European rivals competing for their affections and they now found themselves encircled by a British government constantly demanding land cessions, a process that would continue under the U.S. government until the era of removal beginning in the 1830s.

ROBERT PAULETT

See also

Catawbas; Cherokees; Cherokee War; Chickasaws; Choctaws; Creeks; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Georgia; Indian Presents; Pontiac's Rebellion; Proclamation of 1763; Stuart, John

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Ayllón, Lucas Vázquez de

Born: ca. 1480

Died: October 18, 1526

Spanish explorer, wealthy planter, and founder of San Miguel de Gualdape, the first European settlement in the present-day United States. Born in Toledo, Spain, about 1480, Lucas de Vázquez Ayllón led an obscure early life until he immigrated to Santa Domingo, Hispaniola, in 1502. There he made his living as a judge and a sugar planter. In 1521, he employed Francisco Gordillo to travel to the Florida mainland for exploratory purposes. Gordillo's reports indicated that the land of Chicora (along the coast of South

Carolina and Georgia) had abundant natural resources and a mild climate resembling that of Spain. This information led Ayllón to believe that a European settlement in the area could thrive, both as a trading center and as a missionary town to the natives. In mid-July 1526, Ayllón set sail to the north and west with six ships and about 600 people, including several women and slaves, to establish the first European settlement in the present-day United States: San Miguel de Gualdape.

The group spent some time exploring before settling on the site for the new colony in September 1526, most likely on the 29th, the feast of Archangels. The exact location of the colony is unknown, with various theories suggesting Cape Fear, North Carolina; Winyah Bay, South Carolina; and Sapelo Sound, Georgia. More recent information supports the southernmost location of Georgia, but concrete archaeological evidence has yet to be found.

The fledgling colony faced serious hardships almost immediately, including problems with supplies, abandonment by their native interpreters, starvation, disease, and hostility from the natives. Many of the colonists could not survive under such conditions, including Ayllón himself, who died on October 18, 1526. During the winter, the colonists bore more hardships and faced a mutiny. In the spring, the remaining 150 survivors abandoned the colony and returned to Hispaniola.

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See also

Georgia; South Carolina; Spain

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Ayubale (Florida)

Spanish mission of the Apalachee Indians, also called *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Ayubale* (Our Lady of the Conception of Ayubale) and site of Carolina governor James Moore's first invasion of Apalachee missions. Ayubale was situated in Spanish Florida's eastern Apalachee Province, east of modern-day Tallahassee.

During Queen Anne's War, following his expensive but unsuccessful 1702 siege of St. Augustine and his loss of the governorship in 1703, James Moore recruited 50 Carolinians and 1,000 Creek Indians to attack the Apalachee missions in January 1704. Denied support by the colony, the expedition covered its expenses (and more) through plunder and the sale of captured mission Indians into slavery. Ayubale was the first mission struck, which fell quickly after the burning of the adjacent town. Two dozen Indians were killed, and the Carolinians and the Creeks each took about 200 captives. Captain Juan Ruíz Mexía led a relief force of 30 Spaniards and 400 hastily armed Apalachee from San Luís in a counterattack at

Ayubale, but he failed and lost nearly half of his men. This constituted the only resistance that Moore encountered. The inhabitants of five other Apalachee towns either surrendered or migrated to Carolina to live among the Creeks. San Luís was not attacked.

The expedition returned to Carolina with some 1,400 Apalachee slaves. Survivors fled east to St. Augustine and west to the French settlement at Mobile. After this and subsequent raids, Apalachee country was largely abandoned. Moore later asserted that the operation had secured Carolina from overland attack.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Apalachees; Spanish Mission System, Southeast

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B

Bacon, Nathaniel, Jr.

Born: ca. 1646–1647 Died: October 26, 1676

Leader of the rebellion that bears his name and that engulfed the English colony of Virginia during 1676–1677. Nathaniel Bacon Jr. was born in England, probably in 1646 or 1647. He studied at Gray's Inn in London. In financial difficulties for living beyond his means, Bacon emigrated to Virginia in 1674. There he was welcomed by his cousin, also named Nathaniel Bacon, a member of the provincial council and wealthy tobacco planter. The elder Bacon helped him purchase a plantation located about 50 miles up the James River from Jamestown. He also prevailed on the royal governor, Sir William Berkeley, to name Bacon to the council, an extraordinary appointment for a recent arrival, but young Bacon was actually related to Berkeley by marriage.

Bacon seems to have been an inveterate schemer and trouble-maker. He soon joined with wealthy Virginia planter William Byrd and others in a trading venture with Native Americans. When the Susquehannocks raided the northwestern Virginia frontier, Bacon took the lead among frontier settlers in demanding that Berkeley mount a major reprisal. The governor refused, preferring instead a conciliatory approach toward the natives lest his own interest in the fur trade be damaged.

Bacon became the leader of a movement that opposed Berkeley's Native American policy in hopes that strong action would enable the settlers to take the native lands. Indeed, Bacon headed a group that drove Pumunkey Native Americans from their ancestral holdings. This action caused Berkeley to ride to Henrico with 300 armed followers, whereupon Bacon and 200 of his men fled into the



English colonist Nathaniel Bacon, who in 1676 led a revolt of colonial Virginia's frontier settlers against Virginia governor William Berkeley. (Library of Congress)

forest. Berkeley declared Bacon an outlaw but promised him a trial. At the same time Berkeley pardoned Bacon's men on the condition that they return home.

Bacon's response was to lead an attack on the friendly Occaneechees along the Roanoke River between Virginia and North Carolina. To prevent civil war, Berkeley offered to pardon Bacon on condition that he return to England to be tried before King Charles II. The House of Burgesses rejected this solution, demanding instead that Bacon publicly apologize for his actions and seek the governor's forgiveness. Ironically, Bacon's neighbors, who supported his harsh stance against Native Americans, elected him to the House of Burgesses for the next session, which opened in June 1676.

On his arrival in Jamestown for the meeting, Bacon was arrested and taken before Berkeley and the Governor's Council, where he was forced to apologize. Berkeley then pardoned him and allowed him to take his seat in the House of Burgesses. In the ensuing debate over Native American policy, Bacon left the assembly in anger and returned with armed supporters. They surrounded the state house and forced Berkeley to appoint Bacon as commander of a militia force to launch attacks on the Indians.

For the next three months, Bacon was in firm control of Jamestown. Although he mistakenly allowed Berkeley to depart Jamestown, he was initially strong enough to prevent Berkeley's attempt to overthrow him. Consequently, Berkeley fled to Accomack County on the Eastern Shore. Meanwhile, Bacon issued his famous Declaration of the People on July 30, 1676, denouncing Berkeley for corruption and playing favorites. He overplayed his hand, however, by requiring Virginians to take a personal oath of loyalty to him. When Berkeley supporters succeeded in infiltrating Jamestown and seizing control of the town and the colony's ships, Bacon retaliated by burning Jamestown to the ground on September 19. By that date public opinion had turned solidly against him. Bacon died on October 26, 1676, of the "Bloodie Flux" (fever) and "Lousey Disease" (body lice). His contaminated body, never found, was probably burned by his own men. On Bacon's death, Berkeley regained full control of Virginia affairs.

JAIME RAMÓN OLIVARES AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Bacon's Rebellion; Berkeley, William; Virginia

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Bacon's Rebellion

Start Date: June 1676 End Date: January 1677

A violent uprising in Virginia led by Nathaniel Bacon, a member of the rural planter class. At one time identified as the first manifestation of revolutionary sentiment in English North America, Bacon's Rebellion is now seen as more the result of a power struggle between two colonial leaders. A number of factors contributed to the unrest, chief among them a declining economy brought on by a sharp drop in the price of tobacco, the result of increasing competition from Maryland and the Carolinas. This economic crisis affected small farmers and planters alike, and many Virginia farmers relied almost exclusively on tobacco cultivation. The ongoing Anglo-Dutch wars also wrought considerable havoc, disrupting trade and increasing the price of imported English manufactured goods. A series of natural disasters had also taken a heavy toll. These included hurricanes, dry spells, and hailstorms.

Internal Virginia politics played the key factor in the outbreak of the rebellion. In an effort to expand their land holding, the colonials increasingly encroached onto Native American lands in the western part of the colony, leading to armed conflict. The natives found themselves a ready scapegoat for the colony's other problems.

In July 1675, apparently in a dispute over nonpayment of trade items, members of the Doeg tribe raided the plantation belonging to Thomas Mathews near the Potomac River in the Northern Neck area of Virginia. Several Doegs were killed in the raid. Unfortunately, the colonists then mounted a retaliatory strike against the wrong tribe, the Susquehannocks, and this led to a series of native raids along the western frontier.

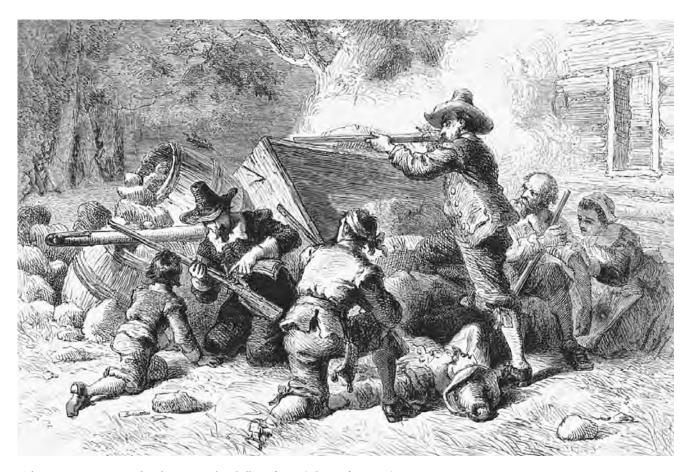
In the hopes of preventing a spread in hostilities, Virginia governor Sir William Berkeley ordered an investigation. This led to a meeting between the two sides and the murder of several chiefs. Throughout the crises, Berkeley sought to please both sides, leading to anger on the part of many western colonists, who believed the government had abandoned them in the face of the native threat.

The leader of the western colonists was the intemperate yet eloquent Nathaniel Bacon, distant relative of Berkeley and a member of the House of Burgesses since 1675. Bacon opposed Berkeley's conciliatory policies and disregarded a direct government order by seizing some members of the Appomattox tribe for allegedly stealing corn, whereupon Berkeley reprimanded him. In the western part of the colony, probably a majority of the colonists sided with Bacon, believing that Berkeley was taking the natives' side.

Berkeley sought to pursue a middle course, ordering local natives to give up their powder and ammunition while, in March 1676, calling the "Long Assembly."

This body declared war on hostile Native Americans and took steps to strengthen the Virginia frontier defenses. But this action also necessitated a sharp increase in taxes. The assembly also took charge of trading with the natives, insisting that this be done through a government commission, supposedly to see that the natives were not receiving arms and ammunition, but the commission also brought financial gain to close associates of the governor.

Bacon was one of those who had traded with the natives and was adversely affected by this decision. In addition, he was angry because Berkeley had denied him a commission as militia officer. Bacon then secured his election as the "general" of a local militia, promising to pay for its operations against the natives from his own pocket.



Fighting among Virginia settlers during Bacon's Rebellion of 1676. (Library of Congress)

When Bacon and his men drove a number of friendly Pamunkeys from their lands, Berkeley rode to Bacon's headquarters at Henrico with a force of 300 well-armed men to confront him, whereupon Bacon and his 200 men fled into the forest. Berkeley then issued two decrees, the first declaring Bacon a rebel and the second pardoning his men if they would return to their homes. Bacon would lose his seat on the council, to which he had won election that year, but Berkeley promised him a fair trial. Bacon failed to comply with Berkeley's order. Instead he led an attack on the friendly Occaneechee natives along the Roanoke River, the border between Virginia and North Carolina, seizing their stocks of beaver pelts in the process.

With events now seemingly spinning out of control, Berkeley announced that he was ready to forgive Bacon's disobedience and pardon him if he agreed to be sent to England for trial there before King Charles II. The House of Burgesses, however, insisted that Bacon apologize and ask for the governor's forgiveness. At the same time, supported by the western landowners who approved of his actions toward the natives, Bacon won election to the House of Burgesses.

In June 1676 Bacon traveled to Jamestown to take part in the new assembly. Bacon has been mistakenly credited at the time for a number of political reforms enacted by this assembly, including

granting freedmen the right to vote and limiting the terms of officeholders. Bacon's only real platform, however, was his opposition to Native Americans.

On his arrival at Jamestown, Bacon was arrested and taken before Berkeley and the crown council, where he apologized for his actions. Berkeley then pardoned Bacon and allowed him to take his seat. Neither Berkeley nor the council understood the level of support that Bacon enjoyed. That became clear when in the midst of debate over Native American policies, Bacon stalked out of the meeting and left Jamestown, only to return a few days later with some 500 armed followers, who then surrounded the assembly house.

Bacon then confronted Berkeley and demanded he be placed in charge of all the colony's forces against the natives. Berkeley courageously refused this demand, made at gunpoint, offering to grant Bacon his previous militia commission but not control of the Virginia forces. With some of Bacon's men threatening to shoot members of the House of Burgesses, Berkeley at length gave in and granted Bacon's request that he be made "general" and commander of the Virginia Militia to lead it, free of government interference, in a campaign against the natives.

For the next three months Bacon was in firm control of Jamestown and on July 30 issued his "Declaration of the People,"

claiming that Berkeley was corrupt and had shaped his native policies in order to bring financial reward to himself and his friends. Bacon also issued a decree requiring an oath in which the swearer would have to agree to obey him in any manner Bacon deemed necessary. Berkeley, meanwhile, fled to his estate of Green Spring on the Eastern Shore and once again declared Bacon a rebel. Much to his dismay, the governor found he could attract few armed supporters. Indeed, many Virginians were upset with Berkeley for turning on Bacon in the middle of a campaign against Native Americans.

Bacon used his authority as commander of the militia to lead a force of about 1,000 colonists against the Native Americans, not to the western part of the colony, where the threat actually lay, but against the peaceful Pamunkeys, who had been friendly with the English since 1646. The colonists drove the Pamunkeys into Dragon Swamp, pursuing them over a three-week span and killing or capturing only 10, 7 of them women and children. Bacon then dismissed most of his force and pressed on with only about 150 of his most loyal followers. Shortly thereafter, they came across a Pamunkey camp, where they killed 53 natives, most of them women and children. Bacon declared the campaign at an end. In none of his fighting against the Native Americans did Bacon do battle with those who were actually hostile.

Bacon emerged from the campaign to learn that Berkeley's followers had infiltrated the ships of the Virginia navy enabling his return to Jamestown. Bacon then marched on Jamestown, besieging it. On September 16, the loyalists briefly sallied from Jamestown and attacked Bacon's siege positions, only to be driven back with a dozen casualties. Berkeley departed again with his followers for the Eastern Shore.

Bacon now overreached. On September 19, he ordered Jamestown, the oldest permanent English settlement in the New World, burned to the ground, although he did save most of the valuable state records. This deed led many Virginians to question their support for Bacon, who lost other followers by admitting to his military both indentured servants and slaves. This decision threatened to overturn the entire social order of the colony.

On October 26, 1676, Bacon died abruptly of "Bloodie Flux," a fever accompanied by virulent dysentery, probably a direct result of the time spent in the back woods and swamps. An obscure follower, Joseph Ingram, took over for him and the rebellion turned from its chief raison d'être of warfare against hostile Native Americans to mere looting and robbery.

Gradually Berkeley's forces grew in strength. They controlled the waters and, aided by the addition of several larger merchant vessels that they intercepted on arrival from England, mounted increasing numbers of raids up the James River and York River against rebel strongholds. Resistance strengthened before the chief rebel stronghold of West Point, whereupon Berkeley authorized Thomas Grantham, captain of the merchantman *Concord* to negotiate the surrender of the remaining rebels. There Grantham secured the surrender of some 700 freemen, servants, and slaves in January 1677. Bacon's Rebellion was for all intents and purposes at an end.

In the spring of 1677 at Middle Plantation, the Virginia government entered into a number of peace treaties with the natives in an effort to try to repair relations (the Susquehannocks apparently left western Virginia in mid-1676). Charles II had reacted to news of the rebellion by recalling Berkeley and dispatching a force of 1,000 soldiers, who, however, arrived after the rebellion was over. The first regular British troops to be stationed in Virginia, they were soon withdrawn. Bacon's Rebellion was in no way a precursor of the American Revolutionary War.

JAIME RAMÓN OLIVARES AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Anglo-Dutch War, First; Anglo-Dutch War, Second; Anglo-Dutch War, Third; Bacon, Nathaniel, Jr.; Berkeley, William; Powhatans; Virginia; Virginia-Indian Treaty (1677/1680)

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Balize Post (Louisiana)

French fortification and post built between 1721 and 1723 at the mouth of Southeast Pass, one of the entrances to the Mississippi River through the delta south of New Orleans. Balize Post was also known as Fort de la Balise. The site derived its name from *balise*, French for "beacon" or "channel buoy," because the French had installed a channel marker there to facilitate navigation of the river. The small settlement was situated on Toulouse Island.

The island was flat and about half a mile in circumference, forcing the French to build a 96-foot levee to protect the post from tides and floods. The levee also helped to protect the channel from erosion and provided important channel markers. The French stationed pilots and lighters at the post to assist vessels traveling upriver.

The location of these fortifications played an important part in the decision to make New Orleans the new capital of Louisiana, which the French did in 1722 on completion of the fort. Defenses included a 14-gun battery, a powder magazine, and storehouses. The post also boasted eight barracks, a forge, a bakery, a kitchen, and a church for the garrison of 50 soldiers and the pilots and sailors who lived there.

The location of Balize Post made it prone to damage from hurricanes, however. The fortifications had to be repaired in 1742 and again in 1749 after extensive flooding. In 1750, a hurricane destroyed the post, and the French abandoned the site. After Spain took control of the area in 1763, Spanish governor Francisco de Carondelet built a new fort at Balize Post after Fort Isla Real Católica

de San Carlos was abandoned in 1770 due to constant flooding. The Spanish renamed the post Fort la Baliza, which now included barracks, a hospital, a church, and a governor's house. Fort la Baliza was destroyed in 1778. Another post was built the same year, but the Spanish abandoned it as well because of constant flooding. In 1794, the Spanish erected a blockhouse and barracks on the site, which were taken over by the Americans in 1803. They named it Port at Balize and rebuilt the fort several times. During the War of 1812, the British occupied the post. The area became the site of a lighthouse for a number of years before being swamped and destroyed by a hurricane on September 13, 1865.

STEVEN DIETER

See also

Louisiana; Mississippi River; New Orleans (Louisiana)

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Barnwell, John

Born: ca. 1671 Died: June 1724

South Carolina colonist and soldier who gained notoriety for his actions in the Tuscarora War (1711–1713) and the Yamasee War (1715–1717). John Barnwell was born in Ireland around 1671. He became active in Carolina politics following his emigration there in 1701.

When hostilities broke out between expanding colonists and the Tuscaroras in North Carolina in 1711, Barnwell and the South Carolina Assembly pledged money and troops to help defend their neighbor. The Tuscarora War began in mid-September 1711 with the execution of North Carolina trader John Lawson by the Tuscaroras. On September 22, many displaced native tribes banded together to attack the expansionistic colonists, the largest contingent among them the Tuscaroras. In less than two hours, the natives killed more than 100 settlers, and by some accounts, closer to 200. Facing a full-blown war, North Carolina turned to South Carolina for help.

South Carolina responded by dispatching Colonel Barnwell and some 30 other officers heading up 500 troops. Most were Yamasee warriors. Barnwell's forces arrived near New Bern, North Carolina, in late January 1712 and engaged the natives in various skirmishes through April. Foremost among these was Barnwell's victory at the Native American village of Narhantes. However, the fighting culminated in the siege of Fort Hancock, upriver from New Bern, which fell to Barnwell's men on April 17. The Tuscaroras then negotiated a temporary peace, and Barnwell returned home.

Fighting resumed in the fall of 1712, but Barnwell was not involved. The final English victory was secured by James Moore's

expedition of 1712–1713, which culminated with the March 23 capture of Fort Neoheroka. Many of the Tuscaroras were thereby killed, enslaved, or dispersed. Some settled on reservations in North Carolina, while a large contingent relocated to New York and became part of the Iroquois Confederation.

When the Yamasee War began between South Carolina and the local Yamasee natives, Barnwell's fighting skills were again called on. For his help, South Carolina granted him 1,000 acres on the northwest corner of Hilton Head Island, South Carolina, in 1717. Barnwell subsequently became a prominent settler of Beaufort, South Carolina, some 20 miles north of the island.

As South Carolina continued its expansion, the border between the English colony and Spanish Florida became hotly contested. As a result, South Carolina hoped to establish a ring of forts on the outermost boundaries to support its claims. To that end, in 1721, Barnwell oversaw the construction of Fort King George at the mouth of the Altamaha River (near present-day Darien) on the ruins of a 17th-century Spanish mission. The post included a three-story blockhouse, barracks, and a palisade. This offered South Carolinians about 65 miles of buffer protection, as the boundary of their colony ended at the Savannah River. Fort King George was the southernmost point of the English empire in North America from 1721 to 1736. It was nevertheless garrisoned only by a small and weak force and saw very little action.

After a brief trip to England in 1722 as an agent for the colony of South Carolina, Barnwell died, probably in June 1724, in Beaufort. He is buried at St. Helena's Episcopal Church in downtown Beaufort.

LISA L. CRUTCHFIELD

See also

Fort King George (Georgia); Moore, James; South Carolina; Tuscarora War; Yamasee War

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Barnwell Township System

Plan to bolster the defenses of South Carolina's southern and western frontiers through the establishment of a string of compact settlements, modeled after New England frontier defenses. The system was originally proposed in 1720 by Colonel John Barnwell, a veteran of the Tuscarora and Yamasee wars, and later implemented by Gov. Robert Johnson.

Carolina had long relied on the Yamasee Indians as a buffer against hostile incursions from the south and west. The Yamasee War of 1715–1717 removed that option, however, leaving the plantations on the coastal plain exposed and vulnerable to attack. The legislature ordered the confiscation of Yamasee lands for the establishment of immigrant homesteads, but the Carolina proprietors

intervened and reserved the Yamasee lands for themselves. Further action was delayed by a rebellion against the proprietors and a lengthy transition to royal government.

Johnson, the colony's first royal governor, revived the plan in 1730 with the added purposes of offsetting the growing population of African slaves and creating a buffer between the slave and Native American populations to prevent their allying with each other. The Board of Trade approved a proposal for 11 townships, about 60 miles inland along major rivers from the Waccamaw River to the Altamaha River, that is, between the coastal plain and the Piedmont region. Two of the sites soon became part of the new colony of Georgia.

The colony established a fund to recruit poor European Protestants to settle the townships, although much of the money was diverted to pay off colonial debts. Each immigrant family received 50 acres of outlying farmland per family member plus one town lot. Scots-Irish, Swiss-German, Welsh, and other settlers were subsequently brought to the colony. The result was not a flood of immigration but the beginnings of a new "backcountry" society had been planted. Ten settlements were established by 1759, and three more were added farther inland in the 1760s. By 1760, the region contained about half of South Carolina's white population.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Barnwell, John; South Carolina; Yamasees; Yamasee War

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Bars Fight

Event Date: August 25, 1746

Abenaki attack on Deerfield, Massachusetts. During King George's War (1744–1748), on August 20, 1746, French soldiers under the command of Pierre François de Rigaud, Chevalier de Vaudreuil, and their Abenaki allies took Fort Massachusetts, about 30 miles west of Deerfield. After the capitulation, Rigaud sent 60 Indians to cut off the British reinforcement expected from Deerfield. Most of these British soldiers were shot down; the rest were captured.

The Abenakis continued as far as Deerfield, and on August 25 they reconnoitered the town's meadows. They then concealed themselves along the edge of a meadow south of the village, known as the Bars, where several men and children were putting up hay. The members of the haymaking group were Samuel Allen and his children Eunice, Caleb, and Samuel Jr., and two neighbors, Oliver and Samuel Amsden. Two armed soldiers, Adonijah Gillett and John Saddler, accompanied them for protection. Another citizen of

Deerfield, Eleazer Hawks, was out hunting partridges on the hills. When Hawks came close to the warriors and shot a bird, the Indians believed they had been discovered and killed and scalped him.

This development alarmed the field hands, who ran toward a mill on a brook that entered Deerfield River. Allen Sr., Oliver Amsden, and the two soldiers fired on the pursuers, trying to give the children an opportunity to escape. The elder Allen, Oliver Amsden, and Gillet were killed, but both Saddler and Caleb Allen escaped unhurt. Nine-year-old Samuel Amsden was caught and scalped. Eunice Allen was seriously wounded by a tomahawk blow to the head and left for dead. Her eight-year-old brother, Samuel Jr., was taken prisoner by the Abenakis and lived for 18 months with the tribe in Canada. He was finally redeemed by his uncle but resisted leaving the tribe and was taken back only by force.

Lucy Terry Prince (ca. 1730–ca. 1821), a freed slave who lived in Deerfield at the time of the attack and the earliest known African American poet, composed the poem "Bars Fight" soon after the event, although it was not printed until 1855.

Bars Fight

Seventeen hundred forty-six The Indians did in ambush lay Some very valiant men to slay The names of whom I'll not leave out Samuel Allen like a hero fout And though he was so brave and bold His face no more shall we behold. Eleazer Hawks was killed outright Before he had time to fight Before he did the Indians see Was shot and killed immediately. Oliver Amsden he was slain Which caused his friends much grief and pain. Samuel Amsden they found dead Not many rods off from his head. Adonijah Gillet we do hear Did lose his life which was so dear. John Saddler fled across the water And so escaped the dreadful slaughter. Eunice Allen see the Indians comeing And hoped to save herself by running And had not her petticoats stopt her The awful creatures had not cotched her And tommyhawked her on the head And left her on the ground for dead. Young Samuel Allen, Oh! lack a-day Was taken and carried to Canada.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Abenakis; Deerfield (Massachusetts); Fort Massachusetts (Massachusetts); King George's War, Land Campaigns

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Bateau

A flat-bottomed, shallow-draft boat, wide in the middle, with tapering ends. The bateau (plural: bateaux) was imported from Europe and adapted for use along the waterways of North America. Because of their shallow draft, bateaux had the ability to make many of the inland waterways navigable that otherwise would have remained inaccessible to deeper-draft ships. Bateaux came in a variety of sizes and were used in a number of different capacities both military and civilian.

As the name implies, they were of French invention, though the British and colonists built bateaux as well. Their long, narrow configuration gave them a rectangular shape that narrowed at the ends. They came in several types, based on their size. Most were between 24 and 30 feet in length, though some reached as long as 40 feet. During the French and Indian War, John Campbell, Lord Loudoun, tried to standardize the size of the bateaux used for transporting the supplies of the British Army and provincial troops. It is not clear that he succeeded in this enterprise.

Propulsion was mainly by paddle, with an additional paddle serving as rudder. Only two men were needed to guide the bateau when under oar. Bateaux used sails on occasion, fashioned from tents or blankets during desperate situations. When in shallow bodies of water, bateaux were most often poled.

Different types of bateaux were designated by their place of manufacture. Among these was the Albany-style bateau, which was somewhat smaller than the Schenectady-style. Bateaux served as an all-purpose cargo carrier, with some reaching a carrying capacity of over two tons. More commonly, they were capable of carrying a load of about 1,500 pounds. Bateaux were used as personnel transports as well.

As for their military uses, bateaux allowed for much faster movement of troops than would have been possible overland. They were, therefore, often pressed into service for the transportation of troops and supplies on the rivers and lakes of New York. They were predominantly used on the Hudson River and Lake George and Lake Champlain. Bateaux were, however, used throughout North America wherever the waterways made the use of such craft advantageous. In this role, they provided key support for logistics during the various campaigns of the colonial wars, beginning with King William's War (1689–1697), and were being used as military transports as late as the War of 1812.

IAMES R. McIntyre

See also

Campbell, John, Earl of Loudoun; Hudson River; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Lake Champlain; Lake George; Logistics



Contemporary illustration of 18th-century fur traders navigating a bateau through rough river rapids. (North Wind Picture Archives)

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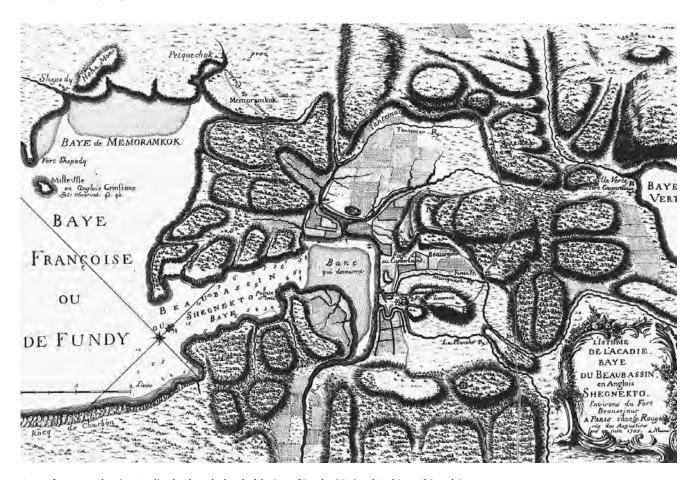
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Bay of Fundy Expedition

Start Date: May 23, 1755 End Date: Late June 1755

British campaign of 1755 against the French and Acadians in maritime Canada, part of the ongoing French and Indian War (1754–1763). Under Article XII of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Britain was to have taken possession of the territory of Acadia "within its ancient limits." As late as 1749, however, these limits remained unsettled, and "Acadia" was defined as everything from the modern territories of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to a narrow coastal strip on the eastern side of the Chignecto Peninsula. The former reflected British land claims in the former French territory; the latter represented both French claims and the actual settlement patterns on the ground.

In the early 1750s, the French strengthened their claims, and not just by stalling British efforts to negotiate a new boundary. They



A map from 1755 showing Acadian lands at the head of the Bay of Fundy. (National Archives of Canada)

also established two forts, Beauséjour and Gaspéreau, across the isthmus of Chignecto, controlling access from the peninsula to the Canadian mainland. In 1754, Gov. Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia led the construction of his own fort on the ruins of Beausesin, an older French Acadian village directly facing Beauséjour and Gaspéreau. Each set of fortifications could serve as a staging ground for expeditions against the other and into the hinterland beyond.

With violence in the Ohio region and negotiations stalled in Europe, this miniature arms race was set to become part of a larger conflict. William Shirley, governor of Massachusetts as well as one of Britain's commissaries under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, raised extra troops in anticipation of the 1755 campaign. Governor Lawrence, meanwhile, reactivated three regiments of British regulars who were already in Nova Scotia. By the time British major general Edward Braddock arrived at Williamsburg, Virginia, in April 1755, the two governors had already prepared an expedition against the French forts, which the general soon approved.

In late May 1755, some 250 British regulars and 2,000 colonial troops left Boston to join the forces already in Acadia, disembarking at Fort Lawrence on June 2. In 10 days, the expeditionary force straddled the road between Beauséjour and Gaspéreau and began

to dig in. Within two weeks after their landing, British batteries fired directly on the two forts, and British troops had either taken or destroyed several outposts.

To defend the two forts, French captain Louis Du Pont Du Chambon de Vergor relied largely on local help. Fearing reprisal attacks in case of a British victory, the Acadians served unwillingly and persuaded Vergor to sign a document that noted their concerns. Despite Vergor's efforts, however, most of his Acadian allies fought poorly. For example, defenders at an outpost on the Missaguash River fought for only one hour before either fleeing or surrendering. Several hundred more Acadians apparently deserted when artillery fire destroyed one French outpost on June 16. When Vergor surrendered the next day, he had with him only 150 French regulars and 300 Acadians.

Although the forts had fallen, British operations in the Bay of Fundy were not yet complete. With Vergor's surrender, the Canadian maritime frontier lay open to British conquest as far as St. John's, although an expedition against that post was saved for another year. The Acadians signed an oath of neutrality, although Lawrence continued to suspect that French agents from St. John's or Louisbourg might attempt to stir them to revolt. This

continued suspicion touched off the second wave of operations in Nova Scotia, more political than military and arguably more expensive for Britain's war effort in North America than doing nothing at all.

Lawrence's second wave of operations in 1755 involved the expulsion of several thousand Acadians, an action that would clear the British rear for further advances into Canada. Most Acadians, about 7,000 to 10,000, left the peninsula and resettled in Canada proper. But about 4,500 of the unfortunates left behind were shipped away from Nova Scotia and divided among the other nearby British colonies, more than 1,000 going to Massachusetts alone.

Although Nova Scotia remained tranquil for the remainder of the war, the exiled Acadians caused problems in the other colonies. The "French neutrals," as they were called, encountered major barriers to employment among the British colonists and were therefore largely supported at public expense. The resultant additional taxes caused unrest in some colonies, and more instances than usual of tax evasion. Given the authorities' fear of an Acadian revolt, for some time colonial troops were also held closer to their own frontiers.

In military terms, the Bay of Fundy expedition was a clear success. It ended decades of dispute about sovereignty over Nova Scotia and set the stage for further British advances into the Canadian interior. However, Lawrence's handling of the Acadians both surrendered the advantages of their declared neutrality and imposed a heavier tax burden on his neighbors to the south.

MATT SCHUMANN

See also

Braddock's Campaign; Fort Beauséjour (Nova Scotia); Fort Gaspéreau (Nova Scotia); Fort Necessity (Pennsylvania), and Battle of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Utrecht, Treaty of

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Beaujeu, Daniel-Hyacinthe Marie Liénard de

Born: August 9, 1711 Died: July 9, 1755

Officer in the colonial regular troops (troupes de la marine) of French Canada. Born on August 9, 1711, at Montreal, Daniel Beaujeu followed his father into the officer corps of the troupes de la marine and, like him, was posted to several of the far-flung forts of New France over his 26 years of service.

Beaujeu first achieved prominence as one of the leaders of a Canadian-Indian expedition that in the dead of winter managed to overcome and force the surrender of a superior force of New England troops forted-up at Grand Pré in Acadia (February 11, 1747). The bloody victory at Grand Pré was part of a 10-month campaign to liberate Acadia from its British occupiers. Lieutenant Beaujeu kept a journal of the campaign that demonstrated the superior woodsmen's skills of the Canadians and their ability to work closely with Indian allies.

In 1749, Beaujeu, now a captain, was given command of Fort Niagara (in present-day New York), one of France's most important North American posts. In addition to serving as a link in the fur trade between the western tribes and Canada, the fort played a vital role in keeping the Indian tribes in the region at peace with one another and on France's side.

Captain Beaujeu's biggest—and last—assignment was to the command of the even more strategic Fort Duquesne, newly built at the confluence of the Allegheny River and Monongahela River on the site of present-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Having been informed by a deserter that a large force of British regulars and American militiamen, under the command of Major General Edward Braddock and accompanied by siege artillery, was making its way toward Fort Duquesne, Beaujeu set about recruiting Indian allies and bringing in supplies and reinforcements over the long land and water route back to French Canada. A council of war decided to attack the invaders before they could open a siege of the fort, and in the morning of July 9, 1755, Beaujeu led a force of 637 Indians, 146 Canadian militiamen, and 108 officers and men of the troupes de la marine into the forest that separated the fort from Braddock's army to prepare an ambush. Aware that they were outnumbered nearly two to one and that the enemy had cannon, the Indian allies of the French—Ottawas and Delawares from nearby and Hurons and Abenakis brought in from Canada-began to waver. Beaujeu is reported to have stiffened their resolve by saying, "I am determined to go ahead and meet the enemy. What! Will you let your father go by himself? I am sure to beat them."

At about 1:00 p.m., before the ambush could be laid, Beaujeu's force stumbled into a British column in the forest and in an ensuing exchange of fire, he was killed. Fortunately, his equally competent and charismatic second-in-command, Captain Jean-Daniel Dumas, stepped into the breach and led the French force to its stunning victory over the much larger Anglo-American army. Beaujeu's body was taken back to Fort Duquesne and buried there on July 12, 1755.

Bruce Vandervort

See also

Abenakis; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Hurons

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Beaver Wars

Start Date: 1641 End Date: 1701

Series of wars fought by the five nations of the Iroquois Confederation (the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas) against the French and their Native American allies. Historians have long debated Iroquois motivations in pursuing these conflicts (also known as the Iroquois Wars), which were punctuated by lulls, treaties, and truces. The Iroquois appear to have had two primary goals for their offensives. First, in need of a reliable source of European goods, the Iroquois sought to gain control of the fur-trading routes to their north and west and then move the beaver pelts from the upper Great Lakes to their Dutch (later English) trading partners at Fort Orange (modern-day Albany, New York). The second goal was an extension of the traditional practice of the "Mourning War." Having been devastated by outbreaks of European diseases in the 1630s, the Iroquois sought captives, some of whom would be adopted by clans to replace their dead. This practice was a longstanding one in Iroquois culture.

At odds with New France, the Iroquois desired a reliable supplier of European trade goods and so developed a trade relationship with the Dutch. Beaver pelts were the primary currency of the trade, but the Iroquois seem to have trapped most of the beavers in their territory by the beginning of the 1640s. Even if there were sufficient beaver pelts in Iroquoia by this time, they were not the thicker (and more valuable) pelts from the upper Great Lakes. Dependent on European weapons, tools, and cloth, and needing captives to replace the dead, the Iroquois began the so-called Beaver Wars by launching a series of attacks against other Iroquoian speakers in the early 1640s.

By virtue of their location, the Hurons served as middlemen in the fur trade, acquiring pelts from tribes such as the Nipissings to their north and the Ottawas to their west in exchange for maize. They then traded the pelts to the French for European goods. The Iroquois attacked the Hurons in 1648 and followed up with attacks that devastated Huronia in March 1649. Several aspects of the 1649 attack on the Hurons signaled that the Iroquois were practicing a new form of warfare. The Five Nations attacked during a time of year when warfare was usually suspended because of the difficulty of travel, and they struck in great force (estimated at 1,000 men) rather than in small groups. They were also very far from their homes in Iroquoia. In addition, they unveiled a new tactic, namely fighting at night. While the Hurons had the military capacity to respond in the wake of the 1649 attacks, the assault seems to have had an unnerving effect on them. The majority of the Hurons choose to flee in an effort to escape the Iroquois. Most Hurons went to Ganadoe (now Christian) Island in Lake Huron's Georgian Bay, where many of them perished of starvation during 1649-1650. Some went to Quebec, whereas others fled and were dispersed throughout the Great Lakes region and the Ohio Country.

The Iroquois followed up with other attacks in 1650. Many of the Hurons were captured or fled to the western Great Lakes or the Ohio Country. Presumably, the confederation asked the Eries and a tribe known as the Neutrals to join the Longhouse (the metaphor for the Iroquois League). When they refused, the Iroquois, well equipped with firearms obtained from the Dutch, devastated both nations, carrying off many of their people into captivity.

If the Iroquois goal in these campaigns was to gain control of the Huron fur-trading routes, they failed. Instead, the elimination of the Hurons shifted the epicenter of the trade westward, and Algonquian-speaking peoples, such as the Ottawas, replaced the Hurons as middlemen. The Five Nations, moreover, could not sustain this conflict without resting and rebuilding their stocks of muskets and ammunition. To facilitate this, and to keep New France from attacking them, the Iroquois allowed the French to send missionaries among them at Onondaga.

The Iroquois, however, soon found themselves at war again, this time with the Iroquoian-speaking Susquehannocks. Quite numerous, backed by the colonies of Maryland and Delaware, and able to obtain powder and firearms from Swedish traders, the Susquehannocks were a formidable foe. Unable to fight the Susquehannocks and to continue their campaign in the Great Lakes region, the Iroquois made peace with their enemies to the north and west. The Susquehannock threat came to an end, but for reasons that had nothing to do with the Iroquois. Attacked by Virginians in the opening phases of Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, the Susquehannocks were dispersed, and many were incorporated into the Seneca tribe.

Freed of the threat to their south, the Iroquois renewed their assault on the peoples of the Ohio Country and the Great Lakes. But over time, the ongoing conflict served to weaken the Five Nations. Their enemies acquired European weaponry while Iroquois losses mounted. The French even invaded Iroquoia and burned a Seneca town. The Mourning War tradition began to change the demographic makeup of Iroquoia, so much so that one Jesuit claimed that there were more adoptives than native-born among the Iroquois. Moreover, neither the French nor the Iroquois could hope to control the fur trade. The founding of the English Hudson's Bay Company shifted much of the fur trade northward.

In 1701, weakened, and having failed to gain control over the fur trade, the Iroquois leader Decanisora came up with a cunning diplomatic solution to their difficulties. In what came to be known as the Grand Settlement of 1701, the Five Nations began a new policy best described as "armed neutrality." In separate treaties, the Iroquois promised the French that they would remain neutral in future conflicts and assured New York that they would aid that colony, provided that it fulfilled certain promises the Iroquois knew would not be kept. For the next half a century, the Iroquois would invoke these agreements to ensure a steady flow of gifts. This diplomatic maneuvering would end only toward the end of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), when the then Six Nations joined the English in the conflict.

See also

Decanisora; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Hurons; Indian Presents; Iroquois; Iroquois Treaties of 1700 and 1701; Mohawks; Mourning War; Native Warfare; Ohio Country; Oneidas; Onondagas; Ottawas; Senecas; Susquehannock

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Berkeley, William

Born: January 1, 1606 Died: July 9, 1677

Governor of the English colony of Virginia (1640–1652 and 1660–1677). Born in Somerset, England, on January 1, 1606, William Berkeley was educated at St. Edmond Hall and Merton College, Oxford. He studied law at the Middle Temple in London before embarking on a tour of Continental Europe. In 1632, he secured a position in the household of King Charles I. Berkeley took part in the First and Second Bishops' Wars (1639–1640) and was knighted for this service.

Friends and relatives (his parents owned stock in the Virginia Company) assisted Berkeley in purchasing the post of governor of Virginia from its then-current occupant, Sir Francis Wyatt. Charles I approved and in 1642 Berkeley arrived at Jamestown, Virginia, to take up his post. Berkeley became the longest serving of all English North American colonial governors and of all Virginia governors, colonial or modern.

Berkeley soon had established a plantation near Jamestown, where as one of the planter elite he experimented with the production of crops for export other than tobacco. These included flax, rice, and fruits. Berkeley sought to make Jamestown the center of a diverse colonial trade that would increase both the wealth of Virginia and himself. A proponent of free trade and autonomy, Berkeley found himself at odds with the Crown's mercantilist principles, symbolized in the Navigation Acts.

In 1644, Berkeley traveled to England to secure arms for use in fighting the Native Americans during the Third Anglo-Powhatan War of 1644–1646. In October 1646, he signed the peace treaty that established reservations for the Native Americans who had been part of Powhatan's Confederation and that required them to pay annual tribute to the Virginia government.

With the onset of the English Civil War in 1649, the loyalty of many royal governors was severely tested. In 1649, Berkeley declared Virginia loyal to Charles I. As a result, in 1652 Parliament dispatched a military expedition to Virginia. Berkeley surrendered to these forces but not before winning terms that kept Virginia's political institutions largely intact. He then retired to his estate near

Jamestown until he was returned to power in January 1660 after the death of Gov. Samuel Mathews.

During his second period as governor, Berkeley sought to implement his economic plans for Virginia. Toward that end and to secure funding, he traveled to England in 1661. King Charles II supported the idea of economic diversification but he refused additional immediate funding and he rejected Berkeley's appeal for free trade.

Berkeley returned to Virginia in late 1662. His plans for economic diversification were largely unsuccessful and he became increasing unpopular as a result of taxes imposed to support that effort. Maryland's failure to honor an agreement regulating the production of tobacco also led to a sharp decrease in the price of that commodity, for which many small tobacco farmers blamed Berkeley. War with the Dutch also affected Virginia trade and its overall economy. Finally, Berkeley found himself sharply at odds with many settlers in western Virginia regarding his conciliatory policy toward the Native Americans in the face of mounting Indian raids in the 1670s. This came to a head following a Doeg raid in July 1675. Berkeley misread the situation, and his failure to mount a major punitive operation drew the anger of many westerners. Many of these settlers sought an all-out war against the Native Americans that would allow them to take the natives' land.

All of these grievances found expression in the summer of 1676 in a rebellion against the colonial government. Planter Nathaniel Bacon and his followers seized control of the capital of Jamestown, forcing Berkeley to flee. A reaction to Bacon's excesses enabled forces loyal to Berkeley to regain control following Bacon's death from natural causes in October 1676 and before the arrival of a sizable English military expedition to Virginia to accomplish the same end. Berkeley ordered the leaders of the rebellion hanged.

Berkeley quarreled with new officials sent out by London and resigned his office in May 1677. He returned to England in an effort to clear his name. Before he could accomplish this, however, Berkeley died in Twinkenham, England, on July 9, 1677.

JAIME RAMÓN OLIVARES AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Bacon, Nathaniel, Jr.; Bacon's Rebellion; Virginia

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Black Point, Attacks on

Start Date: October 12, 1676 End Date: June 29, 1677

Series of three skirmishes between Native Americans and English colonists during King Philip's War (1675–1676). Black Point, the site of a small English settlement and stronghold, was located in

present-day Scarborough County, Maine, just south of Portland. The initial attack on Black Point came on October 12, 1676, when Mugg Hegon, the Androscoggin sachem (chief), led between 50 and 100 native warriors against the English there.

The native attack was an extension of King Philip's War that had been raging for months between Massachusetts settlers to the south and the Wampanoags. By 1676, the violence had spilled north into Maine; several English settlements and farms had already been targets of native raids. Mugg did not attack immediately; he called for the post to surrender. He also offered to let the English leave with their possessions. While the fort's English commander, Captain Henry Jocelyn, was talking with Mugg, most of the English settlers fled Black Point by boat. Jocelyn, who had heretofore enjoyed cordial relations with Mugg, had no choice but to surrender, as the garrison was much reduced. Mugg kept his word and permitted Jocelyn and the remaining settlers to leave with their possessions. Without a shot being fired, Mugg and his men had forced the English to abandon Black Point.

Mugg had no use for the fort at Black Point and abandoned it by November 1676, believing that he had ousted the settlers for good. Nevertheless, the English reestablished the garrison at Black Point early the following year. Captain Bartholomew Tippen was the garrison's new commander. With the English garrison reconstituted and settlers beginning to return, Mugg once again attacked Black Point. This time the English were prepared and did not flee.

The battle began on May 14,1677, and ended on May 16. Tippen and his men did an admirable job holding back the large contingent of warriors, losing just three men in the three-day struggle. Native losses were greater, and Tippen allegedly shot and killed Mugg himself on May 16. Mugg's death was a severe blow to the natives, who quickly withdrew before day's end.

This English victory was fleeting, however. Just six weeks later, on June 29,1677, a force of 40 raw colonial recruits led by Captain Benjamin Swett and Lieutenant James Richardson, along with 200 allied native warriors, arrived at Black Point by ship. Their goal was to neutralize hostile natives in the area and end any threat to Black Point. A group of men from the garrison joined them as they disembarked. The English then spotted enemy warriors fleeing and gave chase. As it turned out, the flight served as bait for an ambush, into which the English quickly fell. The ambush cost the English 40 dead, including both commanders, and their native allies lost 20 warriors.

The attacks at Black Point were only one in a series of ongoing hostilities between English settlers and Native Americans in Maine that continued into the 18th century.

DALLACE W. UNGER JR.

See also

King Philip's War; Maine; Metacom; Raiding Party; Wampanoags

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Black Robes

French Jesuit missionaries who operated in New France, beginning in 1625 with the arrival of Jean de Brébeuf, and innovated conversion methods among the Algonquins inhabiting the region. Nicknamed "Black Robes" by the Native Americans for their distinctive black cassocks, they were unique in the Americas for their conversion methods, determining that it was necessary for a missionary to live amid the natives as one of them. In so doing, the Black Robes were well equipped to translate Christianity into verbal and cultural terms the natives could understand.

The Black Robes prepared themselves by living among France's peasantry, but nothing could have prepared them for the privations and ordeals of life among the Algonquins and other native nations. The natives considered the Frenchmen to be ugly and stupid, their robes effeminate and ungainly for travel in the wilderness, and their ignorance of basic survival skills a liability to a party on the move. The Algonquins especially ridiculed their inability to speak the native language fluently.

The best a new arrival could do was stand aside and observe, learning as best he could until he developed the strength and stamina to paddle a canoe nonstop for several hours, carry it in a portage, sleep on the frozen ground in tight quarters, stomach the native cuisine, learn the elaborate customs, and—most importantly—master the language such that he could be deemed a "man of sense" and an asset to that particular community. Only the rare missionary could gain the respect of the natives. Indeed, most washed out—usually quite early, and most often because of an inability to learn the language.

However, years of experience allowed successful missionaries to prepare guides for those who followed, which along with their annual reports, published in Paris from 1632 to 1673 and known as *The Jesuit Relations*, constitute a sympathetic study of early colonial period Algonquin societies. Once esteem had been earned, the natives found much to admire among the priests: their indifference to wealth; their ability to withstand carnal desires (though puzzling), which meant they would not accost young girls or married women; and their courage and ability to endure discomfort ranging from ridicule from their companions to bodily torture from their enemies. Being bound by their rule never to carry a weapon or shed blood was considered a great liability, however, as the Indians could never understand a people who would not take up a hatchet in self-defense. But the priests' ability to endure all manner of hardship nevertheless garnered much respect.

The mastery of protocol meant that priests could become important leaders in native communities, and the rare priest who climbed to such a height found conversion a relatively easy busi-



Drawing by C. W. Jefferys depicting the martyrdom of Jesuit missionaries Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant by Iroquois Indians at the Huron village of St. Louis, Canada, in 1649. The Catholic Church subsequently proclaimed both men to be saints. (The Granger Collection)

ness. However, each priest had to win his own victories, which did not enhance the general reputation of the missionaries or the French as a whole. The sum total was disappointing progress, which accounts for the gradual abandonment of such nuanced conversion approaches after 1672, though Jesuit missionaries continued their work well into the 18th century.

JOHN HOWARD SMITH

See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Jesuits

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Bland, Humphrey

Born: ca. 1686 Died: 1763

British military officer who served under the Duke of Marlborough in Flanders during the War of the Spanish Succession (known in America as Queen Anne's War) and who wrote a seminal manual on officer training. Humphrey Bland was most likely born at Bland's Fort, Queen's County, Ireland, around 1686. The details of his early life are obscure. First commissioned in the army in 1704, Bland served in the War of the Spanish Succession and later under the Duke of Cumberland in Scotland and Flanders. He held a number of garrison posts in the middle decades of the century, among them command at Gibraltar from May 1749 until 1754.

In 1727, Bland, then serving as the lieutenant colonel of the Second Light Horse, published a synthesis of his experiences on the Continent in the form of *The Treatise on Military Discipline*. He designed the work to be a set of instructions to young officers, as many of the older officers from the days of King William and Queen Anne were leaving the service. The manual, therefore, explained the methods for performing tasks, from posting guards to firing while in various formations.

The *Treatise* became an instant and enduring success. For example, the manual exercise in the *1728 Regulations for the British Army* was copied directly from Bland's *Treatise*. Likewise, numerous other sections were paraphrased and used in that work as well. It remained a key text for over 30 years, passing through a number of editions and remaining in use as late as 1759. Portions of the *Treatise*, as well as a number of shortened or simplified versions, also were printed in the North American colonies. In fact, George Washington is known to have owned a copy. In the years after the

Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Edward Harvey's 1764 manual replaced Bland's *Treatise* in the British Army.

Bland died in London in 1763.

JIM McIntyre

See also

Great Britain, Army; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns

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Blockhouses

Crude but effective fortifications used frequently on the American frontier during the 17th and 18th centuries. While many fortifications used in North America during the colonial period employed the principles of European military engineering, blockhouses were commonsense expedients to the problem of frontier defense. Con-



Reconstruction of an American Revolutionary War-era blockhouse, Saratoga, New York. Blockhouses were defensive structures built to protect settlers from Native American attacks. (Library of Congress)

sequently, although blockhouses were occasionally used by regular military forces, they were more typically constructed by militiamen or provincials because of their simple design and the relative ease with which they could be erected.

A typical blockhouse was a two-story square or rectangular building with a sloping roof. Blockhouses were usually constructed of logs or thick planks to protect the defenders from enemy musket fire. Frequently, the second floor was constructed to overhang the first so that defenders could fire down on an enemy pressed against the lower wall. Loopholes in the walls allowed the defenders to engage the enemy while remaining hidden from view and protected from fire. Occasionally, blockhouses mounted light artillery pieces and incorporated such additional defensive measures as earthworks or a palisade.

A frontier community might build a blockhouse to serve as a place of refuge and defense in the event of a native attack, much like a garrison house. For example, Sir William Johnson constructed two blockhouses adjacent to his home at Johnson Hall in the Mohawk Valley (New York).

Blockhouses could also serve as stand-alone fortifications much like European-style redoubts. In this capacity, a blockhouse might be used to defend an avenue of approach or key piece of terrain, such as a ford or portage. They might also be constructed at intervals along an army's line of supply. Fort Ingoldsby, a blockhouse, was constructed in 1709 near Stillwater, New York, in support of Colonel Francis Nicholson's planned invasion of Canada along Lake Champlain. Supplies for his army at Wood Creek moved north from Albany in several stages based on the navigability of the Hudson River. At Stillwater, the small garrison of Fort Ingoldsby oversaw and protected the transfer of supplies from wagons to boats for the continued move northward.

Finally, blockhouses might serve as component parts of larger fortifications. In some cases these structures were placed at the corners of curtain walls in lieu of angled bastions. In this case, the deficiencies of blockhouses became apparent as they did not allow for interlocking fields of fire or all-around protection—a key advantage of angled-bastion fortifications. At other times, well-built blockhouses could serve as strong points within a larger fortification.

THOMAS A. RIDER II

See also

Abatis; Fort; Garrison Houses; Hudson River; Johnson, Sir William; Redoubt

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Bloody Brook Massacre

Event Date: September 19, 1675

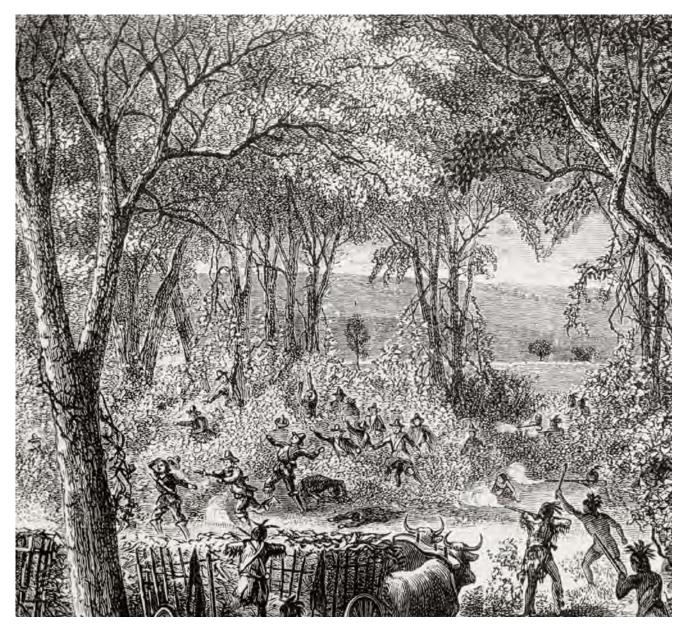
Native American ambush of colonial militiamen and a supply column near Deerfield, Massachusetts, on September 19, 1675. In mid-September 1675, as fighting along Massachusetts Bay's western frontier worsened during King Philip's War (1675–1676), colonial officials decided to abandon a number of outlying towns and consolidate their defenses. Deerfield, Massachusetts, was one of the towns abandoned, but its grain warehouses and barns were full of drying corn—food that would be greatly needed that winter. In mid-September 1675, Captain Thomas Lathrop was ordered to protect the wagon caravan carrying the corn from Deerfield south to Springfield. Lathrop and his Essex County militia company of some 60 to 70 men prepared themselves for the task at hand. They loaded the carts the night of September 18.

The next morning, September 19, Lathrop and his company, as well as the local teamsters in charge of the carts, set off. Captain Samuel Mosley's militia company scouted the area ahead of the wagon train. Lathrop reportedly was confident that no Indian party would attack such a large military force. He held that the Native American war parties struck only defenseless garrison houses and isolated farms. Accordingly, Lathrop had not positioned flankers or a vanguard. The wagon train traveled south along the forest path. When they reached Muddy Brook, about five miles south of Deerfield, Lathrop and his men found themselves quickly surrounded by hundreds of Wampanoags, Pocumtucks, Nipmucks, and other Native Americans.

The Indians attacked with deadly speed and efficiency. Ever after Muddy Brook was known as Bloody Brook. In his history of the war, Increase Mather claimed that Lathrop's men were so confident and carefree that they had placed their muskets in the carts in order to eat wild grapes along the stream bank, rendering them defenseless. The ambush was over in just a few minutes. At least 60 colonials were slain, including Captain Lathrop and 15 of the Deerfield men. Hearing the frantic calls of Lathrop's bugler, who had escaped the carnage, Captain Mosley and his company hurried to the scene, rushing the Indians and scattering the scalp hunters. As Mosley's scouting unit and the few survivors from the ambush struggled back to Deerfield that evening, they were taunted by Indians in the distance, who held aloft as trophies clothing from Lathrop's men's bodies. The next day, Mosley and his men returned to Bloody Creek to bury the English dead, including Captain Lathrop.

When news of the ambush or massacre traveled east, especially Essex County, the entire colony went into mourning. Reverend William Hubbard called it "that most fatal day, the saddest day that ever befel New England . . . the Ruine of a choice Company of young men, the very Flower of Essex."

The Bloody Brook Massacre is only one example from among hundreds of the style of wilderness warfare known as the "skulking



Etching of the Bloody Brook Massacre, September 19, 1675. (Brown Brothers)

way of war." Native Americans had long practiced the tactic of ambush, and their adoption of European firearms only made it more deadly. While colonial militias throughout the colonies were at first almost always the victims of ambush and other types of irregular warfare, some militia commanders adopted Indian tactics and eventually gave as good as they got.

Kyle F. Zelner

See also

Deerfield (Massachusetts); King Philip's War; Narragansetts; Nipmucks; Skulking Way of War; Wampanoags

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Bloody Marsh, Battle of

Event Date: July 7, 1742

Battle between Spanish and English forces on July 7, 1742, on St. Simons Island, Georgia (just south of Savannah). The Battle of Bloody Marsh marked Spain's only offensive against the British in Georgia during the Anglo-Spanish War (or War of Jenkins' Ear). The Spaniards, led by Florida's Gov. Manuel de Montiano, launched the attack to avenge the destruction caused by the British invasion of Florida months earlier.

In mid-June 1742, a Spanish force of more than 4,000 soldiers marched and sailed toward southern Georgia. The Spaniards not only wished to make the British pay for the attack on St. Augustine but also intended to destroy British Georgia. Montiano believed the English could easily be defeated, as the Spaniards perceived James Oglethorpe's inability to conquer St. Augustine as a sign of significant weakness.

As the Spaniards made their way to their target, Oglethorpe, the governor of Georgia and commander of its troops, received word of the impending attack and prepared his defenses. Oglethorpe quickly constructed an outpost on the Frederica River. There a force of some 1,000 men prepared to defend Georgia against the Spanish attackers.

On July 5, the Spaniards landed on St. Simons Island. Two days later, the opposing armies met. Oglethorpe personally led his troops against the Spaniards. The primary battle occurred on July 7 amid a swamp known as Bloody Marsh. When the shooting began, the English found protection in the dense, subtropical foliage that surrounded the area. Lost in the swamp and confused by the topography, the Spaniards came under intense English fire.

When the shooting subsided, approximately 50 men, mostly Spaniards, had been killed. Montiano withdrew his men from the area, and on July 13 the Spaniards retreated from St. Simons Island and returned to Florida. Although the Battle of Bloody Marsh ended quickly and with few casualties, the incident had a profound impact on Georgia's internal politics. Oglethorpe's success against the Spaniards helped erase memories of his recent defeat at St. Augustine. Spain's failure at Bloody Marsh effectively ended a Spanish campaign to overthrow Georgia, a colony Spain had considered illegal and within the historic boundaries of Florida.

In one short battle, the debate over the southeastern borderlands came to a sudden end. Spain no longer attempted to retake Georgia and gradually accepted the legitimacy of Britain's southernmost colony in North America. Finally, victory against the Spaniards helped restore Oglethorpe's honor and reputation as a capable gentleman soldier.

SHANE RUNYON

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Florida; Florida, British Invasion of; Fort Frederica (Georgia); Fort St. Simons (Georgia); Georgia; Montiano, Manuel de; Oglethorpe, James Edward

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Boston Massacre

Event Date: March 5, 1770

A bloody skirmish between American colonists and British troops on March 5, 1770, in Boston, Massachusetts, that aroused strong American sentiments against the British government. In October 1768, Britain sent two infantry regiments into Boston to quell unrest sparked by opposition to the hated Townshend Duties. The colonists detested the presence of the redcoats, refusing to quarter them and treating them with disdain and hostility. Tensions between the armed soldiers and the rebellious townspeople, especially laborers who competed with the soldiers for employment in nonmilitary jobs, eventually erupted in violence.

On the evening of March 5, 1770, a British sentry in front of the Boston Customs House reacted to taunts from a small group of Bostonians by striking a young wigmaker's apprentice in the face with the butt of his musket. A crowd formed around the fallen boy, verbally abusing the sentry and threatening him with clubs. The soldier retreated to the steps of the customs house as the growing mob began to hurl ice, snow, and debris at him. Cries of "fire" and ringing church bells increased the size of the crowd and added to the confusion. As the British officer of the day, Captain Thomas Preston, led an armed relief party to rescue the now terrified sentry, other British officers stopped their men from firing into the growing crowds in front of the Main Guard Barracks.

When Preston and his eight soldiers arrived at the customs house, the hostile crowd of 300–400 people turned violent. After a club flew through the air and struck a soldier in the head, some of the British troops fired their muskets in retaliation and panic, killing 5 men and wounding others. Preston ordered his men to stop shooting, but the damage had already been done. Only the arrival of Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, who promised a full inquiry into the matter, put an end to the melee. The presence of the redcoats in Boston had already infuriated the colonists. Now that the troops had drawn blood, the Boston Massacre became a symbol of British oppression and brutality. Local radical leaders and propagandists, most notably Samuel Adams and Paul Revere, turned the event into a recruiting tool, and the dead became martyrs in the incipient struggle for independence.

In the aftermath of the Boston Massacre, some 12,000 colonists marched in the funeral for their fallen comrades. Charged with murder, Preston and his men stood trial two months later. They were defended by John Adams, who argued that they had acted



The Boston Massacre of March 5, 1770, which resulted from growing tensions between Bostonians and British troops. Five men died in the incident, a harbinger of the American Revolution. (National Archives)

in self-defense. The jury acquitted Preston and found two of his soldiers guilty only of manslaughter. The soldiers were branded on the thumb and discharged from the army. The overall fairness of the trial, combined with news that Parliament had repealed all the Townshend Duties except the one on tea (ironically on the same day the massacre took place), dissipated the passions aroused by the actual March event and led to a relatively quiet period in British-colonial relations, awaiting the next spark that would set them alight.

Richard J. Shuster

See also

Great Britain; Muskets; Quartering; Quartering Act Crisis

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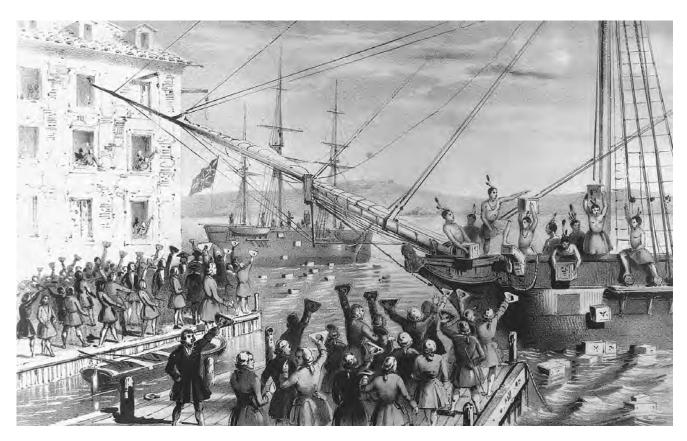
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Boston Tea Party

Event Date: December 16, 1773

Colonial rebellion against the Tea Act. The Boston Tea Party led inexorably to the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War at Lexington and Concord 16 months later.

At the end of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Parliament adopted a new policy of taxing its American colonies to help defray the costs of administration and defense. Almost immediately colonists objected, insisting that they should be taxed only by their own provincial legislatures, not by Parliament, where they were not represented. After one ministry repealed the unpopular Stamp Act in 1766, Parliament adopted the Townshend Acts, levying duties on tea and a few other commodities imported into America. Again the colonists protested. This time most of the merchants in the leading seaports agreed not to import any goods from England until the act was repealed. Much of their effort focused on dutied tea, which many Americans stopped drinking altogether.



Historic print showing the Boston Tea Party, when Bostonians, dressed as Indians, threw East India Company tea into the harbor on December 16, 1773. (National Archives & Record Administration)

So successful was the boycott that in the spring of 1770 Parliament was forced to repeal every duty save the one on tea, which it retained to uphold its power of taxation. In turn, the merchants rescinded their nonimportation agreements. However, they generally continued their ban on tea. Meanwhile, however, the East India Company, which monopolized the importation of tea into Great Britain, was accumulating an enormous surplus due to lagging sales. In 1773, to assist the company out of its financial difficulty, Parliament passed the Tea Act, which removed the import tax levied in Britain and gave the East India Company a monopoly on tea sold directly to colonial consumers through company appointed tea agents, enabling it to compete with smuggled tea. But the head of the ministry at that time, Lord North, insisted on retaining the hated colonial tea duty.

In the autumn of 1773, word reached America of the East India Company's intention to send more than 2,000 chests of dutied tea to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charles Town (present-day Charleston). Opposition in all four ports quickly focused around two themes. First was the fear that submission to dutied tea would pave the way for Parliament to levy other taxes in the future. Second was the concern that permitting the East India Company to establish a monopoly in tea would open the door to its monopolizing other aspects of colonial trade. The colonial governors at New York,

Philadelphia, and Charles Town were reluctant to intervene to protect the importation of tea in the face of staunch public opposition.

Meanwhile, the tea consignees in those ports resigned their commissions. Charles Town's tea was ultimately impounded at the custom house. At both Philadelphia and New York the ships were forced to return to England with their cargoes.

At Boston the situation was very different. There the royal governor, American-born Thomas Hutchinson, had no intention of giving in to demands that Boston's tea ships be sent back to England. For one thing, the East India Company had appointed two of his sons as consignees, and they stood to profit from the sale of its tea. Secondly, Hutchinson and the leader of the opposition, Samuel Adams, had been bitter enemies for years. Therefore, the governor had old scores to settle. He was confident that should matters come to a head, he would have the support of numerous British soldiers, naval vessels, and other royal officials. The fact that the Hutchinsons and their fellow consignees were the worst violators of the tea boycott gave the Patriots a score of their own to settle. A showdown at Boston over the East India Company's tea was thus all but inevitable.

On November 28, 1773, the first of the company's tea vessels, the ship *Dartmouth*, entered Boston Harbor, joined a few days later by the ship *Eleanor* and the brig *Beaver*. The three ships carried altogether 340 chests of dutied tea. The law required that cargo owners

pay all customs duties within 20 days of entering a port or face seizure of their goods. If that were to happen, the Patriots feared, the tea would quickly find its way into the hands of the consignees, who would put it up for sale. The deadline for payment was December 17.

The Patriot leaders called for public meetings on November 29 and 30, which were attended by more than 5,000 people. They demanded that the tea be returned to London without payment of the duties. However, Hutchinson and the consignees had already left town to avoid such intimidation. They were content to let the clock run out, knowing that the vessels could not get out by the fort on Castle Island without a pass from the governor. Having failed to persuade Hutchinson and the consignees to give in, the Patriots had the vessels brought up to Griffin's Wharf. They placed armed guards on board to prevent the tea from being unloaded clandestinely.

In mid-December, the Patriots assembled two more mass meetings, again with over 5,000 in attendance. On the afternoon of December 16, the second assemblage, with Samuel Adams presiding, made one final effort to have the tea returned. William Rotch, the young captain of the ship *Dartmouth*, was dispatched to deliver the demand to the governor in Milton. A last-ditch effort at compromise fell through, and Hutchinson refused to grant a pass to leave. Shortly after dark the forlorn ship captain returned emptyhanded to the harbor. It looked as though Hutchinson was on the verge of winning a major victory.

But suddenly from the gallery came a war-whoop, answered by similar cries from a small group of men disguised as Native Americans. Followed by thousands of ordinary citizens, they rushed to the waterfront, boarded the vessels, and destroyed the tea. The rebels hoisted 340 chests of tea, most weighing nearly 400 pounds, broke them open with hatchets, and dumped the contents into Boston Harbor.

At first no one would admit taking part in this momentous event. But the passage of time has since revealed that among the Patriots disguised as natives were members of Boston's Committee of Correspondence, the grand lodge of Masons, the Long Room Club, and other groups of political activists. A few were merchants or other prominent citizens, including Paul Revere, William Mollineux, and Dr. Thomas Young. Most were artisans and apprentices, however.

John Adams termed the tea party "the most magnificent Movement of all." As news of Boston's action spread down the Atlantic seaboard, carried by Revere and other post riders, it generated a fresh wave of unity throughout the continent that would pave the way for a congress of all the colonies nine months later.

By far the most significant consequence of the Boston Tea Party was the reaction it provoked in Great Britain. Realizing the difficulty of singling out individual perpetrators for prosecution, the ministry instead determined to punish Bostonians as a whole. Not only was such a policy easier to execute, but it gave vent to Britain's long-festering anger with Massachusetts. The ministry was determined to distinguish Boston from the other ports, which had also rejected dutied tea but by less violent means. In the end, the ministry pro-

posed and Parliament adopted the Coercive Acts, which included the Boston Port Act, the Quartering Act, the Impartial Justice Act, and the Massachusetts Government Act. The Boston Port Act closed the port of Boston until colonists paid for the tea and moved its customs house affairs to Plymouth. The Quartering Act allowed the placement of troops in private homes. The Impartial Justice Act allowed the governor to transfer trial to Britain. The Massachusetts Government Act altered the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to give royal officials more control over the rebellious province.

Before the Boston Tea Party, most Americans would have continued to accept British rule, perhaps for decades to come. But Boston's bold act of defiance drove the ministry to adopt punitive measures that Patriots in all of the colonies could not accept. In the months that followed, they closed ranks and made common cause with beleaguered Boston.

BENJAMIN W. LABAREE

See also

Boston Massacre; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Massachusetts; Townshend Acts

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Bougainville, Louis Antoine de, Comte de Bougainville

Born: November 12, 1729 Died: August 20, 1811

French military officer and explorer. Louis Antoine de Bougainville was born into a well-to-do family in Paris on November 12, 1729. He acquired renown over his long life as a mathematician, soldier, naval officer, explorer, and scientist. Bougainville enlisted in the army in 1750, just a year before publication of his much-acclaimed *Traité de calcul intégral* (Treatise on Integral Calculus) won him membership in the Royal Society of London.

Having been promoted to captain in February 1756, Bougain-ville became aide-de-camp to Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm later that year. Montcalm had been given command of French regulars in Canada during the French and Indian War. Bougainville's fluency in English helped him to win the assignment. He sailed for Canada in April 1756 and, although he had no previous combat experience, took part just three months later in the successful assault by Montcalm's troops at Oswego.



French military officer and explorer Louis Antoine de Bougainville. (Library of Congress)

Montcalm praised Bougainville in dispatches to the War Ministry in Paris, although he expressed concern about Bougainville's recklessness under fire. In August 1757, Bougainville participated in the siege and capture of Fort William Henry. Montcalm later chose him to carry news of the French victory back to Governor Pierre de Rigaud Vaudreuil in Quebec.

Although a protégé of Montcalm, Bougainville did not share his disdain for the kind of warfare waged on the frontier by colonial troops and their Native American allies. Indeed, he endorsed adoption of the "skulking way of war" practiced by the natives. Bougainville did share, however, his patron's low opinion of Canadian irregulars. In a dispatch to the minister of marine, he praised the French regulars and colonial troupes de la marine for their service, but he lamented the attitudes and abilities of the Canadian militiamen and natives. He also expressed horror at the irregulars' tolerance of the use of torture by their Native American allies.

In July 1758, Bougainville was wounded in the Battle of Carillon near Ticonderoga, New York. Four months later, Montcalm sent him to France to report to the Crown on the critical state of New France's defenses and to plead for reinforcements and supplies. Promoted to colonel and knight of Saint Louis while in France, Bougainville returned to Quebec in March 1759 with 20 supply ships. The ships, however, brought only 300 reinforcements.

Bougainville was in charge of defense of the St. Lawrence River shoreline in the run-up to the crucial Battle of the Plains of Abraham of September 13, 1759. He succeeded in forestalling three attempts by the British to land troops before they managed to gain a foothold beyond his sector at Anse au Foulon. Poor communications with Montcalm in Quebec meant that Bougainville was unable to concentrate his scattered troops in time to march to the aid of his commander in Quebec. Following the loss of Quebec, Bougainville was delegated to negotiate an exchange of prisoners and care for the French sick and wounded. His English-language skills were also employed in negotiations for the surrender of Montreal in September 1760. At the close of hostilities, Bougainville was taken prisoner along with the rest of the French army and repatriated to France.

Bougainville's naval career commenced in 1763. Following his voyage of exploration to the Pacific, celebrated in his best-selling book, *Voyage autour du monde*, he served as a naval officer in the American Revolutionary War. Surviving the subsequent French Revolution, Bougainville helped to organize the scientific component of Napoleon Bonaparte's 1798 expedition to Egypt. Named count of the empire in 1808, his last official duty was to preside over the courtmartial held to assign blame for the French naval defeat at Trafalgar in October 1805. Bougainville died in Paris on August 20, 1811.

BRUCE VANDERVORT

See also

Fort Ticonderoga, Battle of; Fort William Henry, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Oswego, Battle of; Quebec, Battle of; Skulking Way of War; Troupes de la Marine

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Bouquet, Henry

Born: ca. 1719 Died: August 25, 1765

Swiss-born British Army officer. Born in Rolle, Switzerland, most likely in 1719, Henry Bouquet was the son of a hotel proprietor. He entered foreign military service at a young age, first with the United Provinces and then with Sardinia. He returned to Dutch pay after the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), eventually attaining the rank of captain commandant of the Swiss Guards.

In the Netherlands in 1755, Bouquet met another countryman, James Prevost, who persuaded him to travel to the New World as a field officer in a proposed foreign Protestant colonial regiment to be raised in Pennsylvania by the British government. Granted authority in 1756 by the British government to hold a military commission, Bouquet became lieutenant colonel of the first battalion of the 62nd (Royal American) Regiment of Foot. He remained in British North America with the regiment for the remainder of his life.

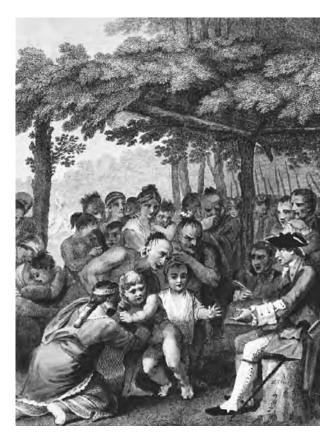


Illustration showing natives delivering captives to British colonel Henry Bouquet. (Library of Congress)

Bouquet's association with the western frontier began soon after his arrival in the mid-Atlantic colonies. Although transferred to Charles Town (modern-day Charleston), South Carolina, with five of his companies to bolster defenses there through 1757, he returned to Pennsylvania as a principal commander in British brigadier general John Forbes's 1758 expedition against Fort Duquesne. This successful advance was marred by a defeat at the Battle of Grant's Hill in which the Royal Americans suffered 42 casualties on September 14, 1758. Nevertheless, the advance continued with the French abandoning their base at the Forks of the Ohio in November. The site was then occupied by British troops, who there constructed a massive structure they named Fort Pitt. Bouquet then spent much of his time as a commander of advanced posts, for his battalion provided most of the troops to these remote installations. Logistics, American Indian diplomacy, and garrison duties absorbed his attention until the outbreak of Pontiac's Rebellion in the early summer of 1763.

Bouquet played a pivotal role in quashing this insurrection among the eastern tribal communities. While leading a relief column to the aid of besieged Fort Pitt, he was ambushed by Shawnee and Delaware warriors at Bushy Run on August 5, 1763. As in earlier irregular actions fought throughout the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the initiative lay with skirmishers, who chose their ground carefully for this set-piece battle. Withdrawing to a defen-

sive position at Edge Hill, however, Bouquet tricked the illusive braves into staging a reckless assault across open ground the following day. Native resolve crumbled in the face of a daring British bayonet counterattack and heavy cross fire. The Native Americans then abandoned both the field and the siege around Fort Pitt. This victory was followed up a year later by a measured advance by British forces into the upper Muskingum Valley. The 1764 campaign, designed and led by Bouquet, was a complete success, which forced Ohioan villagers to sue for peace.

Bouquet did not live long to enjoy the fruits of victory. Naturalized by parliamentary statute on June 2, 1762, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general three years later and was given the command of British troops in the Southern Department. He died at Pensacola on August 25, 1765, the day after arriving in Florida to take up his new post.

ALEXANDER V. CAMPBELL

See also

Bushy Run, Battle of; Forbes Campaign; Fort Pitt, Siege of; Ohio Expedition (1764); Pontiac's Rebellion

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Bourlamaque, François Charles de

Born: 1716

Died: July 23-24, 1763

French Army officer, third in command of French forces in New France during much of the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and governor of Guadeloupe (1763). François Charles de Bourlamaque was born in 1716 in Paris. Little is known of his early years, although in 1739 he joined the Dauphin Infantry Regiment and saw action in the Flanders and Rhine expeditions during 1742–1744 in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). He was promoted to captain in 1745.

Promoted to colonel in 1756, when he was also awarded the Cross of Saint Louis, Bourlamaque arrived in New France (Canada) that May. He was third in command of French forces after Maréchal de Camp Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, and Brigadier General François Gaston de Lévis.

In August 1757, Montcalm assigned Bourlamaque the task of conducting the siege of Fort William Henry. He successfully carried out this operation, which led to the surrender of the fort on August 9. The following year, Bourlamaque again led troops under Montcalm's command, this time during the British attempt to capture

Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga). Major General James Abercromby led a force of 16,000 British troops against the fort. Montcalm had only 3,600 men to defend the post, but the French built an ingenious system of defensive works that Bourlamaque helped supervise. Abercromby's frontal assault on the works proved a failure, as the French repeatedly repulsed the British, who eventually had to withdraw from the area.

In February 1759, King Louis XV rewarded Bourlamaque for his services by promoting him to brigadier general. Bourlamaque then took sole command of the troops defending the Lake Champlain approach to Montreal while Montcalm commanded the defense of Quebec. Bourlamaque had just 3,000 troops to stop Major General Jeffery Amherst's force of more than 11,000 men. Fortunately, Amherst was cautious and did not use his advantage as aggressively as he might have. On July 23, 1759, Bourlamaque withdrew from Fort Carillon to Fort Frédéric (Crown Point). On July 31, Bourlamaque ordered Crown Point destroyed, and the French withdrew to Île-aux-Noix. Here Amherst's advance stalled for the remainder of the year. With Montcalm's death in 1759, Bourlamaque became second-in-command of French forces.

In 1760, Bourlamaque led French forces in the effort to recapture Quebec and was wounded in the subsequent Battle of Sainte Foy. He continued to lead French troops until the surrender of New France to the British on September 8, 1760.

Bourlamaque then returned to France, where he became commander of the Order of Saint Louis. In 1761, the French government dispatched him to Malta to help defend the island from the Turks. In February 1763, he assumed the post of maréchal de camp and governor of Guadeloupe. Bourlamaque died in Guadeloupe on the night of June 23–24, 1763.

DALLACE W. UNGER JR.

See also

Abercromby, James; Amherst, Jeffery; Crown Point (New York); Fort William Henry, Siege of; Fort Ticonderoga (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Île-aux-Noix; Lake Champlain; Lévis, François Gaston de, Duc de Lévis; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Montreal; Quebec, Battle of; Quebec, French Attempt to Recapture

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Bow and Arrow

The primary weapon of precontact Native American warriors, used throughout both North and South America. The material employed

in making bows varied from region to region. Wood from the Osage orange (bois d'Arc) tree was widely recognized as the best bow-making material. However, Osage orange grew only in the Red and Arkansas river valleys in southern Oklahoma and northern Texas, so native bow makers had to use the best materials at hand. Eastern woodlands warriors fashioned their bows from hardwoods such as ash, oak, hickory, and maple.

Occasionally, bows were fitted with a smaller "reverse bow" attached to the front in an attempt to generate more resistance and thus impart more force to the launched arrow. Plains warriors often chose horn or antler as their materials of choice for making bows.



Drawing, ca. 1585, showing a Native American from Florida with bow and arrows. Note the man's body markings. (Library of Congress)

72 Brackett's Wood, Battle of

Used in both war and hunting, Native American bows were often offset by native defensive capabilities. In the northeast, for example, Iroquois and Huron warriors wore armor made of bark and reeds that could deflect an arrow. But that did not mean that Europeans could dismiss native bowmen as ineffective. During his incursion into the American Southeast, Spaniard Hernando de Soto and his men discovered that although their plate armor could deflect Apalachee arrows, the latter could penetrate chain mail, and even if they did strike plate armor, the arrows, made of cane, splintered, causing painful injuries when they shattered. New England colonists soon discovered that Native American arrows were driven with such force as to actually penetrate through a human body. There is little technical data regarding Indian bows from the colonial period, but one Massachusetts Bay captain tasked with recovering several victims of an Indian raid observed that one had been "shot through... the right side, the head sticking fast, half through a rib on the left side." Cabeza de Vaca noted that the arrows of Apalachee warriors in Florida penetrated full-grown poplar trees to a depth of six inches.

Prior to European contact, native warriors tipped their arrows with bone, horn, obsidian, flint, and, in some cases, copper from the upper Great Lakes region. When more durable European-manufactured products became available, the native people eagerly adopted them. The Iroquois peoples, for instance, cut up copper pots and transformed them into arrowheads. Recognizing a potential market, Europeans soon began offering ready-made iron arrowheads as a trade item.

While native warriors recognized the power of firearms—and were perhaps fascinated by them as novelties—these did not replace the bow and arrow immediately. The early matchlock weapons were heavy, clumsy, and required yards of specially treated cord, known as a match, in order to operate. However, with the advent of flintlock weapons, native demand for firearms increased. Once native warriors became dependent on firearms, they lost their skills at making and using the bow and arrow, which left them at the mercy of colonial governments in time of conflict, who could simply cut off their supplies of shot and gunpowder.

ROGER M. CARPENTER

See also

Apalachees; Hurons; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation

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Brackett's Wood, Battle of

Event Date: September 21, 1689

Battle fought on September 21, 1689, outside the town of Falmouth (now Portland), Maine, between English colonists and French-allied Native Americans during King William's War. Brackett's Wood

(now Deering's Oaks) was part of a farm owned by Captain Anthony Brackett. At the time, Brackett was serving as the commander of the local garrison, Fort Loyal, which he had commanded since 1682. The town of Falmouth was a settlement with about 25 families.

Having spotted a force of some 700 warriors on Palmers Island (now Peaks Island), the local colonists were rightly concerned that the natives would raid their town and sent an urgent request for help to colonial officials in Boston. At the time, Maine was considered part of Massachusetts. In response, in late September 1689, Boston sent a force of 160 men under the command of Major Benjamin Church to Falmouth. The force, which arrived by sea, also included some allied natives.

On the morning of September 21, French-allied warriors were discovered camping in a forested area of Brackett's Woods. One of Brackett's sons had discovered them as the natives were preparing their breakfast. Church's force, now including Captain Brackett and some other local men, set out using the available natural cover to do battle with the invaders. The engagement lasted six hours. About an hour into the battle, Church tried to outflank his opponents, but they withdrew when they saw what Church was attempting to do. While Church was attempting the flanking maneuver, the main body of his force had continued to engage the enemy but was running low on ammunition. A local native by the name of Captain Lightfoot repeatedly brought more ammunition to the English side. Still, ammunition was in desperately low supply. Church eventually brought the two parts of his force back together and launched a final assault on the natives, forcing them to flee.

English loses were some 14 killed and 7 wounded. Among those killed was Captain Anthony Brackett. Native losses are not known because they carried their casualties off with them when they fled. Although Church's casualties had been high, he nevertheless staved off a native attack on Falmouth. The Battle of Brackett's Wood brought a temporary halt to native raids in the area. The calm was very short-lived. In the summer of 1690, Fort Loyal again came under attack by a mixed French and native force that captured the post and killed most of the settlement's inhabitants.

Dallace W. Unger Jr.

See also

Church, Benjamin; Fort Loyal (Maine); King William's War, Land Campaigns; Maine; Raiding Party

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Braddock, Edward

Born: December 1694 Died: July 13, 1755

British major general in the French and Indian War (1754–1763) who led the disastrous 1755 campaign against Fort Duquesne.



British major general Edward Braddock. Named commander of British forces in North America in 1755, Braddock's column was ambushed and he was killed by French and Indian forces near Fort Duquesne that same summer. (Corbis)

Edward Braddock was born in London in December 1694, the son of Major General Edward Braddock (1664–1725), a lifelong officer in the Coldstream Guards, one of the finest British regiments. In 1710, Braddock's father purchased a commission for him in the Coldstream Guards.

Braddock's subsequent military career was marked primarily by routine duty, in which he saw very little military action. He became a lieutenant in the regiment's grenadier company in 1716 but saw no action in the Jacobite uprising of 1715. He also experienced little combat during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), or the Jacobite Rising of 1745.

Braddock became first major of the regiment in 1744 and led a routine reconnaissance to Ostend in Flanders the same year. In 1747, now a lieutenant colonel, he served under the Prince of Orange in Holland during the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. In 1753, Braddock sold his commission in the Coldstream Guards for £5,000 and purchased the colonelcy of the 14th Regiment of Foot. Shortly thereafter he became governor of Gibraltar, where his regiment was posted.

Following the surrender of Virginia militia lieutenant colonel George Washington at Fort Necessity in July 1754, Britain decided on a strong response to include attacks against France's Ohio forts, Nova Scotia, Fort Niagara, and French posts along the Lake George–Lake Champlain corridor, including Crown Point. This plan called for a commander in chief with sweeping authority to supervise all military operations there, as well as to direct civilian

colonial authorities to provide logistical support. Although Braddock had no prior experience directing a major military campaign and had seen little action in his 45-year army career, he was tapped for the position in the autumn of 1754 and became a major general as a result. He landed in Virginia in February 1755.

Braddock personally assumed command of the expedition against Fort Duquesne, which he launched from Alexandria. He quickly developed a reputation as a stern, impatient officer, unwilling to heed the advice of colonial military men experienced in wilderness fighting. His roughshod treatment of civil authorities and provincial assemblies greatly contributed to the logistical difficulties that marked his effort against Duquesne. He conducted what was essentially a European-style campaign, which ended in the destruction of his force several miles from his objective on July 9, 1755. Braddock was mortally wounded in the debacle and died on July 13, 1755. To disguise his place of death, he was buried by retreating British forces along the road that bears his name near present-day Uniontown, Pennsylvania.

JOHN R. MAASS

See also

Braddock's Campaign; Crown Point (New York); Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Necessity (Pennsylvania), and Battle of; Fort Niagara (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Lake George, Battle of; Ohio Expedition (1755); Washington, George

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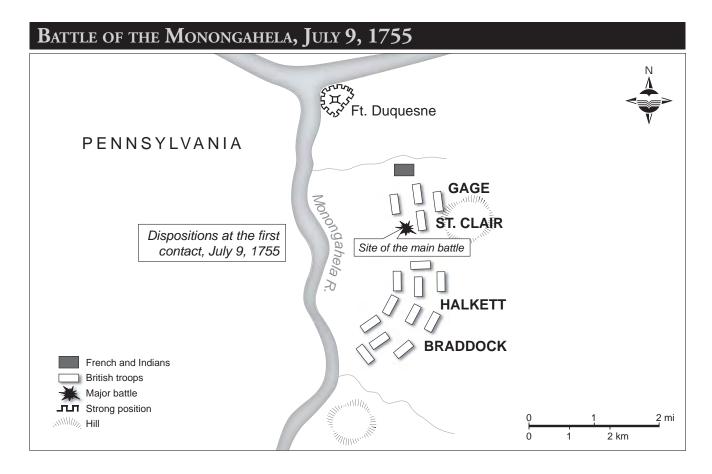
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Braddock's Campaign

Start Date: March 1755 End Date: July 1755

Failed British offensive against Fort Duquesne during the French and Indian War, spring to summer 1755. When news of the French victory over the Virginia Militia at Fort Necessity arrived in London in September 1754, the British cabinet debated a new course of action in the French and Indian War. The Earl of Albemarle, governor of Virginia in absentia and a career soldier, recommended that "officers, and good ones" be sent to North America. The king's principal minister, the Duke of Newcastle, concurred but believed that a regiment of Highlanders might help still more. The Duke of Cumberland, the king's son and captain general of Britain's armed forces, went further, proposing two Irish regiments (the 44th and 48th) and a commander in chief for American forces.

By November, Cumberland's plan had been adopted, and Major General Edward Braddock was named commander in chief for North America. Before his departure from England on January 13, 1755, Braddock received orders to attack Fort Duquesne, Niagara, Crown



Point, and Fort Beauséjour. Once in America, however, it was left to his discretion whether to attack them in succession or all at once.

On his arrival in Williamsburg, Virginia, in March, Braddock found that colonial officials had been quite busy over the winter. Particularly notable was Massachusetts governor William Shirley's war effort, which raised an extra 2,000 troops for the Beauséjour operation. Both Shirley and British Indian agent William Johnson proposed that the main British attack be directed against Niagara, but Braddock stuck to his orders to focus on Fort Duquesne. Nevertheless, Braddock exercised his discretion in allowing Shirley and Johnson to attack Niagara and Crown Point, respectively, while Braddock took his own force of 2,200 men to Fort Duquesne. The remainder of colonial forces, under the command of Nova Scotia governor Charles Lawrence and Colonel Robert Monckton attacked Fort Beauséjour.

As with Shirley and Johnson in New York and Washington the previous summer, Braddock envisioned a road-building project through the wilderness, punctuated by a European-style siege. At first, he proposed to take a large contingent with supplies for a major siege, but he soon split his force into roughly equal parts—one to transport the immense train of baggage and artillery and the other, a flying column, to scout ahead and prepare for the siege.

Alert to the dangers of wilderness warfare, Braddock regularly employed more than a third of his force for screens and patrols. In June and July, the army advanced steadily, and thwarted the attempts of French commander Claude Pierre Pécaudy de Contrecoeur to disrupt its progress. Despite raids on the colonial frontier, Braddock continued forward, increasing the panic at Fort Duquesne.

On July 8, as Braddock forded the Monongahela River, only 10 miles away, Contrecoeur prepared a last, desperate attempt by sending about half of Fort Duquesne's garrison against Braddock. With 36 officers, 72 colonial regulars (troupes de la marine), 146 Canadian militiamen, and 637 American Indian allies under his command, Captain Daniel Liénard de Beaujeu was supposed to attack Braddock's column east of the Monongahela, but his force was dispatched too late. Ultimately, the two forces met just west of the river shortly after noon on July 9.

As he continued his march on Fort Duquesne, Braddock sent forward a vanguard of about 300 men, followed by an independent company and 250 workers. The main body of 500 men followed with the artillery and another 100 covered the rear. Unlike past marches, however, Braddock missed a key terrain feature on the morning of July 9—a hill to his right and front from which scouts would have been able to detect Beaujeu's approach and prepare an adequate defense. Braddock's screening forces were unusually small and close to the main body that morning, and the main body was split along the road, with only two ranks to either side of the artillery train. This deployment may have reflected Braddock's confidence in his progress, but it left his force more vulnerable to surprise.

When the French attacked, Braddock's men fought bravely, but they paid the price for their commander's errors. The opening volleys went well for the British, killing Beaujeu. But the vanguard, flanked by Beaujeu's native allies, fell back on the main body, which Braddock had ordered to advance. The units became intertwined, and Braddock's regulars, strung out on either side of the baggage train, struggled to form a line of battle. Having fallen victim to an ambush, Braddock was unable to use the light infantry tactics that had served him throughout his march.

To make matters worse for Braddock and his men, their battle-field was a Native American hunting ground, designed to conceal hunters and expose prey. Braddock's men, still trying to form ranks, soon became targets for American Indian marksmen, and the officers on horseback were the most vulnerable of all. Although the British and some colonials fought bravely for more than three hours, they were unable to form units larger than a platoon, and most of their fire proved ineffective.

Unaccustomed to the war whoops and hunting tactics of the natives, the regulars attempted to form companies, fire in volleys, and look for the visual cues of the European battlefield. Panic in the British ranks caused several incidents of friendly fire, increasing the confusion. Braddock's force also became an increasingly dense mass, as the terror of battle drove men closer together. In reality, they only proved an easier target.

Discipline finally and irretrievably crumbled when Braddock was shot from his horse. The workers, rearguard, and most of the provincial troops had already fled, leaving no one available to cover the withdrawal. The constant pressure from Canadians and American Indians turned the retreat into a rout, and entirely reversed the previous month of British progress. Braddock's force had lost two-thirds of its numbers and most of its supplies and equipment. French and native losses totaled fewer than 40. The progress made on Braddock's road once promised a steady flow of supplies from Virginia and Maryland to Fort Duquesne; that same road now rendered the British colonies more vulnerable than ever.

The French victory on the Monongahela released forces from their defense of Fort Duquesne and rendered abortive Shirley's proposed expedition to Niagara. Though Shirley took over command of colonial forces from the deceased Braddock, his relations with Johnson steadily deteriorated as they squabbled over supplies at Albany. Johnson later allied with the faction led by Lt. Gov. James DeLancey of New York and Thomas Pownall of New Jersey to intrigue against Shirley, undermining his authority by the spring of 1756. Major General John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, then replaced Shirley as commander in chief. He made several important logistical and administrative reforms but proved militarily ineffective. Only when Major General Jeffery Amherst took over British military operations in 1758 did British forces return to the offensive against Fort Duquesne—this time successfully—under Brigadier General John Forbes.

MATT SCHUMANN



Contemporary illustration showing the death of British major general Edward Braddock following the Battle of the Monongahela, July 9, 1755. (Library of Congress)

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; Bay of Fundy Expedition; Braddock, Edward; Forbes, John; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Necessity (Pennsylvania), and Battle of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Johnson, Sir William; Lake George, Battle of; Shirley, William

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Bradstreet, Anne

Born: 1612

Died: September 16, 1672

One of the founding members of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and a poet. Anne Dudley was born in 1612 in Northampton, England. Her father, Thomas Dudley, was a wealthy man who supported his



Etching of Anne Dudley Bradstreet, one of the founders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and a poet. (The Granger Collection)

daughter's education and encouraged her to develop her literary talents. Dudley received a fine education from private tutors and from her own explorations of her father's well-stocked library. She married Simon Bradstreet in 1628 when she was 16 years old. In 1630, accompanied by her husband and parents, she immigrated to the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Along with hundreds of other Puritans led by John Winthrop, the Bradstreet and Dudley families arrived in Boston, Massachusetts, in June 1630. Bradstreet's father had been named deputy governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and her husband was an assistant of the company. Bradstreet lived first in Cambridge, then Ipswich, and finally, after 1644, in North Andover, where she spent her remaining years. She and her husband raised eight children: four sons and four daughters. Highly esteemed in the community, she was devoted to her family and faith.

It is difficult to know with certainty when Bradstreet began writing poetry, but her earliest surviving poem was written in 1632. She wrote most of her poems between 1642 and 1647, but she continued until the fall of 1670, when presumably she became too ill to write. Inspired by encouragement from her family, her own love of writing, and her faith in God, Bradstreet became English North America's first poet, as well as one of its finest.

Bradstreet wrote frankly of human nature and of her own heart. Her poems were personal, devout, and often humorous. A model of female piety, she found space within her writings to muse about religious questions and experiences. She wrote freely about love, especially for her husband. One of Bradstreet's most poignant poems related the devastation many colonial women faced during the potentially dangerous times of pregnancy and childbirth.

Bradstreet wrote her poems for herself and other members of her family. Without her knowledge, however, her brother-in-law published her poems in London in 1650, titling the work *The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung up in America; or, Severall Poems, Compiled with Great Variety of Wit and Learning, Full of Delight . . . by a Gentlewoman in Those Parts.* It was the first book of poetry published by a North American colonist. Bradstreet died on September 16, 1672, following several years of illness.

CHRISTINE K. ERICKSON

See also

Massachusetts; Winthrop, John

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Bradstreet, John

Born: December 21, 1714 Died: September 25, 1774

British Army officer and colonial administrator. Born at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, on December 21, 1714, John Bradstreet was baptized Jean-Baptiste Bradstreet, the son of a British Army officer and an Acadian mother. After serving as a volunteer with the 40th Regiment of Foot, Bradstreet received an ensign's commission in 1735. In May 1744, he was captured in the French attack on Canso and held prisoner at Louisbourg.

On his release, Bradstreet reported the weak defenses at Louisbourg to Gov. William Shirley of Massachusetts and urged him to capture the fortress. In the ensuing successful 1745 expedition, Bradstreet served as a temporary lieutenant colonel in a Massachusetts regiment. He was also appointed commander of the newly captured garrison but was soon forced out of the position amid accusations of profiteering. In 1747, Bradstreet was named lieutenant governor of Newfoundland.

Appointed captain in the 51st Foot in March 1755, Bradstreet was assigned by Shirley to command the bateau service on the Mohawk River. On July 3, 1756, Bradstreet's river convoy, returning after provisioning Oswego, was ambushed by the French. With great coolness, Bradstreet rallied his force and drove off the attack-

ers. In 1757, he was appointed deputy quartermaster general on John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun's, staff. At the Battle of Ticonderoga in July 1758, Bradstreet, who replaced Lord William Howe in command of the advance force, commanded the embarkation area and maintained order following the British defeat.

In July 1758, Bradstreet was granted permission by Major General James Abercromby to lead an expedition against Fort Frontenac, an important French supply depot at the head of Lake Ontario on the Cataraqui River. Bradstreet had long desired to undertake such an enterprise and had repeatedly badgered his superiors on the subject. On August 25, 1758, Bradstreet, leading a force of 3,000 men, made an unopposed landing one mile from the fort. Taking advantage of the surprise achieved, he quickly bombarded the small garrison into submission. After removing the stores, destroying a French flotilla that had been captured, and demolishing the fort, he withdrew. Despite this success, Abercromby rejected his proposals for subsequent and much larger expeditions against the French positions in the Great Lakes region. During Amherst's campaigns against Canada in 1759–1760, Bradstreet again served as deputy quartermaster general at Albany.

After receiving promotion to colonel in October 1762, Bradstreet was appointed to command a punitive expedition during Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763. Leaving Fort Niagara in August 1764 with a force of 1,400 soldiers and 500 Indians, Bradstreet advanced to Detroit. Motivated by his soaring ambition, he far exceeded his instructions and authority by attempting to negotiate a peace treaty with the Native Americans. These peace negotiations were ignored by the natives and disavowed by Major General Thomas Gage. Even after it was obvious that the Shawnees and other natives were still hostile, Bradstreet remained inactive and did not, as directed by Gage, attack and destroy the native villages. Having failed to engage native warriors, Bradstreet abandoned the expedition. Short of supplies and in great confusion, the expedition reached Fort Niagara on November 5.

Although promoted to major general in 1772, Bradstreet's opportunities for advancement disappeared after his poorly conducted Detroit campaign. He remained deputy quartermaster general at Albany until his death at New York City on September 25, 1774.

BRADLEY P. TOLPPANEN

See also

Abercromby, James; Canso, Battle of; Fort Frontenac (Ontario); Fort Oswego (New York); Fort Ticonderoga, Battle of; Gage, Thomas; Louisbourg Expedition; Pontiac's Rebellion; Shirley, William

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Brant, Joseph (Thayendanega)

Born: ca. 1742

Died: November 24, 1807

Influential Mohawk leader. Joseph Brant was born Thayendanega about 1742 at an Iroquois settlement in Ohio and was related by marriage to British Indian Superintendent Sir William Johnson. Johnson took an interest in young Brant and groomed him as one of his protégés, arranging for him to be educated with a small group of native youth at Eleazar Wheelock's Indian Charity School.

As a young man, Brant twice visited England and made quite an impression on London society, counting the Prince of Wales among his friends. He was also viewed favorably for his membership in the Masons and for having translated the Bible (and later the Book of Common Prayer) into Mohawk. His last visit to England coincided with the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War. In July 1776, Brant arrived in New York and made his way back to Mohawk country.



Influential Mohawk chief Joseph Brant, also known as Thayendanega. (National Archives)

Brant offered his services to the English Crown, and he led Mohawk warriors in several campaigns, participating in the battles at Oswego and Fort Stanwix in 1777. He also led Mohawk warriors—in the first battle in which Iroquois fought Iroquois—at Oriskany that same year. He also led late the next year during the raid on Cherry Valley, New York.

Along with his effectiveness as a leader, Brant acquired a reputation as a humane warrior. At Cherry Valley, he was said to have protested to the British commander over the killing of noncombatants. Others argued that this reputation was unjustified, pointing out that Brant could be as harsh as any other Native American warrior with his prisoners, expecting them to keep pace with a retreating war party.

As with other Native American allies of the British, Brant was angered by the terms of the Peace of Paris, the treaty that ended the American Revolutionary War. Particularly galling was the signing over of native lands to the Americans. Brant argued that the Americans had beaten the British, not the Iroquois. However, he believed that the Iroquois position was untenable in the new United States. After the Sullivan Campaign of 1779, which had devastated Iroquoia, Brant used his influence to secure reserves for the Mohawks along the Grand River in Ontario and convinced many of his people to move there.

In the 1780s, a native confederacy under the Miami chief Little Turtle defeated American military expeditions led by Josiah Harmar and Arthur St. Clair in the Ohio Country. Brant and other Iroquois leaders recommended that Little Turtle, Blue Jacket, and other leaders negotiate a peace with the Americans that would leave their gains in place. Brant died on November 24, 1807, at Burlington, Ontario.

ROGER M. CARPENTER

See also

Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Johnson, Sir William; Mohawks

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Brice's Fort (North Carolina)

A rallying point for survivors of an attack by the Tuscarora tribe against European settlements on September 22, 1711. The assault opened the Tuscarora War (1711–1713). Brice's Fort was located in eastern North Carolina and named for the plantation owned by William Brice (?—1753), on whose land the outpost was established. The attack was provoked by colonial incursions onto Tuscarora lands, in particular, an attempt to build a Swiss settlement at New Bern. Hundreds of colonists were killed in raids by the Tuscaroras and their allies.

The survivors fled to a few fortified locations, primarily the town of Bath, where a fort was hastily constructed in the center of the

peninsula. Brice led an expedition up the Neuse River against the natives but was eventually overwhelmed by hundreds of warriors. He then fell back to his fortified plantation (Brice's Fort) to await assistance from neighboring colonies. Not until 1715 were colonial forces able entirely to defeat the Tuscaroras and drive most of them out of the colony.

PAUL JOSEPH SPRINGER

See also

North Carolina; Tuscaroras; Tuscarora War

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Brims of Coweta

Born: Unknown Died: ca. 1730-1733

Creek *mico* (headman) and leader of Coweta, the Lower Creeks' most prominent settlement. In the late 17th century, the Creeks were strategically located between the French in Louisiana, the Spanish in Florida, and the English in South Carolina. The nation was comprised of many different towns with individual leaders and encompassed two general areas: the Upper Towns and Lower Towns. The headman of the premier Lower Town, Coweta, was able to bring his people together and direct their diplomacy for several decades. That man was known as Brims, or "Emperor Brims," because of his influence and stature among the Creeks. Nothing is known of the circumstances of Brims's birth or his early years.

After Carolina's founding in 1670, the English slowly made inroads to the interior native tribes. By the 1680s, Indian Agent Henry Woodward had established contact with the Creeks. Anxious to counterbalance Spanish power in the region, Brims created a strong alliance with Woodward and subsequently opened an important economic connection with the English through trade. In August 1705, both the Upper and Lower Creeks cemented the relationship with a formal alliance.

Quickly, however, trade abuses against the Native Americans became so rampant that many of the southeastern natives revolted, leading to the Yamasee War (1715–1717). Brims and the Creeks joined the revolt, which initially favored the natives and almost wiped out South Carolina. But the English eventually regained the upper hand, largely because of prominent allies such as the Cherokees. The English ultimately dispersed the Yamasees, selling many of them into slavery. They concluded peace negotiations with the Creeks in November 1717.

In the years after the Yamasee War, Brims became most known for his policy of neutrality and playoff diplomacy. He was seeking bargaining power for the Creeks and hoping for leverage against the

three European nations. He therefore determined to fight none and court all in an effort to keep the Creeks powerful.

To that end, in 1717, Brims allowed the French to build Fort Toulouse, gave permission to the Spanish to build a fort in Coweta, and received the English and allowed his niece, Mary Musgrove, to marry an Englishman to solidify the alliance. Clearly, Brims planned to keep the Creeks in the good graces of all three European nations, enabling him to play one against the other. Brims directed this policy until his death sometime between 1730 and 1733. Yet even after his death, his successors continued the policy. This allowed the Creeks to remain a power broker in the region throughout the 18th century.

LISA L. CRUTCHFIELD

See also

Creeks; Fort Toulouse (Alabama); Musgrove, Mary; Woodward, Henry; Yamasees; Yamasee War

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Brookfield, Siege of

Start Date: August 2, 1675 End Date: August 5, 1675

Native American assault on a central Massachusetts town (also known as Quabaug) by the Nipmuck tribe on August 2–5, 1675, in the early months of King Philip's War (1675–1676). The siege demonstrated that additional aboriginal groups besides the Wampanoags, led by King Philip (Metacom), would become adversaries of New England colonists in the conflict. Prior to August 1675, hostilities had involved only the Wampanoags and English colonists and militiamen in the western portions of Plymouth Colony and the eastern area of Narragansett Bay. In addition, attacking warriors attempted to employ a number of siege techniques, demonstrating a Native American facility for technical innovation.

On August 2, 1675, a party of English with some Native American guides left Brookfield to meet with local sachems (chiefs). When the latter failed to arrive at the appointed time and place, the English party went in search of them, and in so doing they fell into an ambush prepared by Nipmuck warriors. The survivors of this attack retreated to Brookfield and, with residents of the town, defended themselves during the ensuing siege in the settlement's garrison house from that evening to the early morning of August 5. The Nipmucks abandoned their assault with the arrival of colonial militiamen, who were notified by a colonist who had crept out of Brookfield in the midst of the siege.

The primary eyewitness account of the siege, written by militia captain Thomas Wheeler, notes that attacking warriors "used several Strategems" to fire the garrison house. During the first day, the



Contemporary engraving of Native Americans attacking Brookfield, Massachusetts, in August 1675. (Library of Congress)

Nipmucks used fire arrows, placed and set alight combustible materials such as flax and hay at the side of the house, and "shot a Ball of wild Fire" at the building. The English defenders checked all these attempts to burn the garrison house, but by the following night warriors had constructed three devices to burn the structure. One was a cart filled with flammable matter and fitted with planks to protect from the colonists' gunfire those Nipmucks pushing the vehicle. The other two devices were made of two sets of poles lashed together and set on small wheels, the front ends of the poles joined by an axle set within a barrel.

Rain helped foil the use of these siege devices on the evening of August 4. That same night, reinforcements in the form of 46 English and 5 natives under Major Simon Willard and Captain John Parker arrived at Brookfield. Warriors constructing the siege engines failed to hear shots fired by scout warning them of the soldiers' approach, allowing Willard and his men to reach the garrison house. The Native Americans subsequently engaged the reinforced English in a firefight but then abandoned the siege in the early morning of August 5.

MATTHEW S. MUEHLBAUER

See also

Garrison Houses; King Philip's War; Nipmucks; Wampanoags

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Buffalo Creek, Attack on Event Date: September 16, 1754

September 1754 raid by French-allied Native Americans against a group of English settlers along Buffalo Creek, north of the Broad River in present-day York County, South Carolina. The attack was precipitated by ever-present Anglo-French rivalries and the increasing numbers of Scots-Irish settlers beginning to impinge on lands controlled by the French-allied natives of the region.

Before the 18th century, the lands beyond the settled English Atlantic coastal strip were largely uninhabited by European settlers. This began to change with the immigration of Scots-Irish, English, and other settlers to the fringes of the English colonial holdings. By the time of the attack on Buffalo Creek, Scots-Irish settlers had ventured into the middle of present-day South Carolina and North Carolina, pressing hard up against possessions nominally held by the French. Small settlements sprang up along the frontier, so far away from civilization and in advance of English policy that military protection was usually precarious at best. One of the largest tribes in the region, the Cherokees, had sided with the English for defensive purposes against their native enemies. However, there was growing Cherokee dissatisfaction with how well the English were performing this task. All indications therefore pointed to a lack of security for English interests and citizens in the area.

On September 16, 1754, so-called French Indians attacked the small settlement at Buffalo Creek. As used by Carolinian settlers, the term "French Indians" referred collectively to Shawnee, Delaware, and Miami Indians, who were allied with France. A raiding party comprised of these tribes attacked the settlement while the frontier women were away celebrating the engagement of a nearby couple. What remained were all of the settlement's men (16 by most accounts) and at least 5 children. All of the men were killed and the children were taken captive, although most were released fairly quickly. Friendly Cherokees managed to return 1 missing child to Gov. James Glen of South Carolina in October 1755.

Glen responded to the attack by seeking support from his Cherokee allies and increasing military protection of frontier English settlements in the region. In 1755, he signed a treaty with the Cherokee Nation that repaired strained English-Cherokee relations and permanently brought the Cherokees under the English Crown. A provision of this treaty was the right of the Crown to construct forts in the region, which ensured the advance of colonial settlement of the frontier.

CHARLES ALLAN

See also

Cherokees; Delaware; Glen, James; Shawnees; South Carolina

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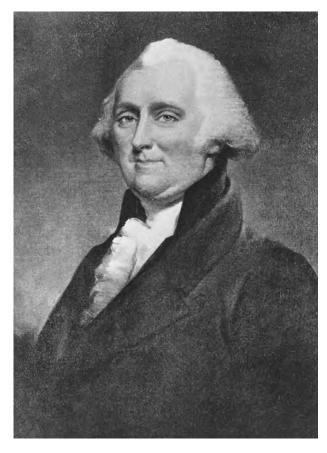
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Burd, James

Born: March 10, 1726 Died: October 5, 1793

Pennsylvania merchant and major in the Pennsylvania provincial forces during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Born on March 10, 1726, at Ormiston, Scotland, James Burd immigrated to Pennsylvania in 1746, where he became a merchant in Philadelphia. In 1752, he left his merchant business to manage his father-in-law's holdings in the area, now known as Shippensburg.

In 1756, at the start of the French and Indian War, Burd received a commission as a major in the Augusta Regiment of the Pennsyl-



Portrait of James Burd, Philadelphia merchant and militia colonel during the French and Indian War. (Library of Congress)

vania provincial forces. On December 8 of that year, he took command of the regiment after the resignation of Lieutenant Colonel William Clapham. Under Burd's command, the regiment built Fort Augusta (near Shamokin) as well as the Provincial Road, which ran between the fort and Tulpehocken. Burd also laid the foundation for what would be Fort Ligonier in 1758.

That same year, Burd received promotion to colonel and accompanied Brigadier General John Forbes and his British troops on an expedition to capture Fort Duquesne. Burd was sent to the Erie area after the fall of Duquesne to supervise road and fort construction there. He was responsible for defending Fort Ligonier from attack on October 12, 1758. Burd returned to Fort Augusta in 1760 and remained there until the dissolution of the Augusta Regiment.

Between 1764 and 1770, Burd held the office of justice of Lancaster County. In 1774, he was instrumental in garnering local support for the First Continental Congress in its opposition to the Crown. The following year, Burd assisted in the military organization of Lancaster County as a member of the Committee of Safety. He was also elected a colonel of a militia battalion, but he resigned his post in December 1776 because of a dispute concerning rank and insubordination in his command and criticism from the Committee of Safety. Burd served as a county judge until his death on October 5, 1793, at Tinian, Highspire, Lancaster (now Dauphin) County, Pennsylvania.

Anna Kiefer

See also

Forbes Campaign; Forbes, John; Fort Augusta (Pennsylvania); Fort Ligonier (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns

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Burnet, William

Born: March 1688 Died: September 7, 1729

English colonial governor of New York and New Jersey. Born in Den Haag, the Netherlands, in March 1688, William Burnet grew up in a staunch Protestant family. His father, Gilbert Burnet, was an historian and friend of William of Orange, who became William Burnet's godfather. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in England, which deposed James II, the Catholic king, the Burnet family accompanied William and his wife Mary, daughter of James, to England. A trusted adviser to the new king and queen, the elder Burnet was rewarded by the bishopric of Salisbury. The young Burnet entered Oxford University at age 13 but was dismissed for discipli-



William Burnet, English colonial governor of New York and New Jersey. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

nary reasons. Educated by private tutors, including Isaac Newton, he became a lawyer. Burnet's connections at court brought his appointment as governor of New York and New Jersey in the spring of 1720.

Burnet encouraged the expansion of trade with the Indians, especially the Iroquois, in an attempt to form a strategic alliance against the French. English colonists, who produced many finished goods locally, were able to compete successfully with French traders, who had to import similar goods from Europe. In a further attempt to inhibit French influence in upstate New York, Burnet tried to curtail English trade with the French, much to the chagrin of some wealthy English merchants in New York. In addition, in 1727 Burnet ordered the building of the first English fort on the Great Lakes at Oswego. The significance of his initiatives with the Iroquois was revealed in the French and Indian War when the Iroquois allied with the British against the French.

In 1728, after King George II named his friend John Montgomerie governor of New York and New Jersey, Burnet became governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Much of his short tenure in this post was spent quarreling with the colony's assembly over his salary. Burnet died of a stroke in Boston on September 7, 1729.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Iroquois; Oswego, Battle of

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Bushy Run, Battle of

Start Date: August 5, 1763 End Date: August 6, 1763

Clash between British and colonial troops, under the command of Colonel Henry Bouquet, and warriors of the Shawnee, Delaware, Mingo, and other Native American groups from the Ohio River and Great Lakes region, 25 miles from Fort Pitt (later Pittsburgh). The Battle of Bushy Run, which took place August 5–6, 1763, on the Pennsylvania frontier, occurred during Pontiac's Rebellion and was arguably the most intensely fought field action of the conflict. Following this engagement, warriors abandoned attacks on and near Fort Pitt.

During the summer of 1763, Native American warriors attacked settlements and isolated garrisons on the Pennsylvania frontier. Fort Pitt (Fort Duquesne before 1758), the largest and most important garrison in the region, was the target of sporadic attacks beginning in June and came under constant fire beginning on July 28, 1763. However, advancing warriors broke off these attacks on August 2 on receiving word of an approaching relief column led by Colonel Bouquet. Three days later, at about noon, warriors ambushed the column's advance guard a mile away from Bushy Run.

Bouquet sent two light infantry companies to support his vanguard. Though the assailants fell back before his soldiers' charges, they simply returned to attack, encroaching on the British force's flanks until they threatened his baggage train. Bouquet took up a position at the top of nearby Edge Hill, which his forces improved by building temporary defensive works with flour bags.

Native American warriors renewed their assaults on August 6. Still surrounded, Bouquet devised a ruse to take advantage of his foes' boldness. He moved two companies off his perimeter, and had nearby units change position as if the first two companies were retreating. Subsequently many warriors rushed through the gap; however, when they were within the British lines, the first two units charged out from a location previously hidden from view and routed the surprised warriors. The latter received fire from other units on the perimeter as they fled, and were then pursued by the charging British troops. The Native Americans who had not fallen into but witnessed the effectiveness of Bouquet's trap also abandoned the fight.



Map depicting the site of the Battle of Bushy Run of August 5, 1763. The fighting occurred durig Pontiac's Rebellion, when Native Americans attacked British soldiers on their way to relieve Fort Pitt. (North Wind Picture Archives)

Although victorious, Bouquet's force sustained heavy casualties. Of about 400 men in the engagement, some 50 were killed and another 60 wounded. Moreover, Bouquet had to abandon and destroy the flour bags intended for Fort Pitt in order to use the pack horses to carry his wounded men.

MATTHEW S. MUEHLBAUER

See also

Bouquet, Henry; Delaware; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania); Fort Pitt, Siege of; Mingos; Pontiac's Rebellion; Shawnees

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Caddoes

A Native American nation of scattered autonomous villages and complexes. The Caddo people resided in the entire lower Red River area: much of present-day Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas. The Caddoes are believe to have numbered some 8,000 people at the time of first European contact.

The word "Caddo" is a French abbreviation of *Kadohadacho*, derived from the term *kaadi*, meaning "chief." The term identifies both their nation and the language spoken by the Wichitas, Kichais, the Pawnees, and the Arikaras. Spanish references to the Caddoes as *Tejas or Teches*, meaning "friend," eventually became the name of the state of Texas.

The Caddoes were composed of several dozen loosely organized tribes and confederacies, the most important of which were the Hasinais, Natchitoches, Caddo proper (Kadohadacho or Cadodacho), Adais, Eyishes, and Tulas. Mentioned in 17th-century records, the Caddoes were recognized as having controlled their lands prior to Spaniard Hernando de Soto's excursion. Members of his expedition had entered Caddoan territory at Chaguate on the Ouachita River near today's Malvern and Arkadelphia, Arkansas, in June 1541. By 1686, the Caddoes had allied with their old rivals, the Wichitas, and were in conflict with the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, the Osages, and the Tonkawas.

Known as the "Earth House People" for their earthen temples and mounds, the Caddoes were also recognized for having well-established communities and ceremonial centers in small and larger townships. They were basically an agricultural people and had farm-steads along the larger rivers. They did not build fortifications. Their dwellings were circular and both grass-thatched and earth-covered. Around the walls were couches that served as seats during the day and beds at night. They made bows and arrows and hunted deer and buffalo, among other animals. They also fished. In the summer,

many went naked, and in the winter the Caddoes draped themselves in animal skins. They produced pottery and traded salt, conch shells, copper, cotton, and turquoise, which they secured from the Southwest. After European contact, the Caddoes became great horsemen and hunters as their homeland shifted westward.

The French established early their control over all the Caddo tribes, excepting the Adai, where the Spanish had located. In 1714, the French founded a trading post at present-day Natchitoches, Louisiana, and by 1730, there were several hundred Natchitoches dwellings near the post. The Caddoes hoped to remain neutral, trading with both colonial powers, but this proved impossible. In fighting between France and Spain, the Adais particularly suffered, their villages being divided between the two colonial powers.

In the Treaty of Fontainebleau in 1762, France compensated Spain for losses incurred while fighting on the French side in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) by giving it the Louisiana Territory. This transaction was not completed until 1769, but it produced great anger among the Caddoes, who did not believe the French had the right to cede their land. The Spanish succeeded in winning Caddo loyalty, however, through the fur trade and presents. Caddo chief Tinihiouien, meanwhile, negotiated several treaties ceding land to the Spanish. As with other Native Americans, Caddo landholding rapidly diminished as their own population declined. By the 1830s the remaining Caddoes agreed to give up what was left of their land to the United States and move to Indian Territory.

RAESCHELLE POTTER-DEIMEL AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Aguayo Expedition; Soto, Hernando de; Texas

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Caesar

Born: Unknown Died: Unknown

A Cherokee chief of the early 18th century, who was at different times a warrior, a slave trader, and a slave. The precise time and place of his birth and death, his real name, and how he acquired the name Caesar are unrecorded. He evidently had been supplying South Carolina with Native American slaves and capturing runaways when he himself was captured and sold to John Stephens, a Savannah planter, in 1713. At the prompting of Flint, another Cherokee chief, Caesar soon escaped from captivity. The Cherokees offered to pay restitution to Stephens, since their own tradition recognized the enslavement of war captives as a legal right.

In 1714, Caesar and Flint were approached by Eleazar Wigan and Alexander Long, two South Carolina traders who claimed to have grievances against the Yuchis. (The Yuchis are believed to be the people identified in the 17th century as Westoes.) The traders persuaded Caesar and Flint to lead a Cherokee attack against the Yuchi village of Chestowee (Tsistuyi) on the Hiwassee River (present-day Polk County, Tennessee), even though Chestowee was on friendly terms with the colony. The traders would take the captives, who would be sold into slavery, and in return, the Cherokees would have their debts canceled and receive ammunition, powder, and trade goods. Gov. Charles Craven received advance word of the attack but was unable to stop it. Caught by surprise, but unwilling to become slaves, many of the Yuchis killed each other, leaving only one woman and five children to take captive. The incident created a scandal and led to a trial, perhaps the first in the colony in which Cherokee testified. The Cherokees claimed they were told the governor had authorized the operation. Wigan and Long had their trading licenses revoked.

Then, in 1715, the government offered Wigan £500 to persuade the Cherokees to join South Carolina in the Yamasee War. He brought Caesar from Echota, on the upper Chattahoochee, to Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) with a delegation of 120 natives. There, Caesar appeared to commit the Cherokees to a joint war effort, but he had no real authority to do so and the warriors failed to appear as promised. Charitey Hagey (known as the Conjuror), a chief from another Cherokee village, took a neutralist position and offered to mediate between South Carolina and the Creeks, an ally of the Yamasees. The colonial authorities, suffering from the war, were intrigued by this offer, but the prospect threatened to undermine Caesar's authority and usefulness as the leader of the pro-British war faction. Yet another faction, little known to the colonists, sought an alliance with the Creeks against South Carolina.

Caesar was apparently instrumental in orchestrating the massacre of a large Creek delegation visiting the Cherokees on January 26, 1716. The brutal act ended the possibility of an accommodation with the Creeks and forced the Cherokese into the war on the side of South Carolina. With the forging of the Cherokee alliance, the Native American coalition fighting South Carolina soon began to unravel.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Cherokees; South Carolina; Yamasee War

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Cahokia-Fox Raid

Event Date: June 1, 1752

An attack by Fox warriors and their native allies on a Cahokia village—on the banks of the Mississippi River—on June 1, 1752, in present-day Illinois. The inhabitants of the Cahokia village included members of the Michigamea Nation and numbered roughly 400 people, including men, women, and children. The raid was a devastating blow to the Cahokia tribe, driving them further into a state of dependence on the French and weakening their tribal identity.

Allies of the French, the Cahokias had broken a French-sponsored treaty between themselves and their native rivals to the North by trespassing onto non-Cahokia lands for a hunting excursion in 1751. During the trip, the Cahokia party captured and mistreated some members of the Fox tribe. The Fox retaliated the following year with the raiding party of 400–500 warriors from the Fox and other northern tribes. The party filled 60 canoes, which stole past French forts on the Mississippi toward their target.

Taking advantage of the absence of some members of the Cahokia tribe at the Corpus Christi feast held at Fort de Chartres, the nearby French fort, the Fox raiding party attacked. Despite the close presence of the fort, no help was forthcoming from it. The Fox easily took the village, destroying a great part of it and taking hostages. The attackers scalped the dead and abused corpses, both those killed during the raid and those already buried in the village graveyard. The Cahokia hostages remained in bondage for some years with at least a few returning to the tribe after French diplomatic efforts to secure their release.

The raid effectively began the Cahokias' downward spiral toward eventual extinction and removed them from their ancestral area. Unable to recover, reduced to a state of dependency on the fading power of France, and stricken by demographic decline, many of

the remaining Cahokias merged with their culturally close cousins, the Peorias. The Peoria tribe eventually settled in Oklahoma.

Although there is no historical proof, many observers have suggested French duplicity in the raid. The French often portrayed themselves as the protectors of their native peoples against hostile threats, but it was the French who benefited most from this arrangement. The English Crown pressed hard against French possessions in the region, and the French could not afford to have the Cahokia tribe defect to the English side. It would have been to the French advantage to create a situation in which the Cahokias could not collude with their enemies or the English, who had hitherto been associated with native foes of the Cahokias. The existence of this strategy can only be inferred by the French modus operandi in other native areas, the suspicious passage of the Fox raiding party past French forts, and suggestive remarks made by French officials in the region.

CHARLES ALLAN

See also

Fort Chartres (Illinois); Fox

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California

California, occupying most of the North American coastline along the Pacific, has been home to dozens of Native American tribes and was at various times claimed by Spain, England, Russia, and the United States. Although the Spanish influence in California is undeniable, the extent of that influence was not nearly as far-reaching as has been assumed.

Prior to the European arrival, the region hosted a very large, diverse population of native tribes. The first European to explore the region was Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese-born captain sailing for Spain. In 1542, Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza of New Spain commissioned Cabrillo to explore the coastline north of Baja California. His expedition ultimately reached as far north as the 42nd parallel, the modern northern border of California. But Cabrillo became ill and died during the voyage.

In 1579, Englishman Sir Francis Drake mapped the entire California coastline while leading a series of raids on Spanish cities along the western coast of the Americas. He renamed the area "Nova Albion"



Contemporary woodcut of a Spanish mission in California showing Spanish padres and soldiers and Native Americans in the early 1700s. (North Wind Picture Awards)

and claimed it on behalf of the English throne. Eventually, imperial Russia claimed the entire region as well, although it expended no significant effort to enforce the claim. For the most part, Spanish explorers abandoned and ignored the area until the late 1700s. Open conflict with native populations remained rare, as the Spanish made little effort to pacify the region by force. Instead, relations with the natives, who numbered approximately 100,000 people at the time of first contact, remained generally amicable and trade driven.

In the 18th century, Spanish missionaries received large land grants and established settlements in California, including those near the present-day cities of Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, and San Jose. An extensive mission system was also begun there. Native Americans converted to Christianity voluntarily, however, and no military units enforced the dictates of the Catholic Church. Spanish missionaries moved into the region gradually, led initially by members of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits).

The Jesuits were allowed autonomy in California, which protected native populations from exploitation by Spanish settlers. Yet this also led to resentment of the religious order throughout the Spanish empire. For that reason, the Jesuits were expelled in 1768 and replaced by the Franciscans, who now ran the various California missions. The expulsion of the Jesuits provoked conflict, however, as many local native groups remained loyal to them and protested the action. In response, the Spanish government executed hundreds of Jesuit loyalists. In 1769, the Spanish launched a military venture, known as the Sacred Expedition, to settle California. This established a series of missions and presidio garrisons but only two secular townships, San Jose de Guadalupe and Los Angeles.

Relationships with native tribes declined after the Sacred Expedition. Father Junipero Serra (1713–1784) noted that soldiers continually abused native women sexually. Meanwhile, military governors quarreled constantly with Franciscan missionaries. The expansion of the Spanish presence in California now included the forcible relocation of natives into the mission system and punishment if they resisted. Spanish diseases wracked the natives and caused a massive decline in their overall population.

In California, unlike Mexico, intermarriage was rare and the populations remained apart. Not surprisingly, conflict with the natives increased with the expanded Spanish presence. Native Americans torched Franciscan missions, and in 1781, the Yuma tribe attacked a Spanish military expedition, killing 30 soldiers and their Franciscan chaplains. The Yuma massacre virtually halted further Spanish migration to California and ensured that a state of war would continue to exist between the Spanish colonists and the indigenous tribes. When Mexico rebelled against Spanish rule and became independent in 1821, California became a Mexican territory. It was ceded to the United States after the Mexican War (1846–1848) and achieved statehood in 1850.

PAUL J. SPRINGER

See also

Drake, Sir Francis; Franciscan Order; Jesuits; Presidio; Spain; Spanish Mission System, Southwest

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Calusas

Indigenous people who inhabited southwestern Florida from Sarasota Bay to Marco Island, as far southwest as the Florida Keys. By the time of the European arrival, Calusa society was divided into nobles and commoners and spread out over 50 villages. The Calusas flourished on the abundant fishing and gathering available in the area and by collecting tributes from smaller interior villages.

It is likely the Calusas became aware of Spanish incursions into the Caribbean when refugees from Cuba began fleeing into southwestern Florida. The first documented contact between the Calusas and the Spanish came in 1513, when explorer Juan Ponce de León sailed into the mouth of the Caloosahatchee River. For several days, Calusa canoes approached the ship and made tentative overtures of trade. On June 4, 1513, a Spanish-speaking native, possibly a Cuban refugee, approached the ship with instructions from the Calusa leader to await his arrival. Shortly thereafter, the Spanish were attacked by Calusa warriors in 20 canoes. The Spanish rebuffed the assault without difficulty, but on the following day a larger group of Calusas again attacked the ship, and the Spanish decided to withdraw.

Subsequent Spanish explorers met with similarly hostile receptions. The entire Calusa region was infamous among the Spaniards for the poor treatment of shipwrecked sailors, who were usually executed. Ponce de León returned in 1521, when he received a fatal wound during a failed attempt to begin a settlement in the area.

The next substantive contact between the Spanish and Calusas was in 1566, when Pedro Menéndez de Avilés attempted to form an alliance with the Calusas. Menéndez exchanged overtures of friendship with the Calusa leader, known to history as King Carlos II, but both parties were insincere. When several of Carlos's treacheries came to light, the Spaniards had him and his top leaders executed in 1567. Three years later, Carlos's successor was also killed when he ran afoul of the Spanish.

Hostile relations continued between the Calusas and all European colonizers. In 1704, the English encouraged their Yamasee and Uchise allies to destroy the Spanish mission system throughout western Florida. The well-armed warriors also dabbled in slave trading. As they pushed into southwestern Florida, the Uchises and

Yamasees captured many Calusas. The Calusas had deliberately isolated themselves from trade and other relations with the Europeans and were no match for the well-armed invaders. By 1710 only a few hundred Calusas remained in the area, having been decimated through disease, enslavement, and warfare. Some of the Calusas migrated to Cuba, but most of them died shortly after arrival due to disease. By 1750 they had ceased to exist as a distinct society in Florida, although their descendants may have survived and integrated into other tribes in Cuba.

DOROTHY A. MAYS

See also

Florida; Ponce de León, Juan; Spain; Spanish Mission System, Southeast; Yamasees

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Calvert, Cecilius, Second Lord Baltimore

Born: August 8, 1605 Died: November 30, 1675

First proprietor of the Maryland Colony. The eldest son of George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore, Cecilius Calvert was born on August 8, 1605, in London. He followed in his father's footsteps at Oxford University's Trinity College, earning a degree there in 1623.

On his father's death in 1632, Cecilius Calvert inherited the title of Second Lord Baltimore and the daunting responsibilities of establishing a colony north of Virginia, named Maryland for the queen, Henrietta Maria. Like his father, he believed it feasible to be both English and Catholic at a time when the forces of monarchy and Parliament were increasingly clashing over sectarian issues. Concerned with protecting Maryland's interests with the British court in London, Cecilius opted to remain in England and appoint his brother, Leonard, as the first colonial governor. Cecilius's parting instructions to his brother evolved into the framework for the Maryland legal system.

The Protestant-dominated London Company posed the greatest threat to Maryland's future as its shareholders schemed among its political allies. Cecilius was determined to continue his father's commitment to religious freedom as Protestants and Catholics were encouraged to join the first expedition to Maryland in 1634. Opponents argued to no avail that this spiritual flexibility would attract so many settlers as to drain other colonies of manpower.

Maryland became a model for self-government in the Western world as Cecilius retained only the right of absolute veto, which he seldom employed. The English Civil War (1642–1649) placed the heaviest strain on his stewardship of the colony. Despite the pres-

sure to abandon the ill-fated Charles I and align himself with Parliament as the most expedient path to protecting his charter, Cecilius clung to royalist principles. Yet he cultivated alliances in Parliament to establish himself as a man of reason. When Leonard Calvert died in 1647, Cecilius named a Protestant successor as a means of assuaging Parliament.

Calvert temporarily lost control of the colony when Puritans affiliated with the virtual dictator Oliver Cromwell compelled his governor to resign in 1655 before order was restored two years later. Cecilius also dealt with Catholic grievances in the form of Jesuits, who expected similar legal and financial privileges as enjoyed in officially Catholic nations. Calvert finally hammered out a compromise to maintain a relative degree of harmony.

With the Stuart monarchy restored in 1660, Cecilius dispatched his only son, Charles, to serve as governor. Cecilius died in London on November 30, 1675, having spent 42 years as the proprietary governor of Maryland without ever setting foot on its soil. Nevertheless, his strategic vision, steadfast hand, and fair-mindedness had seen the colony through its most uncertain years.

JEFFREY D. BASS

See also

Calvert, George, First Lord Baltimore; English Civil War, Impact in America; Maryland

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Calvert, George, First Lord Baltimore

Born: ca. 1580 Died: April 15, 1632

Progenitor of the Maryland Colony and a pioneer in the quest for religious freedom in the Western world. The son of a minor British gentleman, George Calvert was born in Yorkshire about 1580. He graduated from Trinity College at Oxford in 1597 and served as private secretary to Sir Robert Cecil, clerk of the Privy Council. After brief clerkships in Ireland, Calvert won a seat in Parliament in 1609, where he served several nonconsecutive terms.

Succeeding to Cecil's post on the death of his patron, Calvert grew close to King James I. Knighted in 1617, Calvert was appointed one of the king's principal secretaries of state. He lobbied among the minority in the British government who favored gravitating toward the Spanish over the French. A convert from Anglicanism to Catholicism in 1624, Calvert announced his new faith and therefore rendered himself ineligible to work in Parliament or at the highest levels of the royal administration.

The final straw in this momentous decision was reached when Calvert was expected to put on trial for sedition those who refused



George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore, English political leader, founder of Maryland, and pioneer in religious freedom in the New World. (Frank Grizzard)

to attend the services of the Church of England and recognize its authority. James I consequently elevated Calvert to the Irish peerage as Baron Baltimore of Baltimore in County Longford, along the southern coast of the island. When James died in 1625, his successor, Charles I, was willing to allow Calvert to remain on the Privy Council without taking the oath of supremacy, which acknowledged the king as the ultimate religious and civil authority. But Calvert declined out of a growing disenchantment with public life.

Eager to pursue overseas ventures, Calvert invested in both the New England and Virginia companies. Most anxious for an opportunity of his own, Calvert purchased a plantation and charter with virtual royal authority for Newfoundland in order to create a province that would allow freedom of worship. Dubbed Avalon, this land would include the first Catholic ministry on English soil in North America.

Calvert visited Avalon in 1627–1628, but it suffered substantially from bitter weather and raids by French privateers. He then petitioned Charles I for a new grant in a more temperate climate. At first, he received rights to territory south of the James River (in Virginia), but the demand from Protestants in the Virginia Company for Calvert to take an oath of supremacy frustrated his efforts.

Finally, in late 1631, Calvert received a large grant of land north of Virginia to be named Maryland in honor of the queen, Henrietta Maria. Calvert was particularly excited over the commercial prospects of what would be known as Chesapeake Bay. The original grant extended from the Potomac River north to New England, but a subsequent charter for Pennsylvania limited Calvert's holdings.

Calvert secured the right to provide land to colonists regardless of religious orientation. He died in London on April 15, 1632, before the royal charter had been finalized. His son, Cecilius, Second Lord Baltimore, carried out the initial colonization of Maryland as the first settlers arrived in 1634.

JEFFREY D. BASS

See also

Calvert, Cecilius, Second Lord Baltimore; Maryland

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Campbell, John, Earl of Loudoun

Born: May 4, 1705 Died: April 27, 1782

Commander in chief of British land forces in North America (1756–1757) and governor of Virginia (1756–1757). John Campbell, Fourth Earl of Loudoun, was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, on May 4, 1705. He was the only legitimate son of accomplished statesman Hugh Campbell, Third Earl of Loudoun. At the age of 22, Campbell secured a coronet's commission in the Scots Greys. He attained field grade as lieutenant colonel of the 3rd Foot Guards in 1739. By this time, Campbell was already adept at handling both military and political responsibilities. He had succeeded his father to the family title in 1731 and began attending Westminster as 1 of Scotland's 16 representative peers in 1734.

Throughout the next decade, Loudoun demonstrated to the House of Hanover his reliability. After the heavy losses suffered by the British in the 1745 Battle of Fontenoy, the earl was commissioned on June 8, 1745, to raise a regiment of 1,250 men to augment British forces in Flanders. The battalion was scattered between its recruiting centers at Perth and Inverness when Prince Charles Edward Stuart's banner was unfurled at Glenfinnan on August 19, 1745. Campbell's unit provided yeoman service against rebel clansmen throughout the insurrection, with three of its companies participating in the Battle of Culloden on April 16, 1746, which permanently ended the dream of a Jacobite restoration. Thereafter, the Highland regiment was transferred to the Continent, where it served with the Duke of Cumberland's army until its disbandment in 1748.

The Scottish aristocrat's constancy had placed him in good stead with the Crown when the French and Indian War erupted in 1754. The need for a competent general and a strong authority figure to direct military operations overseas led to Loudoun's 1756 selection as successor to Major General William Shirley. Named captain general and governor in chief of Virginia, he was in March 1756 appointed commander in chief of British forces in North America. Campbell arrived at New York on July 23, 1756.

Campbell quickly moved north to Albany with his line regiments to stabilize the northern frontier following the French capture of Oswego on August 14, 1756. He spent the winter months reorganizing the army's administration, logistical infrastructure, and training. He also began planning for an offensive against Quebec via the St. Lawrence River.

Loudoun led a regular force of 13 battalions to Halifax at the beginning of 1757. There they underwent a rigorous course of training before proceeding. French naval superiority at Louisbourg, however, precluded the British descent and caused Campbell to order a return to New York without making an attempt to take the French citadel. Campbell's concentration of forces for the Louisbourg operation, however, permitted French major general Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm to capture and destroy Fort William Henry in August.

Loudoun was planning an ambitious winter strike against the French at Fort Ticonderoga but was recalled to London on December 30, 1757, because of perceived lethargy in the British North American forces. His second-in-command, Major General James Abercromby, replaced him. Loudoun sailed from New York in April 1758, bequeathing to his successors the trained men and materials they later used to conquer Canada.

Loudoun remained a consequential figure in establishment circles, subsequently commanding the British expeditionary forces to Portugal in 1762. He died at his ancestral home, Loudoun Castle, Ayrshire, Scotland, on April 27, 1782.

ALEXANDER V. CAMPBELL

See also

Abercromby, James; Amherst, Jeffery; Fort William Henry, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Oswego, Battle of; Shirley, William

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Camp Carlisle (Pennsylvania)

Military fort located near Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Camp Carlisle, which began as a fortified camp in western Pennsylvania, is sometimes referred to as the "camp near Carlisle" in contemporary accounts. Although there was a settlement at Carlisle for some time, no permanent garrison existed in the town until a post was established there during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The

camp, which developed into more of a fort, became an important concentration point for supplies and troops during the conflict.

As early as 1730, a crude fort existed near the town of Carlisle. Such a development occurred naturally because the place occupied an important strategic point in that it lay on the juncture of the north-south and east-west routes of the Indian trade. By the 1750s, however, this earlier post, long abandoned, had all but disappeared.

The first in a series of continuous posts was established at the site on May 30, 1757, with the arrival of a mixed force of British and provincials under the command of Colonel John Stanwix. This came in direct response to the failure of the British assault on Fort Duquesne, led by Major General Edward Braddock, which left the Pennsylvania frontier open to attack. Soon Stanwix had his men digging new entrenchments on the site.

In May 1758, a large depot was constructed at Carlisle. Barracks and storehouses were then added, leading to the present-day name of Carlisle Barracks. Eventually the post became the most secure British position in the West, serving as a supply station and head-quarters for operations during the French and Indian War. In this capacity, it was a key part of the logistical network for operations on the frontier. After the end of the French and Indian War, Carlisle became an armory for the manufacture of arms and ammunition in 1769. The post served an important role in the American Revolutionary War and remains in use by the U.S. Army.

JAMES R. McIntyre

See also

Braddock, Edward; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Indian Presents; Logistics; Pennsylvania

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Camp Van Schaick (New York)

See Fort Half Moon [New York]

Canada, British Expedition against

Start Date: 1709 End Date: October 1709

Failed British attempt to seize Canada during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713). Since 1702, Queen Anne's War had escalated from Native American raids and counter raids along the New England frontier to some moderately sized military undertakings. This was because the colonials, in spite of what they considered near official neglect by Great Britain, were marshaling and committing increasing numbers

of troops and resources raised on their own initiative. Moreover, a destructive French/native raid on Haverhill, Massachusetts, in 1708 convinced many leaders that only the conquest of Quebec and the expulsion of the French would ensure regional security.

To best facilitate such a large-scale endeavor, it was incumbent on the reluctant British government to reinforce the colonial effort with regular troops and warships. In 1708, Samuel Vetch, an enterprising merchant and former Scottish military officer, traveled to London to confer with the Board of Trade. There Vetch convinced the board of the need and possibility of capturing Canada at relatively little cost and great benefit to the empire.

Vetch resurrected a two-pronged scheme first attempted in 1690 by Sir William Phips. It featured a large amphibious foray down the St. Lawrence River against Quebec City in concert with a sizable overland offensive. The land campaign, to be undertaken by colonial militia, would march up the St. Lawrence River Valley to take Montreal. Vetch argued that, given the weakness of the French position, relatively few British troops (perhaps 5,000 men) and a handful of warships were all that was required to win the continent.

Board members were impressed by Vetch's presentation. And so on March 1, 1709, the Whig administration granted authorization for the campaign and pledged the needed troops and warships. What ensued, however, was basically an exercise in futility based on local shortcomings and conflicting imperial prerogatives.

Significantly, the leader chosen to spearhead the overland thrust against Montreal was Colonel Francis Nicholson, a figure of considerable renown in colonial military and political circles. He possessed wide-ranging administrative skills from governing New York and Virginia, and he was regarded as a competent military leader. Throughout the spring and summer of 1709, Nicholson labored to assemble a diverse force of 1,500 colonials gathered from New York, New Jersey, and various New England colonies. Such an effort was no mean feat, however, as their independent-minded leaders rarely cooperated, even in matters of mutual concern.

By August 1709, Nicholson's force was in place at Albany and proceeded marching north. En route they were joined by four tribes of the heretofore neutral Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederation, which added another 1,500 warriors to his roster. The allies continued working their way through the dense wilderness, simultaneously building a road to facilitate the transit of supply wagons. The offensive now paused at Wood Creek at the southern tip of Lake Chaplain. Concurrently, intelligence of this move completely unnerved French governor-general Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, who dispatched a force at Scalping Point (Crown Point), New York, to block their passage.

Despite his best efforts, however, Nicholson could not prod his men further. He failed to surmount endemic supply shortages and disease began seriously to dilute his troop strength. Colonial troops then began squabbling with British regulars, and the natives, sensing the confusion and paralysis, began drifting away back to their villages. By September, Nicholson's litany of problems proved both demoralizing and intractable, so he unceremoniously cancelled his participation in the two-pronged strategy.

Events at Boston were equally disheartening to this ambitious endeavor. Vetch, now a colonel, had assembled a force of 1,200 enthusiastic colonial volunteers fired up by the prospects of plunder and the anticipated arrival of a British fleet conveying 4,000 British troops. Unfortunately, this was not meant to be. The British government had begun peace negotiations in Europe and was not prepared to spend lavishly in money and lives for the conquest of Canada only to have it returned to France at the negotiating table. By October 1709, which was far too late to commence a campaign in Canada with any prospects of success, word was received of the expedition's cancellation.

At this juncture both Vetch's and Nicholson's respective forces disbanded and departed for home. New England leaders in particular were disgruntled by what they considered London's broken promises followed by an arbitrary denouement after considerable local funding and effort had been expended. Yet the 1709 Canadian campaign is significant for two reasons. First, it exposed the military establishments in New York and New England to the intrinsic advantages of strategic cooperation against a common enemy. Second, this was the first time in colonial history that the government of Great Britain expressed any desire to commit regular forces to the defense of its colonies, particularly on so large a scale. For the colonials, perhaps the greatest lesson of all was the dire necessity of leaving an agent in London to both articulate colonial interests and promptly transmit all royal decisions concerning defense. Failure in 1709 also prompted Vetch to again visit England and appeal for greater British involvement in the prosecution of the war. A year later, his efforts bore fruit in the 1710 conquest of Port Royal, Acadia.

JOHN C. FREDRIKSEN

See also

Acadia, British Conquest of; Nicholson, Sir Francis; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Pierre de, Marquis de Vaudreuil; Vetch, Samuel

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Canada, British Expedition against Event Date: 1711

Britain's largest and most conspicuous failure during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) involving an attempted invasion of French-held Canada. Following the easy conquest of Acadia in 1710, noted colonial administrator and soldier Colonel Francis Nicholson arrived in London to push for a greater British commitment of manpower and

resources in prosecuting the war against New France. In 1709, the government had pledged a sizable military and naval contingent, only to deploy them against France at the last moment. The government was now controlled by the Tories under Henry St. John, who viewed the prospects of dramatic military success and its attendant political bonuses favorably. That fact, along with the opening of secret peace talks and a diminished military commitment on the continent, allowed the British to assemble what, by colonial standards, was a huge expedition.

Ultimately, the government authorized a force of 15 warships mounting some 900 guns and 40 transports, all manned by 5,000 men. Sir Hovenden Walker, recently promoted to rear admiral of the White, had command. The transports were to convey 4,500 soldiers, including many veterans of Lord Marlborough's campaigns, commanded by Brigadier General John Hill. Significantly, this was the largest military operation conducted in North America up to that time, and the first launched directly from England against Canada.

To deceive the French of his intentions, Walker's expedition was allotted only three months of provisions, the amount French intelligence would expect the British to put together for a Mediterranean foray. Once in North America, the admiral's efforts were to be abetted by an overland thrust commanded by Colonel Nicholson leading a mixed force of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut militia up the Hudson River Valley—Lake Champlain route to seize Montreal. Considering the relative weakness of defenses in New France, the prospect of a complete and overpowering victory appeared promising.

No sooner did Walker's armada appear at Boston Harbor on June 24, 1710, an event that astonished the populace, than it quickly wore out its welcome. The decision to supply the fleet with only three months of rations placed the entire effort at the mercy of local provisioners, who turned out to be both avaricious and uncooperative. Considerable friction then arose between British and colonial authorities over the matter of securing food supplies from an already hard-pressed populace. Walker was allegedly so angered by the Bostonian habit of encouraging sailors to desert that he threatened to impress locals into the Royal Navy to make up any losses. Gov. Joseph Dudley, meanwhile, was hard pressed both to accommodate the fleet and to raise two regiments of provincials at local expense. Worse still, the admiral had been led to expect that the city was teeming with experienced pilots who knew and understood the waters of the St. Lawrence River. Few, if any, were forthcoming, and the admiral was forced to hire the captured captain of the French vessel, the Neptune, to guide his fleet. Thus situated, it was not until July 30 that Walker was able to depart Boston, much to the relief of the locals.

Walker encountered adverse winds during his approach to the St. Lawrence. Thus, it was not until August 22 that the fleet entered that river's mouth. Progress was slow owing to a thick enveloping fog that made transiting the river, with its numerous strong currents, especially hazardous. Walker was completely flummoxed as to his precise position, as were his handful of pilots. Believing his ships close to the south shore, he ordered all ships anchored that

evening, pointed south. On being informed land had been sighted and without asking where, he consequently reversed this deployment. That evening the winds blew up and Walker was alerted in the middle of the night that breakers had been sighted. The admiral initially haughtily dismissed the alarm, was warned again, and then made his way to the top deck, bedecked in his evening gown. Breakers were indeed sighted as the winds pushed the entire armada toward the north shore of the St. Lawrence.

Walker now ordered the fleet hard about, which was expertly accomplished under trying conditions. All his warships escaped damage. However, eight of the less-nimble transports struck ground and were broken up. By dawn of August 23, no less than 900 men had drowned, including 200 sailors.

Walker, shaken by the turn of events, then convened a council of war that voted to terminate the expedition altogether. The entire British fleet then unceremoniously sailed for England and the colonial transports returned to Boston. Word of the expedition's timorous ending shocked public opinion. In fact, when Colonel Nicholson, marching hard from Albany with 2,000 men, was apprised of Walker's decision, he reputedly tore off his wig and stamped on it.

Under more capable leadership the conquest of New France might have easily transpired, considering the disparity of forces involved. Nevertheless, in the end the British had to be content with their 1710 conquest of Acadia. The entire effort certainly marked a low point in Royal Navy leadership. A new Whig regime subsequently discharged Walker from active duty in 1720.

IOHN C. FREDRIKSEN

See also

Acadia, British Conquest of; Canada, British Expedition against (1709); Impressment, Army; Impressment, Navy; Nicholson, Sir Francis; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Walker, Hovenden

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Canada, British Expedition against

Start Date: May 1746 End Date: 1747

In the summer of 1745, after inspecting the recently captured French fortress of Louisbourg, Gov. William Shirley of Massachusetts communicated future British plans for Canada with the old colonial slogan "Canada delenda est" (Canada must be destroyed). Shirley revived plans to invade overland to Montreal while launching a naval

assault and amphibious landing at Quebec, notwithstanding the complete strategic failure of a similar plan in 1690. This effort was part of a wider conflict known as the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) within which King George's War between France and Britain had commenced on March 15, 1744. The British arm of the invasion force began to assemble in Spithead, England, on April 9, 1746, and consisted of 20 warships under Admiral Richard Lestock and six regiments of British regulars commanded by Lieutenant General James St. Clair. This force aimed to link up with colonial commander William Pepperell's troops and British commodore Peter Warren's marines in Louisbourg before sailing up the St. Lawrence River for the assault on Quebec. At the same time, about 7,000 colonial troops under Gov. William Gooch of Virginia were to attack Montreal from Albany. The British reasoned that New France, already reeling from the loss of its maritime possessions, would be in no shape to defend against such a concerted invasion.

Ready to depart by May 1746, the British expedition was delayed first by bad weather and then by the menace of a French fleet under the command of the Duc d'Anville. With about 100 vessels carrying almost 10,000 men, the French fleet threatened to turn the tide of war in North America, but it was so ravaged by storms, pestilence, and famine that it did not even get the chance to fire a shot during the entire campaign. Although this French counterstroke failed miserably, the mere existence of this force struck such panic in London and the British colonies that the Canadian invasion plan had to be postponed. It was eventually cancelled outright on January 12, 1747. Furthermore, the threat had required British admiral Isaac Townshend to lift the St. Lawrence blockade, opening the way for French supply ships to reach Quebec. It is almost certain that Canada would have faced a massive Anglo-American assault in 1746 had it not been for d'Anville's fleet.

In Quebec, Gov. Claude de Beauharnois had been preparing for a British invasion since 1745 and was soon launching preemptive strikes against the British colonies. In November of that year, his forces struck south against Saratoga, New York, and in 1746, a contingent of Canadian militia and allied natives overcame Fort Massachusetts and pillaged as far as Deerfield, Massachusetts. Canadian forces also tried to link up with d'Anville in Acadia, but the failure of the French admiral to appear at Beaubassin forced their withdrawal to Quebec. Yet these forays had alarmed the British colonies enough to cause the suspension of the Montreal invasion, which by this time had already bogged down on its own accord. After the Battle of Grand Pré ended in disaster for the British on February 12, 1747, the colonial arm of the invasion of Canada, like its British naval counterpart, would also be permanently shelved.

With the approach of spring, what remained of the d'Anville fleet was relaunched, and again caused consternation in Britain and the colonies entirely out of proportion to the actual threat it posed. Although Admiral George Anson's British forces destroyed the fleet on May 14, 1747, only four days after its embarkation, the British blockade had once more been drawn away, allowing several French

supply ships to reach Quebec. Notwithstanding this qualified success, the defeat of the French fleet by Anson removed any threat from that quarter, making further supply shipments or even communication between France and Canada virtually impossible. But just as in 1746, the British failed to press their advantage.

By the end of 1747, the conflict between the British and French in North America was essentially stalemated, but it did not officially conclude until the signing of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle on October 18, 1748. Britain's subsequent establishment of Halifax would counter Louisbourg (which had been returned to France) in the east, and American land speculation accelerated the erosion of New France's native alliances in North America. But the golden opportunity to take Canada in 1746–1747 had nevertheless been squandered. The French and Indian War (1754–1763) could possibly have been avoided had the British successfully implemented their planned invasion of Canada in 1746.

Steve Bunn

See also

Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of; Canada, New England Expedition against; Fort Massachusetts (Massachusetts); France, Navy; Grand Pré, Battle of; Great Britain, Navy; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Louisbourg (Nova Scotia); Louisbourg Expedition; New France; Pepperrell, Sir William, Jr.; Saratoga, Battle of; Shirley, William; St. Lawrence River; Uprising of 1747; Warren, Peter

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Canada, New England Expedition against

Start Date: July 1690 End Date: October 15, 1691

New England expedition against French-held Canada, the first major military conflict between the British and French in North America. The mission involved the attempt by two colonial forces mustered mainly from Massachusetts, New York, and Connecticut to mount simultaneous attacks against New France at Montreal and Quebec. An overland army under Fitz-John Winthrop of Connecticut set out for Montreal in mid-July 1690, but because of sickness,

disorganization, and poor leadership, the expedition bogged down at Wood Creek, near Lake Champlain. Out of 1,700 militia and allied natives in the initial force, only about 100 Iroquois warriors and 30 New Englanders commanded by Captain John Schuyler even made it to the vicinity of Montreal, where they skirmished ineffectively with the French at La Prairie before turning back to Albany.

Indeed, ill fortune and numerous logistical problems characterized the entire operation. Major General Sir William Phips, future Massachusetts governor and commander of the naval arm of the expedition aimed at Quebec, was not made aware of the failure of the land campaign. Phips had been waiting impatiently in Boston for supplies and reinforcements from Britain. These did not arrive until 1691, and by late summer the impending change of season and the exigencies of the coordinated strategy compelled Phips to act. Having presided over the decisive assault on Port Royal in Acadia earlier in the year, Phips remained confident that his plan for an amphibious assault on Quebec, despite prior setbacks, would also be successful.

Departing from Boston and sailing up the eastern seaboard, Phips expected to meet only token resistance at Quebec, on the assumption that the Canadians would be tied up in Montreal. Even before their arrival, however, the 32 warships and almost 2,500 troops under his command were ravaged by storms and swept by smallpox outbreaks, considerably reducing their effectiveness. During the voyage, the weather was so unseasonably poor that the normal three-week trip to Quebec took more than two months to complete. Even without such problems, many of the demoralized militia on the ships had mustered only reluctantly, as they were required to provision themselves with everything from cutlery to clothing to armaments.

Further complicating matters, Quebec governor Louis de Buade de Comte de Frontenac had learned of the breakdown of the Montreal assault and arrived from upriver on October 4 with several hundred troops, just as Phips was drawing within sight of the Quebec heights. French defenses at Quebec were further supplemented that evening by the arrival of Louis-Hector de Callière, the governor of Montreal, with another 700 soldiers and *coureurs de bois*. Instead of engaging about 200 troops, which were all that had been present at Quebec only days before, the British invasion would be facing more than 2,700 French soldiers, Canadian militia, and allied natives by the time hostilities commenced. With the plan for a two-pronged assault in tatters, the element of surprise negated, and his forces both outnumbered and decimated by rough seas and pestilence, Phips's arm of the New England expedition against Canada was doomed before it had even really begun.

Nevertheless, on reaching Quebec on October 6, Phips sent an envoy, Major Thomas Savage, to deliver a bombastic surrender demand to Frontenac, who famously retorted, "I have no reply to make to your general other than from the mouths of my cannon and muskets." At this the battle was joined, and on October 8, Lieutenant General John Walley, Phips's second-in-command, landed with 1,300 troops on the Beaufort flats, a muddy shoal north and east of

the heights of Quebec, near the intersection of the St. Lawrence River and St. Charles River. Phips had planned to march these troops across two fords on the St. Charles that were accessible only at low tide. However, not only were Frontenac's cannon sighted in on these passes, but the Canadian militia, under cover of the nearby woodlands, continually harassed Walley's troops. This gave Frontenac the time over the course of the next few days to set up an entrenched force along the Quebec side of the St. Charles, effectively stalemating the American beachhead for the duration of the conflict.

Phips simultaneously bombarded the town from his fleet below Quebec, but little damage was done. The nuns at Quebec's Hotel-Dieu, seemingly not affected by the bombardment, gathered up the American cannonballs that had fallen in their garden and delivered them to the French gun positions, from where they were fired back at their original owners. Most significantly though, the bombardment brought no relief from enemy harassment to the landing force, which was by now recumbent from the exponential spread of smallpox. To add insult to injury, Phips's flagship, the Six Friends, was nearly dismasted by return fire, and his colors, having been knocked into the St. Lawrence, were grabbed by Canadian militiamen in a canoe who had paddled out under fire specifically to retrieve the prized war trophy. By October 15, with his fleet severely damaged and his land forces neutralized, Phips was compelled to withdraw. Because of their vulnerability to counterattack, Walley's disease-ravaged troops reembarked in a panic, leaving behind several large guns and a host of other equipment, much to the benefit of the French. Limping their way back to Boston, the colonists lost four ships and hundreds of men to storms, French naval forces, and disease. On arrival, the virulence incubated by the surviving troops was communicated throughout New England, resulting in the deaths of hundreds more.

The expedition of 1690 took place not only within the context of King William's War (1689–1697) between England and France but also during the time of the Beaver Wars (1641–1701), which saw New France and its native allies matched against the Iroquois Confederacy.

It also came at a time of a strong religious revival in the British colonies, pushing anti-Catholic sentiments to new heights. In a prevailing atmosphere that would shortly spawn the Salem witch hunts, both political and public sentiment increasingly favored a strike against French Canada. Couched as the putative expedition of a holy war against the "antichrist," structural and financial concerns that traditionally weighed against major colonial military operations were quickly set aside.

The failed New England expedition against Canada had significant impact. First, because the effort was financed on credit with the thought that plundered riches from Quebec would balance the ledger, Massachusetts, the major creditor, was nearly bankrupted. The dissension created throughout the colonies was enormous, as it was between the colonial governments and the British metropole, which used the financial crisis to reinstall direct rule in formerly recalcitrant Massachusetts in 1691. Second, the failure pointed to the enormous difficulty of attacking Canada over land, a reality that

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British and colonial military planners would be forced to countenance throughout the colonial period and beyond. Third, the ignominious defeat severely disrupted native-European alliances in North America, leading the Iroquois Confederacy toward a policy of neutrality in French and British conflicts, rather than lending active support to their traditional Anglo-American allies as had formally been the case. Finally, Canada became the direct benefactor of British losses and the alliance disruptions.

By 1701, the French had secured a relatively stable peace with the Iroquois Confederacy, allowing for unprecedented population growth and economic expansion. After going into the war as an isolated colony in the St. Lawrence Valley, New France emerged from the Treaty of Ryswick of 1697, which ended the hostilities between the English and French, in possession of the North American interior from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. In large part because of the failure of the New England expedition against Canada in 1690, France continued as a major contender in North American colonial affairs for another 70 years.

STEVE BUNN

See also

Acadia, New England Attack on; Beaver Wars; Coureurs de Bois; Fort Loyal (Maine); Frontenac, Louis de Buade de, Comte de Frontenac et de Palluau; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Montreal; New France; Phips, Sir William; Quebec; Quebec, Attack on (1690); Ryswick, Treaty of; St. Lawrence River; Walley, John; Winthrop, John (Fitz-John)

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Cannon Founding

In the colonial period, guns were made of both bronze (90 percent copper and 10 percent tin) and iron. The process of manufacturing cannon was time consuming, expensive, and required highly skilled workmen. For all of these reasons, and the passage of legislation to prevent their manufacture locally, virtually all cannon present in colonial North America were cast in Europe.

In 18th-century procedure, a pattern for the finished gun was built on a wooden core or spindle. The spindle was wrapped with rope to approximate the size of the finished gun and then covered with a clay mixture. This was turned on its axis and shaped to conform to the gun pattern. Next, a clay mold was applied over the pattern in sections, then the inside wooden core was knocked loose and the rope unwound. Finally, this hollow mold, conforming on the inside to the desired shape of the gun, was inspected, cleaned, dried, and made ready for casting with its several sections bound together. Up to the early 18th century, the guns were cast hollow with a core placed in the barrel mold. This core, consisting of iron wire and clay over an iron spindle finished to the diameter and dimensions of the intended bore, was removed after casting.

In 1715, in Bergdorf, Switzerland, Johann Maritz introduced a new system of manufacturing cannon, a technique his sons soon took to France and Spain. Instead of the gun being cast around a core the size of the bore, the guns were cast solid with the cascabel, or rear of the gun, facing downward. This technique resulted in greater density of metal at the breach, where the shock of discharge was greatest. The bore was then cut out horizontally while the guns were turned on their axes. Turning the gun instead of the cutter produced a cannon bored true to its axis and a smoother and more accurate bore. This system was greatly improved on by Jan Verbruggen of the Netherlands, who introduced a combination boring machine and finishing lathe. Verbruggen, with his son Pieter, later headed the foundry at Woolwich, England. There they established in the 1770s perhaps the finest boring equipment in Europe. The technique of boring in the solid was probably not introduced in America until after the American Revolutionary War.

By 1750, sand molds had come into use in the casting process. The form of the gun was obtained by impressing a pattern in sand and then withdrawing it. The pattern was made of well-seasoned hardwood or, for greater durability, metal. Hollow patterns of iron or bronze, turned and polished in a lathe, could be used for years and would produce guns of uniform size and shape, but they were expensive. The disadvantage of wooden patterns was their vulnerability to weather; they contracted in heat and expanded in humidity.

In the sand-casting process, sand was packed around the pattern, which was contained in a box divided into two or more parts for ease of withdrawal. The pattern itself was made of five or more pieces. The first part comprised the body from base ring to chase ring. The second comprised the muzzle swell and sprue (or head), the third the breech, and the fourth and fifth the trunnions, the lugs on either side of the gun that supported it in its carriage.

The sprue was an additional length given to the gun. Its purpose was to receive slag as it surfaced and to furnish any extra metal required as the cast shrank in cooling. Its weight was thought to compress metal in the cannon proper, increasing the density of lower portions of the gun where the strain was greatest during firing. A square projection further lengthened the breech. This enabled the gun to be held while it was turned and bored.

The flask, the wood or metal box containing the sand, consisted of several pieces, each of which had perforated flanges so they could be bolted together. To form the mold, the pattern for the sprue and muzzle was coated with pulverized charcoal or coke moistened with

clay and water to prevent adhesion. The pattern was then positioned vertically, carefully surrounded by corresponding parts of the jacket. Previously prepared sand—also moistened with water and clay for adhesion—was then rammed around the flask. The pattern for the body of the gun was placed on top of this, and corresponding pieces of the flask were secured and filled in succession with the molding composition. Patterns for the trunnions and rimbases were bolted to the pattern for the body, the bolts being withdrawn once the flask had been packed with sand. End plates were then screwed onto the trunnion molds. The rest of the mold for the body was finished section by section. After the pattern for the cascabel had been installed, the mold was complete.

The pattern was carefully covered with coke wash, and dry sand was sprinkled on top of each piece of the jacket to prevent adhesion and allow portions of it to be separated. A channel was also made in the mold cavity for the introduction of metal. When the mold was completed, the flask was taken apart and the pattern withdrawn. After inspection, any damaged part of the mold was repaired. The interior was then coated with coke wash. The parts were placed in an oven to be gradually dried, and then carried to the pouring pit, where they were joined together and secured in a vertical position, usually breech down. Meanwhile, the interior of the mold was inspected and covered with coke wash to prevent sand from adhering to the melted metal.

After being placed in the pouring pit, the flask was surrounded with sand, which filled the pit as high as or higher than the trunnions. This prevented too rapid cooling. The metal was poured into the prepared channel of the mold. In short guns, this was from the top; in long guns, where the fall of metal might damage the mold, it was from the bottom. As molten metal rose in the mold, a workman agitated it with a long pole, sending impurities to the surface but preventing them from entering the trunnion cavities.

The gun was then allowed to cool. In the case of a 24-pounder, the sand was not removed from around the flask for three days. With heavier guns, it was allowed to remain longer; with the 10-inch columbiad, for example, it might be as long as seven to eight days. Once the metal had cooled, the sand was removed. The gun, still in the flask, was hoisted out. The flask was then taken away and the gun cleaned of sand.

The gun was now ready to be bored. This was the most important and time-consuming part of the manufacturing process. It took 6 to 10 days, depending on the hardness of the metal, to bore a 24-pounder. The gun was carefully positioned in a rack to keep the axis perfectly horizontal. Machinery for revolving the gun was attached to the square knob on the cascabel. The sprue was first cut off by turning the gun and bringing a cutter to bear from the side.

A succession of cutters were fixed to the boring rod. The first of these, known as the piercer, was used until it reached the end of the bore. A second cutter, the reamer, drilled to the rounded bottom of the bore. If there was to be a chamber, the reamer bored only to its edge; a chamber cutter then shaped that portion of the bore. The piercer was not required if the gun was cast hollow around a core.

The exterior of the gun was turned during the boring process, except for the portion between trunnions. This was planed later with another machine. The trunnions were also turned. Care had to be taken that the trunnions were the same diameter, perfectly cylindrical, and that their axes were perpendicular to the axis of the piece. The vent was bored by hand or machine.

As is no doubt apparent from the above, the process of producing cannon was a long one. Even by the mid-19th century, it took three to four weeks to make a 24-pounder and six weeks to make a 10-inch gun.

Finally, before being accepted into service, all guns were inspected and test fired. First they were tested for preponderance (excess of weight behind the pivotal axis) and subjected to a minute examination to see if they were without flaw and conformed to the drawings furnished to the founder. External measurements were made, and the length and exact diameter of the bore calculated. The bore was also examined for cavities with a mirror. Then an instrument known as a searcher was introduced into the bore. It had steel points attached to springs; if there were any cavities, the points would get caught in them and the gun would be rejected. Exterior cavities exceeding a quarter inch in depth were also grounds for rejection. In another test, conducted by hydrostatic pressure, water was forced into the bore to reveal flaws such as cracks in the casting that the searcher had not detected earlier.

The gun was then fired to see if it was strong enough to sustain service charges. At the end of the 18th century, each cannon was subjected to two successive proof firings: the first with powder equal to two-thirds the weight of ball, the second with powder equal to half the weight of ball. The gun was double-shotted, with wads over and under the projectile. Only when a gun had passed all these tests would it be accepted.

It will never be known with certainty who cast the first cannon in North America, but the distinction may rest with Henry Leonard of Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1647. By 1702 a furnace in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, was producing cannon balls, and in 1710 a works established near Abington and Hanover, Massachusetts, cast cannon during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). In 1738, Hugh Orr, a native of Scotland, arrived in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and soon set himself up in iron manufacturing there. He produced a number of muskets for that colony and may have introduced boring machinery in North America. In any case, he had it in his works. Orr certainly produced a number of cannon during the American Revolutionary War. Once that conflict began, the manufacture of cannon in America rapidly expanded.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Artillery, Land; Artillery, Naval

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Canoe

A lightweight, shallow draft boat made of birchbark or other water-proof material stretched over a wood frame. The basic design of the canoe has remained unchanged for thousands of years. It is long and narrow, with a rounded bottom and sides. The boat is tapered at both front and back, with raised points at either end. The canoe was originally designed and used by the Native Americans, but it was rapidly adopted by the English, French, and other Europeans.

The boat's design makes it ideal for waterborne transportation along rivers and lakes. It is lightweight but holds considerable cargo. Unlike most European designs, it is propelled by individuals facing forward, so the occupant can easily see the direction of travel. The person or people responsible for moving the canoe sits or kneels facing forward, and uses a front-to-back stroke to pull a single, two-handed paddle through the water. If there is only one person, he may alternate paddling sides to maintain course or, better, perform what became known as the J stroke. Named for the path of the paddle in the water, this stroke pulls the bow back on course at the end of the rearward motion.

The canoe design is adaptable from small, one- and two-person sizes that were about 10 to 12 feet in length to versions as long as 24 feet that could carry 10 or 12 people or several thousand pounds of cargo.

Canoes were also easy to build. They were generally made by building a birch or pine frame, held together with pine or other roots, and sealed with hot pine tar. The covering was of birch, cedar, or elm bark, all of which were smooth, flexible, and durable. The lightweight design made it easy to remove canoes from the water and carry them overland (portage), making canoes ideal for the small trading and warring parties that crisscrossed the frontier. The end

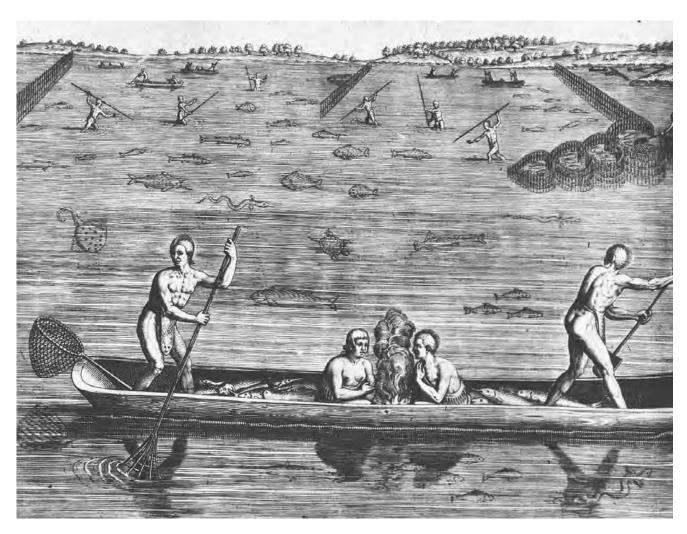


Illustration from Thomas Hariot's A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia depicting Native Americans fishing using a dugout canoe, nets, and spears during the 1580s. (Library of Congress)

result was a craft perfectly suited for traveling long distances in shallow lakes and rivers. In areas in which there were few or no roads, canoes were often the only viable means of transportation.

Canoes remain popular even today, among outdoor enthusiasts. Although now made of materials such as aluminum or Kevlar, they are virtually the same design as their ancestors of hundreds of years ago.

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See also

Fort Edward (New York); Fort Stanwix (New York); Native Warfare

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Canonchet (Nanunteeno)

Born: Unknown Died: April 2, 1676

Sachem (chief) of the Narragansett tribe who became the principal military leader of the Native American alliance during King Philip's War (1675–1676). At the time, the Narragansetts were the most powerful tribe in New England, able to muster more than 2,000 warriors. Despite declaring that his people would take no active part in the conflict, in 1675 Canonchet took in refugees from tribes at war with New Englanders. Alarmed by this seemingly hostile action, New England colonists declared war and launched a winter offensive against the Narragansetts in Rhode Island in 1675.

The colonial force located a weakened entry way into Canonchet's stronghold, leading to a decisive English victory that left 600 Narragansetts dead in the Great Swamp Fight of December 19, 1675. Canonchet and most of his men escaped, however, to join King Philip's (Metacom's) forces. Canonchet proved to be the best military leader in the native alliance, ambushing and nearly annihilating a small British column commanded by Captain Michael Pierce in March 1676, then capturing and burning the towns of Rehoboth and Providence.

Canonchet realized the importance of food to the rebellion, so in April 1676 he led a handful of braves on a dangerous mission to acquire seed corn. He was intercepted by a combined force of colonists and Mohegan warriors. Taken prisoner, Canonchet was brought to trial, convicted, and beheaded in Stonington, Connecticut, on April 2, 1676. Canonchet's death was a fatal blow to the fortunes of King Philip's rebellion and the entire Narragansett tribe. Only 500 Narragansetts escaped death or enslavement out of a prewar population of about 5,000.

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See also

Great Swamp Fight; King Philip's War; Narragansetts

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Canso, Battle of

Event Date: May 20, 1744

The first major colonial military action in King George's War (1744–1748). Canso was a small rendezvous point for fishermen in Nova Scotia, on the strait that separated it from the French-held Cape Breton Island. Although Canso had been controlled by the British since 1713, the population in the area remained ethnically French. Canso was one of only two British military posts on the peninsula and the one most exposed to enemy attack. Indeed, it was situated only 10 miles from Cape Breton Island and less than 70 miles from the massive French fortress at Louisbourg. Canso was once a thriving meeting place, but its importance declined in the 1730s. By 1744, Canso's British garrison had been reduced to a mere 87 men, of whom a third were regularly sick and unfit for duty, occupying a flimsy timber blockhouse and under the command of Captain Patrick Heron.

On March 18, 1744, France declared war on Great Britain, triggering what became known in America as King George's War. A fast ship must have left France within a few days to carry the news to Canada, arriving at Louisbourg in early May. The commander of Louisbourg understood that because of the unusual speed of the French ship's passage, the British garrisons in Nova Scotia almost certainly had not yet received any word from Europe. Scouts additionally brought word that the defenses at Canso were weak.

To take advantage of this temporary opportunity, French government officials and merchants helped finance a hurried expedition against Canso. Nearly 600 French soldiers and sailors, plus two privateer escort ships, set out from Louisbourg under the command of Captain François Du Pont Duvivier, a local-born officer. On May 20, 1744, the French force attacked and achieved absolute surprise, with the two privateer vessels opening the action with a bombardment. The British blockhouse was so poorly built that the first cannonball crashed cleanly through the wall and damaged four barrels of powder. Realizing that his men stood no chance against the larger, better-equipped French force, Heron rushed out of the blockhouse with a white flag of truce to negotiate the best possible terms of surrender. The surrender occurred after Heron received assurances that prisoners would soon be shipped to Boston instead of being incarcerated in a military jail.

Since Canso held no real strategic importance to the French, they burned it to the ground and took the captured British soldiers back to Louisbourg until negotiations for their parole and transportation to Boston could be concluded. On their eventual arrival in Massa-

chusetts, these former prisoners provided vital information on Louisbourg's strengths and weaknesses that later proved helpful in the 1745 siege of the fortress by New England militia forces.

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See also

Blockhouses; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Louisbourg, Siege of; Louisbourg Expedition

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Captivity Narratives

One of the most popular literature genres in the colonial period and beyond. Captivity narratives are the sensational accounts of white colonists who were kidnapped by Native Americans, lived with them for a period of time, and then were freed. Part morality tale, part religious and national propaganda, and part gory thrillers, cap-

tivity narratives were essentially propagandistic in nature and intent, whether they reinforced prejudice against Native Americans or against the French in Canada. Nevertheless, their popular appeal lay in their more titillating, voyeuristic aspects.

The earliest published account of European captivity by Native Americans was that of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in 1542, but the popular genre was innovated by Increase Mather and Mary Rowlandson of New England in the publication The Sovereignty and Goodness of God (1682). In 1681, Mather had suggested that he and his colleagues collect stories of "special providences" concerning New England to be evaluated, sorted, and eventually anthologized; this effort became Wonders of the Invisible World (1693), but he thought Rowlandson's story too compelling to await later publication. Rowlandson had been taken captive during Metacom's raid on the central Massachusetts town of Lancaster in February 1676 and ransomed after three months. Thus her harrowing experience seemed to him a perfect allegory for a second-generation New England that—in the opinion of clerical elites—had slipped from its religious moorings. Rowlandson may also have felt a need to write a faithful rendition of her ordeal to quell rumors that she had been sexually abused by her captors. And so, with Mather most likely



Illustration showing Native Americans capturing Mary Rowlandson in 1676. Rowlandson wrote the first published account of a New Englander taken captive by Native Americans. The genre soon became known as captivity narratives. (North Wind Picture Archives)

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Captive	Title of Narrative	Publication Date	
Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca	The Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca	1542	
Mary Rowlandson	The Sovereignty and Goodness of God	1682	
John Williams	The Redeemed Captive, Returning to Zion	1707	
Elizabeth Hanson	God's Mercy Surmounting Man's Cruelty Exemplified in the Captivity		
	of Elizabeth Hanson	1728	
Charles Saunders	The Horrid Cruelty of the Indians	1763	
Mary Jemison	The Life of Mary Jemison: The White Woman of the Genesee	1824	

serving as her editor, she produced *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*.

Rowlandson's narrative became the standard blueprint on which all future captivity narratives were built. A devout, pure woman is ruthlessly captured by "savages," forced to endure all manner of physical and emotional torments for a length of time, and then is finally redeemed to rejoin English society. Although usually exaggerated in the narratives, there is some truth to the methods indigenous peoples typically used to subdue white hostages during their captivity, consisting mainly of forcing them to travel long distances on foot and subsisting on meager rations of whatever could be foraged on the trail. It was a physically exhausting ordeal to people unaccustomed to it, and Rowlandson frequently complained of her aches and pains as she reluctantly accommodated herself to life in Native American society. The "filthy trash" that the Native Americans ate she eventually learned to accept, and along the way she gradually won the respect and honor of her captors, meeting with Metacom himself and being temporarily adopted into his household. This she took as evidence of her racial superiority, when in fact King Philip (Metacom) was merely protecting and humoring his valuable investment. After a total of 20 "removes" that took her throughout western Massachusetts and present-day Vermont, she was redeemed by her husband Joseph in May 1676.

In this regard, captivity narratives can be studied as another form of archetypal story involving a hero's transformation through symbolic death and rebirth. The hero or heroine is somehow separated from the comfortable and familiar and compelled to undertake an extended journey that is multilayered, in that the journey is literal, psychological, and metaphorical. According to Joseph Campbell's interpretation of the "Monomyth," the hero's journey consists of three distinct stages: separation, transformation, and enlightened return. Native American captivity narratives that followed Rowlandson's extremely popular book generally kept to the same Monomythic progression that she described, however much the details varied. Although this suggests that Native American abduction practices and initiation/adoption rites shared similar dynamics, and that white captives' reactions tended to be roughly similar, the formulaic nature of the narratives that gained in popularity in 18th-century British America indicates a high degree of borrowing that belie their essentially propagandistic nature.

The second best-selling captivity narrative in the American colonies was John Williams's memoir, The Redeemed Captive, Returning to Zion, published in 1707. Williams, a minister of the Congregational Church in the western Massachusetts town of Deerfield, was captured with a number of his family members and parishioners in the Franco-native raid on the town in 1704 during Queen Anne's War. The company of white captives were marched north through winter snow to Montreal and the surrounding Kahnawake Mohawk villages over the course of nearly two months from March through April 1704. Following the by-now-conventional model for captivity narratives, Williams recounts the rigors and cruelties of the forced march through the New York wilderness, the fear of starvation and sudden death, and the horror at the witnessing of burdensome children and the wounded being killed or abandoned to die, including his wife Eunice. However, whereas Rowlandson devotes some space in her narrative to a denigration of the Christianized "Praying Indians," whom she suspected as traitors and spies to their white civilizers, Williams's narrative is most concerned with describing the attempts by the French Jesuit missionaries to convert him and his fellow captive parishioners to Catholicism. Williams's Redeemed Captive inaugurated the subgenre of anti-Catholic captivity narrative, which remained wildly popular until the American Revolution.

Indeed, this became the basic threefold purpose of captivity narratives: to reinforce prejudice against the native peoples, particularly those allied with the French; to stoke the fires of anti-Catholic bigotry; and to invigorate Francophobic British nationalism and imperialism. Captivity narratives were most popular in New England, where anti-Catholic prejudice was regularly expressed at Pope's Day celebrations every November 5 (Guy Fawkes Day in England). Production and sales of captivity narratives consequently rose with the outbreak of King William's War, Queen Anne's War, King George's War, and the French and Indian War. The latter conflict was the most catastrophic of the four, involving as it did colonial militia forces under British Army command. This war took on distinctly religious and even apocalyptic tones, as New England clergymen often described it as the first skirmishes in the foretold War of Armageddon.

JOHN HOWARD SMITH

100 Captivity of Europeans by Indians

See also

Captivity of Europeans by Indians; King Philip's War; Metacom; Rowlandson, Mary White

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Captivity of Europeans by Indians

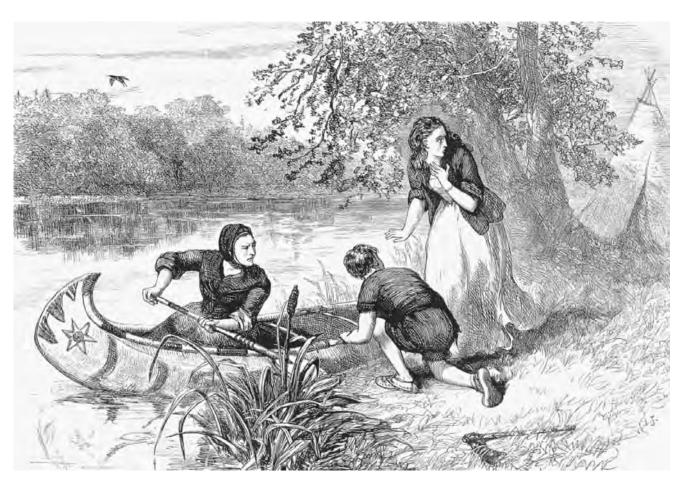
Native Americans took Europeans captive to demonstrate personal courage, replace lost family or tribe members, and for ransom. Most natives valued captives over scalps and certainly over territory as a mark of prowess in combat.

Native American war parties would go to some length to return with captives but would often execute prisoners and take their scalps as opposed to releasing them if return was impractical. Thus adult women and adolescents of both genders stood a better chance of surviving the trek back to native territory than adult men, often seen as dangerous, or young children or infants, who slowed the march.

Once returned, some captives were offered the opportunity to assimilate into the native social structure, replacing a lost member by taking on their role and status, sometimes without regard to age or gender. European captives sometimes married natives, and children were adopted into Native American families.

Other captives became ritual sacrifices, either in vengeance or as a mark of respect. Some warrior peoples believed torturing a captive gave him the opportunity to demonstrate courage. This honor was lost on most captives, who did not meet the warriors' expectations of stoicism or clever insults. Those who did show courage might earn a reprieve, or at least earn respect for their religious teachings, as did several missionaries. Other captives were eaten, either in accordance with custom or to show defiance of European values.

Native Americans who had converted to Catholicism or were in need of trade goods could ransom British prisoners to the French in Canada, where the captives were exchanged through negotiations between Europeans. The French were anxious to avoid the opprobrium that came with their native allies executing prisoners.



Hannah Dustin (right) was taken by the Abenakis during a raid on Haverhill, Massachusetts, on March 15, 1697. Dustin escaped two weeks later with a young English boy when the two killed and scalped their captors. (North Wind Picture Archives)

The capture and ransoming of captives became a central part of the economy of many tribes located between the colonial empires.

Those captives who survived removal and were offered a place in native society, especially children, often assimilated and resisted repatriation. Adult women who had converted from Protestantism to Catholicism and/or taken Native American husbands also often declined to return, fearful of the contempt their former neighbors might show them. By rejecting their birth culture, these "European transplants" posed serious spiritual and cultural problems for colonists.

GRANT WELLER

See also

Black Robes; Captivity of Indians by Europeans; Captivity Narratives; Native Warfare; Jemison, Mary; Mourning War; Scalping

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Captivity of Indians by Europeans

Just as natives took Europeans captive since first contact in the 16th century, so too did Europeans capture Native Americans. Europeans valued native captives both for their labor and as potential converts to Christianity and European culture. Native Americans' resistance generally proved effective on both counts.

Colonists at war with native societies tended to kill as many men as possible to eliminate future military threats, leaving a skewed proportion of women and children as captives. Captives were valued mainly for their labor as domestic or field servants or slaves, these concepts being flexible in many cases. Over time, many colonists became disillusioned with native labor. Europeans had developed a distorted picture of the gendered division of labor in Native American societies, believing that their women would welcome the opportunity to serve white families rather than their assumed-to-be lazy or abusive husbands. Instead, the unfamiliar tasks and negative racial and cultural attitudes set up barriers to effective use of native labor, and native servants or slaves dropped in value compared to European indentured servants or imported African slaves.

Another factor contributing to the reduced value placed on Native American captives was their tendency to escape. Even in cases where the captive's original family and society were inaccessible because of removal of the captive or destruction of the society,



Woodcut depicting a Native American sold into slavery by Virginia colonists in the 1600s. (North Wind Picture Archives)

escapees could often find native communities closely matching their language and traditions, and where the custom of adoption allowed them to assume a better social position than that of a servant or slave in colonial society. In some cases natives still living in their own communities encouraged or assisted escaping captives.

Many efforts were made to convert Native American captives to Christianity and convince them to adopt colonial or European cultural values. Although feelings of cultural superiority ran both ways, European and colonial attitudes were tinged with a racism that prevented a native from fully assimilating into white society. This failure to assimilate caused much anxiety among colonial observers, but they never discovered a solution to the problem.

Other native captives had value not as laborers or converts but as hostages or subjects for exchange. Colonial forces sometimes took native notables hostage for the good behavior of their people or to convince natives suspected of criminal or warlike behavior to submit to white jurisprudence. These efforts did not often work, as colonists failed to understand the more consensual view of leadership held by most indigenous peoples, or the complex relationships between different tribes and nations.

GRANT WELLER

See also

Caesar; Captivity of Europeans by Indians; Captivity Narratives; Native Warfare

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Captivity of Indians by Indians

Native American warfare was often an affair of vengeance. For many tribes, the goal was to take scalps on a scalp-for-scalp basis. If a war party went out to avenge the death of a family member, it did not matter if the scalp of an old woman or a child was brought home in triumph. Custom required that the one originally killed had to be avenged so his spirit might rest.

Natives also sought to replace deceased tribal members by capturing people from rival tribes and adopting them. Raiding parties took captives and transported them to the raiders' home nation. Once safely delivered to the village, the prisoners' fate was determined by tribal leaders and in many cases, the relatives of slain natives. In many tribes, the latter decided whether they would adopt a particular captive to replace a lost family member or instead demand the prisoner's execution. Captured women and children were usually adopted and gradually assumed the identity, language, and customs of their captors. Occasionally men were adopted, and in some cases tribal leaders assigned captives, regardless of age or gender, to labor as slaves.

Most male captives were shown little consideration. On arrival in the capturing nation, if not selected for adoption or enslavement, they were used for murderous sport. Ritual torture was often the rule; the Iroquois were particularly notorious in this regard. The goal of the one being tortured was to remain stoic to the end.

For example, on August 30, 1763, King Haigler of the Catawbas was assassinated by a Shawnee war party that had entered the nation for that purpose. Although they were pursued by the infuriated Catawbas, the killers escaped. Five years later, on May 1, 1768, a group of Shawnees were taken captive by the Catawbas. One man was certainly identified as one of those who had murdered King Haigler. Realizing his fate, he refused to walk and was tomahawked on the spot. The other six Shawnees were not so fortunate. On May 24, 1768, they were delivered to the Catawba towns and executed Catawba style. First they were beaten unconscious with switches, then revived with cold water. This process was followed repeatedly. During this time of torture, a Catawba woman known as Betty took a liking to one of the victims. She requested that his life be spared, but her plea was denied. Rather than see him continue to suffer, Betty took a tomahawk and killed the captive herself. When the Catawbas grew tired of this sport, the remaining five were given to young boys who used them as target practice with their bows and arrows. The men finally died in this gruesome fashion.

Native Americans also occasionally practiced vengeance on the dead. At one time, the Catawbas dug up the bodies of Senecas and scalped the corpses.

THOMAS J. BLUMER AND JIM PIECUCH

See also

Captivity of Europeans by Indians; Captivity of Indians by Europeans; Captivity Narratives; Iroquois Confederation; Mohawks; Mourning War; Oneidas; Onondagas; Scalping; Senecas; Tuscarora War

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Carleton, Sir Guy, First Baron Dorchester

Born: September 23, 1724 Died: November 10, 1808

British Army officer in the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783); lieutenant governor of Quebec (1766–1768); governor of Quebec (1768–1778); and governor of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick (1786–1796). Born on September 23, 1724, at Strabane, Ireland, Guy Carleton



British major general Sir Guy Carleton, who fought in the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and was later governor of Quebec. (Library of Congress)

began his military career in the British Army in 1742. As a junior officer, Carleton cultivated a friendship with James Wolfe and served as aide to George Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748).

Carleton, with the local rank of colonel, was Wolfe's quarter-master general at Quebec in 1759 and was wounded leading British grenadiers in the battle on the Plains of Abraham. He participated in the attack on France's Belle Isle in 1761 and against Havana in 1762. Carleton became colonel of the 47th Regiment of Foot in April 1772 and was promoted to major general in May.

As lieutenant governor (1766–1768) and then governor of Quebec (1768–1778), Carleton was sympathetic to the French inhabitants of Canada. During a leave of absence in England (August 1770–September 1774) Carleton lobbied for the Quebec Act, which defined Quebec's boundaries, protected the practice of Catholicism, and allowed the use of French civil law. Although popular among Canada's French inhabitants, the passage of this act on June 22, 1774, added to the 13 American colonies' growing list of grievances against the British crown.

Although pushed back to Quebec City's fortifications during the American invasion of 1775, Carleton refused to surrender and thwarted American efforts to storm the town on December 31, 1775. With the coming of spring and reinforcements, Carleton reconquered Canada and defeated the Americans at Valcour Island in October 1776 before ending the campaign.

In recognition of his success, Carleton was made a Knight of the Bath in July 1776 and promoted to lieutenant general in August 1777. Carleton resigned as governor and returned to England in 1778 after disagreements with his superior in Britain, Lord George Germain, secretary of state for the colonies.

Carleton received overall command of British forces in North America in 1782. As commander in chief, Carleton oversaw the withdrawal of British forces from the United States and the evacuation of American loyalists. Carleton was made First Baron Dorchester in August 1786 and returned to Canada as governor of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick during 1786–1796. He was promoted to full general in October 1793. Carleton died at Stubbings, his estate near Maidenhead, England, on November 10, 1808.

THOMAS A. RIDER II

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Great Britain, Army; Montreal; Quartermaster General; Quebec; Quebec, Battle of; Wolfe, James

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Cartagena, Expedition against

Start Date: March 22, 1741 End Date: May 9, 1741

Failed British naval invasion of Cartagena, a Spanish port city in modern-day Colombia, during March 22–May 9, 1741. During the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744), Britain, with the assistance of thousands of soldiers from its North American colonies, staged a disastrous amphibious assault against Cartagena.

During the late 1730s, Spanish sailors had seized a number of British vessels traveling in the Caribbean, helping to precipitate war between the two nations. Cartagena offered obvious strategic and economic attractions in the war if Britain could capture it. It had a fortified harbor where Spanish galleons were moored and prepared to transport Peruvian bullion from the isthmus of Panama to Spain. By capturing the city, Britain thus stood to weaken substantially Spanish shipping in the Caribbean and possibly lay claim to some of its lucrative trade with Peru.

To execute the assault, Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole turned to two men who were to share responsibility equally. Vice Admiral Edward Vernon was to command the British naval forces and Major General Charles Cathcart the ground forces. Cathcart fell ill en route to the West Indies and subsequently died; he was replaced by Brigadier General Thomas Wentworth. Serving under the leadership of these individuals were nearly 14,000 men, including 3,000 who were levied from the North American mainland. To defend Cartagena, Spanish viceroy Sebastian d'Eslava commanded at least 4,000 soldiers, militiamen, and seamen.

The expedition began dismally. Cathcart was just one of nearly 1,800 men who became sick or perished just crossing the Atlantic. Wentworth, whose confidence was already weakened, had his nerves further shaken when he arrived in Port Royal, Jamaica, and saw firsthand the inexperience of his American soldiers. Tension between the army and navy percolated all the way up to Wentworth and Vernon. Vernon had a low estimation of Spanish defenses and was reluctant to compensate for the decrease in available land forces by sharing any of his manpower with Wentworth. Though the two men were to share in the command of the expedition equally, the less experienced Wentworth knew he was dependent on the navy for transport, artillery support, and provisions. He and Vernon frequently squabbled over how to allocate manpower, with Vernon usually prevailing.

Cartagena sits on the northernmost of three islands that form a natural lagoon. At the time of the expedition it was joined to the mainland by a wooden bridge. To approach from the mainland, British ships opted to transport soldiers and matériel into the lagoon through a narrow passageway between the two large islands to the south of Cartagena—Tierra Bomba and Boca Chica. The heart of the Spanish defense of this entry was the fort of San Luis on Tierra Bomba, which could be taken only with a land-based assault.

On March 9, 1741, British soldiers began landing on the shores of Tierra Bomba to prepare for an attack on San Luis. They established a fortified camp, a road to San Luis with protective breastwork, and a breaching battery. The attack began on March 22 with bomb ships, mortar battery, and breaching battery opening fire. Three days later the Spanish retreated as ground troops penetrated the fort's walls. The next morning British ships began entering the harbor.

The troops and artillery from the assault then reembarked in preparation for the next phase of the expedition. Because Cartagena was unapproachable from the sea, they had to cut it off from the interior. A preliminary force of 1,400 soldiers landed on April 5 and advanced to within half a mile of St. Lazar, a fort sitting on the high ground overlooking the approach to Cartagena. Knowing that the fort would have to be taken before proceeding, Wentworth's forces dug in and waited for reinforcements. Without devoting the time and resources necessary to build a breeching battery, the army attacked on April 9 with the hope of scaling the fort's walls. The forces divided into two columns, one a diversionary column that would approach from the north, the other the main column that would attack from the south. In the darkness the main force became disoriented and ended up approaching the fort's eastern wall. This approach was steeper, narrower, and more dangerous than the one they had originally planned. Confused and under heavy fire, both columns were forced to retreat, but not before nearly three hours of fighting had resulted in approximately 600 British casualties.

As the commanders tried to assess the situation, it became apparent that the army no longer had sufficient forces to proceed, especially as cooperation between the army and navy deteriorated and Vernon became even less willing to share the labor of his sailors. In their respective dispatches to London, both Wentworth and Vernon tried to put the blame on one another. In the subsequent battle of contemporary public opinion, Vernon won, but recent historians have questioned the extent to which Wentworth should be held responsible. Be that as it may, the British had completely abandoned Cartagena by May 9 and returned to Jamaica. Disease continued to devastate Wentworth's troops to the point that he had only about 3,000 soldiers left. The expedition against the Spanish in the West Indies continued to fizzle. After returning to Jamaica the troops prepared for an assault on Santiago de Cuba but became bogged down near Guantánamo Bay, where the force fought only disease. By the time the orders to return home finally arrived, more than 10,000 men had perished, only 1,000 of them in action. American colonists perceived the deaths as evidence of the British Empire's callousness, which helped fuel the development of a separate colonial identity.

James D. Drake

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739-1744); Vernon, Edward

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Casco, Treaty of

Event Date: April 12, 1678

Treaty signed between the magistrates of Massachusetts and the native Penobscots of Maine at Fort Loyal on Casco Bay, ending three years of armed hostilities between the two groups. In 1675, New England was wracked by Native American warfare. What was initially a conflict between King Philip (Metacom) and the Plymouth Colony became a regional confrontation involving all New England. Although King Philip's War concluded in late 1676, the broader hostilities and tensions continued. And the skirmishes led to numerous deaths on both sides.

As the violence escalated, the Penobscots became the first tribe to sue for peace. Peace articles were drawn up in Boston on November 6, 1676, and a local chieftain, Madockawando, officially ratified them. Despite the initial treaty, New England colonists soon renewed the conflict.

Following two more years of fighting in which the Penobscots destroyed all English settlements in northern Maine, both sides agreed to the Treaty of Casco Bay on April 12, 1678. Under its terms, the Penobscots allowed the English to regain their farms in return for paying rent to the natives. Thus the Treaty of Casco safeguarded land rights with the Penobscots. The peace was kept until the outbreak of King William's War in 1688.

JAIME RAMÓN OLIVARES

See also

Casco Bay; Dummer's Treaty; Fort Loyal (Maine); King Philip's War; Maine

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Casco Bay (Maine)

Prominent geographic feature of Maine's southern coast. Casco Bay served important military and economic purposes during the colonial period as part of Massachusetts. The bay is 18 miles wide at its widest point, stretching from Cape Small on the east to Cape Elizabeth on the west, and contains more than 136 islands, many of which boast rocky shores, for which the Maine coast is renowned.

Casco Bay's proximity to French Acadia made it the site of frequent skirmishes. In 1676, the English constructed Fort Loyal at Falmouth on Casco Bay (present-day Portland, Maine). In 1678, the treaty formally ending King Philip's War (1675–1676) was negotiated there. In 1690, during King William's War (1689–1697), Fort Loyal was significantly rebuilt and fortified. That same year, the Abenakis overran the fort and killed most of its inhabitants. Afterward they leveled Fort Loyal and the surrounding settlement.

Casco Bay's strategic location also made it a convenient place to negotiate treaties. A subsequent 1702 treaty there brought a short-lived peace to fighting between Massachusetts settlers and the Abenakis. In 1727, a peace accord ending Dummer's War (1722–1727) was reached at Fort Loyal. The British built a new fort on the ruins of the old post in 1742 and named it Falmouth Fort.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Abenakis; Dummer's War; Fort Loyal (Maine); King Philip's War; Maine

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Castillo de San Marcos (Florida)

The largest stone block fort in the continental United States, erected at St. Augustine, Florida. The Castillo de San Marcos was constructed between 1672 and 1695 and protected the Spanish settlement at St. Augustine for centuries. Long after the Spaniards left Florida, the Castillo continued to protect British, American, and even Confederate forces. It is the oldest masonry fort in the continental United States.

Construction on the fort began in 1672, four years after English pirate Robert Searles attacked St. Augustine. Searles's attack marked the second time the Spanish outpost had been destroyed by English privateers. Located on the Florida Peninsula, St. Augustine became an important link in the protection of the great Spanish commercial route that joined its rich Latin American colonies with Spain itself. The route followed by the Spanish treasure ships sailing in the Bahama Channel on their way to Spain passed close by the tip of Florida. It was thus essential that Spain establish a strong presence at St. Augustine to prevent Florida from falling under the control of its enemies, who might then establish bases there and mount attacks against the treasure ships. England's 1670 colonization of nearby Carolina brought the opposing sides closer. The proximity of the two enemies further magnified Florida's need to construct strong and modern defenses.

In 1672, Spanish officials provided funding to construct the fort. Florida's governor retained the services of Ignazio Daza, a military engineer responsible for the design and construction of fortifications throughout the Spanish Empire, including the forts at Havana and San Juan, Puerto Rico. Construction began on October 2, 1672, at the site of St. Augustine's ninth and final wooden fort. Located on the bank of the Matanzas River and overlooking Anastasia Island and the entrance of the harbor, the site had been used as a military outpost for over a century when construction began.

The fort's design centered on a square center, approximately 60 feet tall with four-sided bastions jutting out of each corner. The top of each bastion was painted red and white, Spain's traditional colors. Because of the shape of the bastions, the fort appeared triangular. A water-filled moat surrounded the fort and beyond that stood a counterguard, or secondary wall, that created a partial sea wall. A stone-like substance composed of compressed sea shells and sand called *coquina*, or "tabby," provided the material to build the fort. Workers quarried sufficient *coquina* locally to complete the project. In the 18th century, engineers added an additional wall. Known as the Cubo line, this extension began at the fort's edge and ended west of the city at the San Sebastian River.

Budget shortfalls and other difficulties prevented steady progress on the construction of the Castillo. Skilled laborers proved difficult to lure to Florida, and other workers, such as African slaves and local natives, could not work with the efficiency of a skilled crew. In addition, poor funding contributed to constant delays. Nonetheless, by 1695 much of the fort was complete and the outpost housed approximately 350 soldiers. When completed, the fort made St. Augustine the heaviest guarded city in what is now the United States.

In 1702, Carolina governor James Moore provided the first test for the fort when his troops sacked and burned St. Augustine. During the invasion, Florida residents found protection inside the walls of the Castillo. When the attack ended, St. Augustine remained in Spanish hands only because the English could not breach the walls of the fort. In 1740, the English again attacked St. Augustine but again failed to capture the fort. As before, the residents of St. Augustine fled to the Castillo, and as long as its walls could withstand the English assaults, Florida would remain in Spanish hands.

In 1763, Britain assumed control of Florida as a result of the French and Indian War. Initially, the British did not make much use of the fort until they faced the possibility of a colonial revolution. In 1775, the British renovated the fort in preparation for the coming American Revolutionary War. Although the Castillo served as a prison for captured patriots, it did not protect the city during the war with the colonies. In 1783, Spain regained possession of Florida.

During the Second Spanish Period, the Spaniards made additional repairs to the Castillo, but the fort proved an unnecessary fortification for the small outpost. On July 10, 1821, the United States assumed control of Florida and the Castillo de San Marcos. Although the U.S. Army manned and maintained the fort, its value as a defensive outpost seemed doubtful. Indeed, when the United States took command of the fort, modern artillery could have breached the 130-year-old walls. In 1825, the Americans changed the name of Castillo de San Marcos to Fort Marion in honor of General Francis Marion of the American Revolutionary War. When Florida seceded from the Union in 1861, Confederate leaders believed that Fort Marion could be a defensive asset and a potential point from which to break the Union blockade of the Atlantic coast. Florida's ports, however, quickly fell under Union control, and in the spring of 1862 Union forces took control of the fort.

During the 1870s–1880s, the U.S. Army used the fort to imprison Native Americans involved in various rebellions in the Southwest. Among the most famous prisoners were members of Geronimo's band of Apache warriors. Later, the Bureau of Indian Affairs used the fort as a processing point for Native American children who were to be sent to the Federal Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. By the late 19th century, Fort Marion stood as little more than a relic of Florida's Spanish heritage. In 1942, Congress restored its original name. Today, Castillo de San Marcos is designated a national historical landmark and is operated by the National Park Service.

SHANE RUNYON

See also

Florida; Florida, British Invasion of; St. Augustine; St. Augustine, Battle of; St. Augustine, Siege of

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Castle William (Massachusetts)

English fort built during 1700–1705 on Castle Island in Boston Harbor, which occupied the oldest fortified spot in British North America. Castle William was the fifth fortification built on Castle Island, roughly 18 acres of land lying just south and east of Boston. In conjunction with Governors Island to the north, Castle Island flanks the most accessible channel through Boston Harbor. In 1634, Gov. Thomas Dudley ordered the first fort to be erected on the island, and over the years, subsequent forts followed in the same location.



North view of Castle William in Boston Harbor, Massachusetts. (Library of Congress)

By the late 17th century, the fourth fort on Castle Island had fallen into serious disrepair. Between 1700 and 1705, the chief British military engineer, Colonel Wilhelm Romer, directed a massive expansion of the old fort, tearing down most of the existing structures and erecting new ones. He added two defensive lines, one running close to the waterline and a secondary line farther ashore. When construction was finished, Bostonians boasted that the island was the best fortified position in North America. In late October 1705, with the complex essentially complete, it was dubbed Castle William.

Britain was then in the midst of waging Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), and the castle became an important symbol of colonial defense against French aggression. The castle housed 80 soldiers with their officers and a surgeon, all of whom were militiamen. Without fail, the Massachusetts General Court annually voted funds to provide for the garrison's upkeep. After the war ended in 1713, however, the castle began to show signs of neglect.

In 1741, Gov. William Shirley focused renewed attention on Castle William. Convinced that another major war was imminent, Shirley cajoled the General Court into ordering substantial repairs, including the construction of barracks that could house 1,000 men. Nevertheless, the French and Indian War (1754–1763) ended without Castle William ever being called to actively defend the city.

By this time, however, colonial officials had discovered other uses for the castle. In November 1747, Bostonians rioted over the impressment practices of the British Navy. In response, many of the Crown's officers fled to the castle for protection. In the years leading up to the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War, the castle would be thus used on many occasions.

Although government figures often sought temporary refuge at the castle, their stay was seldom more than a day or two. In June 1768, however, the castle housed a larger contingent of crown officials for a longer period after Bostonians rioted over the seizure of John Hancock's sloop *Liberty* for customs violations. Four of the five customs commissioners, along with their families and entourages, fled to the castle and remained there throughout the summer, until British regulars were garrisoned in Boston at the end of September.

After the 1770 Boston Massacre, the castle once again came to the forefront of public attention. During the year and a half that regulars had been in Boston, they had mostly been housed in the town itself, much to the chagrin of the local populace. After the Boston Massacre, both regiments were moved to Castle William, a transfer that local figures demanded and crown officials tolerated to ease tensions. The soldiers remained billeted at the castle until the British evacuation from Boston in March 1776, when Castle William was destroyed. The Americans later rebuilt the structure as Fort Independence.

ELIZABETH DUBRULLE

See also

Boston Massacre; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Massachusetts; Queen Anne's

War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Shirley, William

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Catawbas

Native American tribe located primarily in the western Carolinas, near the border of present-day North and South Carolina, about 20 miles south of Charlotte, North Carolina. The Catawba federal reservation is near the center of what once was a very large territory, extending from south-central Virginia through North Carolina and including much of South Carolina. Today the Catawba Nation consists of some 2,000 people on a tract of land only slightly larger than 15 square miles. At their peak, the Catawbas controlled some 55,000 square miles.

From before the arrival of the Spanish, the Catawbas were held in great awe by neighboring chiefdoms. They were particularly known as warriors of great skill. This respect continued through the colonial period. It is significant that they knew better than to fight Hernando de Soto in the 16th century, for they understood Europeans' superior military power. Instead, they dealt with the potential threat diplomatically, a concept that worked rather well. The Catawba political approach was always marked by practicality. The Catawbas could not, however, escape the ravages of disease brought by European contact. Their population base dwindled from many thousands before the arrival of the Spanish to several hundred at the end of the colonial period. Indeed, the Catawbas were decimated by smallpox epidemics in 1718, 1738, and 1759.

The Catawbas first appear on the colonial battlefield beside the English settlers during the Tuscarora War (1711–1713). The Catawbas were crucial in the defeat of the Tuscarora tribe of North Carolina. Through this war, the Catawbas managed to make long-lasting enemies of the Iroquois as the Tuscaroras fled north. Those Tuscaroras not lucky enough to escape North Carolina were sold into slavery. The problem for the Catawbas was made more acute when the Tuscaroras joined the Iroquois Confederation as the sixth member nation in 1722. During the Yamasee War (1715–1717), the Catawbas changed sides and fought briefly with their fellow natives against the English. The Catawbas quickly saw the folly of this alliance, however, and made peace with the English. This marked the last time the Catawbas would fight against English settlers. Indeed, they became loyal allies of the Carolinas, enjoyed cordial relations with colonial governments, and engaged in a robust trade with the Europeans.

Although their population continued to decline through disease, the Catawbas never wavered in their loyalty. In spite of their small and dwindling numbers, the Catawbas continued to serve the

Carolinas. They also did much to disguise their growing demographic weakness. This was largely accomplished by sending incorrect population figures to colonial authorities. The Catawbas also made some temporary population gains by incorporating smaller Catawban-related tribes. The Carolinas in turn used the Catawbas as a buffer between the settlements and the Cherokee Nation to the west. During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the Catawbas sent warriors to fight alongside the British.

The Catawbas suffered from Iroquois war parties throughout the period and lost more population to an escalating war of vengeance. These skirmishes consisted of a constant parade of Iroquois war parties seeking Catawban scalps and captives from the early 18th century until well after the Treaty of Albany (1759). The situation had become so bad in the mid-1750s that New York and South Carolina negotiated a peace between the Catawbas and the Iroquois Confederation in 1759. Wars of vengeance with other tribes did not cease, however. In 1763, a Shawnee war party assassinated the famed Catawba chief, King Haigler. When South Carolina joined the independence effort against Great Britain, there was no debate among the Catawbas. They gave their all to the colonists' effort. As the years progressed, the Catawbas gradually adapted to European warfare tactics and weaponry. During the Tuscarora and Yamasee wars, the Catawbas went into battle with the bow and arrow and war club. By the French and Indian War, the Catawba were using firearms almost exclusively, though they sometimes struggled to maintain powder and flints.

THOMAS BLUMER

See also

Haigler, King of the Catawbas; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Native Warfare; Shawnees; Tuscarora War; Tuscaroras; Yamasee War; Yamasees

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Caughnawaga (Kahnawaké since 1980)

Canadian village near Montreal that became home to a substantial Christian Iroquois community. In 1667, Jesuit missionaries invited visiting Oneidas to settle in the new village of La Prairie de la Madelaine, south of Montreal Island. The Oneidas took up the offer, and over the next decade hundreds more natives came. By 1682, an estimated 600 natives lived in the village. To accommodate the newcomers, in 1676 the village was relocated closer to the Lachine Rapids and changed its name to Sault St. Louis. Its Native American residents, who were mostly Mohawks, began referring to the settlement as Kahnawaké, after the easternmost village in the

Mohawk homeland, and the name stuck, though Europeans unfamiliar with the Mohawk language rendered it "Caughnawaga."

Migrants to Kahnawaké tended to be Catholic converts who had encountered hostility to their new faith in Iroquoia. At Kahnawaké they could practice their religion (Catholicism heavily influenced by Iroquois spiritual traditions) as well as exploit the agricultural and commercial resources offered by the St. Lawrence River Valley. The village's religious affinities and its location dictated a strong alliance with the French. Indeed, warriors from Kahnawaké were prominent participants in Canada's wars in the 1680s and after, even those against the Iroquois Confederacy. Though feared as dangerous opponents until the fall of New France, the people of Kahnawaké remained neutral thereafter, declining to choose a side during the American Revolutionary War.

Andrew Miller

See also

Iroquois; Jesuits; Mohawks; New France; Oneidas

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Cavalry and Cavalry Tactics

The cavalry, although used in North American colonial warfare, was not as prominent as it was in the open spaces and settled farmland areas of Europe. Although widely used in the southwestern United States, cavalry saw only limited service in the woodlands of eastern North America.

In North America, as in Europe, cavalry was differentiated from dragoons and mounted infantry by both tactics and weapons. Cavalry always used the horse directly, but dragoons and mounted infantry were trained to dismount and fight on foot.

The saber, and sometimes a sword or a lance, was the essential weapon of cavalry and was coupled with one or more pistols. In contrast, mounted infantry dispensed with the bladed weapons and added a long arm, such as a harquebus or musket. The firearms of the early exploration were cumbersome single-shot devices, but as military technology evolved through the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, so too did the weapons and accoutrements of the horse soldier. The cavalries of North America adapted to wartime necessities, with geography, climate, ethnicity, class, and technology influencing the use of horses from exploration to the American Revolution.

The Spanish reintroduced equines to the Americas in 1494, when Columbus's second voyage landed cavalry mounts on Hispaniola. The outer islands, including Jamaica and Cuba, became breeding stations for livestock, supplying mainland explorers with

military horses. Cavalry was tactically essential to the Spanish conquest of the New World, and the breeding and importation of military horses became a priority of the first expeditions.

Early conquistadores adapted their cavalry tactics to the new enemy. In 16th-century Europe, heavy cavalry, suited in a variety of armor, was responding to newly introduced firearms and artillery. Infantry began incorporating formations such as pike squares, radically affecting the position of cavalry on the battlefield. Heavy cavalry had proven ineffective against these tactics, and lighter cavalry was increasingly used to disrupt opposing forces between gun volleys rather than as shock troops charging enemy infantry.

Evolving tactics of the time placed cavalry at the flank in support of infantry, against other mounted forces, or as scouts and couriers. In the Americas, however, Spanish cavalry was extremely effective charging small numbers of horses directly into native foot soldiers.

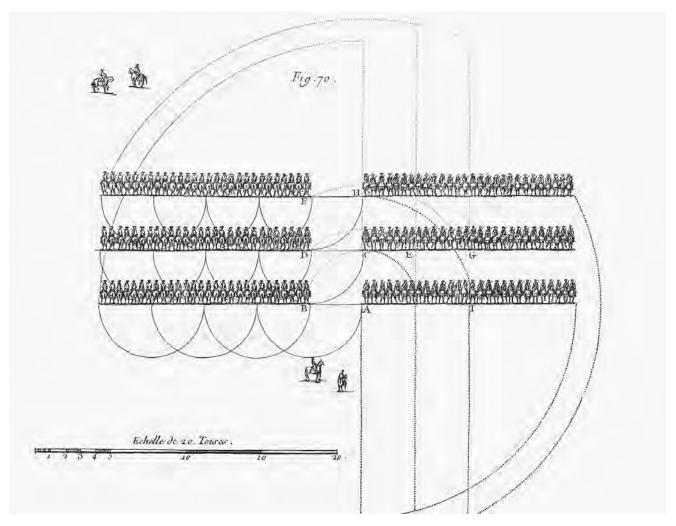
During his 1519 invasion of Mexico, Hernán Cortés successfully capitalized on the natives' fear of equines. His small force of only 16 cavalrymen was able to create terror and confusion, routing superior numbers of Aztecs and Tlascalans. In this period, the horse itself was a powerful weapon, as native populations often perceived it as a god or dangerous carnivore.

Hernando de Soto's 1539 exploration of Florida used hundreds of mounted soldiers. Later groups of Spanish cavalry continued to be successful as shock troops, but were also used as couriers and scouts. The writings of Bernal Diaz del Castillo, Garcilosa de la Vega, Francisco López de Gómara, and José de Acosta all emphasize the success of cavalry in intimidating and conquering native populations.

Inevitably, native peoples adapted to the horse, creating new mounted armies. In the 17th century, escaped, abandoned, and captured horses ranged throughout the North American continent, in both feral and domestic herds. By 1650, the Apaches of the Southwest were using horses for hunting and war, and they regularly raided Spanish settlements for livestock. Plains tribes were fully invested in horse culture by 1705, and mounted warfare was typical. Native American cavalry tactics varied widely by time, place, and people. Comanches were noted for mounted archery and lancing, as were the Teton Sioux. Other plains and mountain tribes favored the horse for adding speed and agility, but remained essentially foot soldiers.

Native American cavalry rarely fought pitched battles in the European style or rode in formation; instead, each rider worked more as an individual, harassing the enemy and fleeing until the goal of the battle had been achieved.

The northeastern colonies and Canada (New France) did not promote cavalry as Spain had in the south and west. These colonies relied less on mounted armies for exploration and conquest, and did not emphasize the importation and breeding of military horses. Northern geography and climate played a role, because the dense woodlands, tidewaters, and swamps, combined with harsh winters, made cavalry more difficult to maintain and deploy. Additionally, Spain had developed an Old World horse culture that was fairly egalitarian, with all classes of society using equine labor.



Early 18th-century engraving depicting the formation of marching columns for a 168-man squadron comprising four companies of 42 cavalrymen each. (The Granger Collection)

In contrast, the English and French had a deep class bias, viewing equestrian sports as the provenance of the aristocracy. English colonists of the lower classes preferred the use of oxen and were more typically engaged in infantry militias than cavalry units; these preferences were apparent in the 1649 census of Virginia, which showed only 200 horses in a colony of 15,000 people.

Regular cavalry units sent from Europe were rare in the north and east during the 17th and 18th centuries. It was expensive and difficult to ship horses and maintain regular cavalry in the Americas, particularly while the nations of Europe were engaged in various wars on the Continent. Individual colonies were responsible for their own defense and relied on a militia system. Volunteer cavalry units eventually joined the infantry; for example, in 1667, Rhode Island mustered its first cavalry unit, the Island Troop of Horse near Newport, as part of the militia system. These cavalry militias increased and expanded throughout the 18th century, but they remained subordinate to infantry in numbers and practicality. Most mounted forces in the northeast were essentially dragoons,

fighting on foot as well as from horseback, as the guerilla style warfare in these areas did not lend itself to mass cavalry charges or pitched saber battles.

In the 18th century, European American cavalries increasingly fought each other. The first cavalry unit of New France was formed by Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, to defend Quebec against the British. It fought in the pivotal Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759. The British and the Spanish cavalry clashed in Cuba in 1762, participating in the siege of Havana.

In the second half of the 18th century, the Spanish colonies continued to actively breed and use military horses, often engaging Native American cavalries on horseback. In contrast, the British and French colonies continued to rely primarily on infantry. Strapped by the wars in Europe, England was without regular cavalry in the colonies at the outbreak of hostilities in 1775.

During the American Revolutionary War, the 17th Light Dragoons arrived from England in May 1775, and Continental Army commander General George Washington soon realized he would

need horse troops to effectively fight the war. New York and Connecticut sent four units of light cavalry to Washington, which proved useful on the flanks and to the rear of the infantry but had relatively little impact during the early battles. Washington employed his small cavalry to gather intelligence and scout, but needed more horses to form a tactical force. On December 12, 1776, the Continental Congress created the Regiment of Light Dragoons and a short time later authorized an additional 3,000 horses. At the same time, First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry joined the Continental Army. By the end of 1776, the U.S. Cavalry was born.

DAWN OTTEVAERE

See also

Harquebus; Infantry Tactics; Lance; Militias; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Muskets; Native Warfare; Pistols; Quebec, Battle of; Soto, Hernando de

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Cayugas

Tribe of Native Americans who traditionally occupied the Northeast Culture Area and a part of the Iroquoian language group. In pre-European society, Cayuga hunting territory was largely located in modern-day New York state and Ontario, particularly in the Finger Lakes District (Cayuga Lake still bears their name). Traditionally, the Senecas lay to the west of their homeland and the Onondagas to the east. In 1660, after disease had decimated the Cayugas, their population was reported to have been just 1,500. They were one of the five original members of the Iroquois Confederation and as such played a fundamental part in colonial warfare in North America.

There is some speculation about the definitive definition of the word "Cayuga," but it has been reported to mean "where the boats were taken out," "where the locusts were taken out," or "mucky land," all of which refer to the lands the tribe traditionally occupied. Their name in the Iroquois Confederacy council, however, alludes to them as "those of the great pipe."

The Cayugas operated on a system of matrilineal descent, with the matron of each clan appointing a spokesman (or chief) for the clan. As such, Cayuga women were politically powerful and influential. Generally, Cayuga males spent a lot of time away from their tribe hunting, fishing, trading, and fighting. The women remained in the village and provided sustenance through crops for the remaining tribe members. Corn was their main staple, but squash, pumpkin, and beans were also grown. Cayuga villages usually consisted of 20 to 50 longhouses that sustained 15 to 30 people each.

Although the Cayugas were small in number and territory, they had great clout in the Iroquois Confederacy. They sent 10 chiefs (or sachems) to the council of 50 chiefs and were a fierce fighting force within the Iroquois Confederacy. During 1667–1684, they were constantly engaging in the Beaver Wars with neighboring tribes as well as European conflicts. The Cayugas were officially neutral during the French and Indian War (1754–1763) but generally fought with the French. During the American Revolutionary War they sided with the British and lost all their traditional homelands in the aftermath. After the American Revolution, many moved onto reserve land in Ontario set aside for the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Today the language of the Cayugas is still spoken, and many Cayugas continue to live in Ontario on reserve land. As a tribe they have never given up their land claims in New York, and they have a strong case because their treaties were negotiated by state officials and not federal representatives after the American Revolution. Their land claims are still being negotiated by courts in the United States today.

TAKAIA LARSEN

See also

Beaver Wars; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Iroquois Treaties of 1700 and 1701; New York

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Chabert de Joncaire, Louis-Thomas

Born: ca. 1670 Died: June 29, 1739

French soldier, interpreter, and diplomat. Born about 1670 in Saint-Rémi de Provence, France, Louis-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire went to New France in the late 1680s as a cavalry sergeant in the colonial regular troops. Sent on a mission to improve relations with the Iroquois soon after his arrival, Joncaire was captured by the Senecas. They spared his life and adopted him into their tribe. Given the name "Sononchiez," he learned the Seneca language and

acquired a fundamental understanding of their outlook. Joncaire was thus in a position to render important services to New France whenever negotiations were conducted with the Iroquois.

Joncaire played a significant role in the discussions that led to the peace treaty of 1701, ending the second Iroquois war, when he managed to prevail on all the Iroquois tribes except the Mohawks to send an official delegation to New France to negotiate a treaty with the French and their native allies. During Queen Anne's War, he was chosen by Gov. Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil to help preserve Iroquois neutrality. He achieved this by using his personal influence with the Senecas, presenting them with gifts from the French government, and playing on their fears by warning of an attack by the western nations if they should break the treaty. Joncaire's knowledge of the Iroquois was also essential in their solidarity with the French, when in August 1711, Vaudreuil summoned 800 chiefs from a dozen different tribes to Montreal to renew the alliance with them. When the delegates were asked to declare themselves against the British, Joncaire stood up before the assembly and broke into a war song; he was soon joined by all the chiefs.

After the end of Queen Anne's War, France moved to consolidate its position around the Great Lakes. Its main interest was to control the Niagara and its portage, which would deny the English access to the Great Lakes region and ensure the safe movement of goods and furs to New France. When Vaudreuil learned that the English were planning to occupy the Niagara, which was on Seneca territory, he sent Joncaire to the Senecas to win their assent to a French post. In 1720, the Iroquois agreed to allow Joncaire to establish a trading house, which he named Magasin Royale (King's Storehouse), at the foot of the Niagara escarpment. It was not a strong post, however, and in 1723 he obtained the Senecas' permission to replace the original post with a wooden stockade. Termed a "House of Peace," it was more of a fortified trading post than a formal military post.

In 1731, Joncaire was selected by Gov. Charles de Beauharnois de La Boische to lead a group of Shawnees who had migrated from the Susquehanna to the Allegheny River. His mission was to prevent them from trading with the English and to induce them to move their village farther west, where French influence was greater. Joncaire was apparently working at this task when he died at Fort Niagara on June 29, 1739.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Fort Niagara (New York); Iroquois; Mohawks; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Philippe de, Marquis de Vaudreuil; Senecas; Shawnees

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Chabert de Joncaire, Philippe Thomas

Born: 1707 Died: 1766

French military officer, trader, interpreter, and diplomat. Philippe Thomas Chabert de Joncaire was baptized on January 9, 1707, in Montreal, the eldest son of Louis-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire. At age 10, Philippe was sent by his father to live among the Senecas, who named him Nitachinon. He entered the French colonial regular troops in 1726, became a second ensign in 1727, and rose to captain by 1751.

In 1735, Joncaire succeeded his father as New France's principal emissary to the Iroquois. He reported on tribal politics to the governor, acted as mediator between the Iroquois and the French, supplied all sides with trade goods, and watched British movements in the region.

Joncaire resigned in 1748 and was succeeded by his brother Daniel. However, he was soon recalled to the frontier. In 1749, he became interpreter and adviser for Pierre-Joseph Céloron de Blainville's expedition to the Ohio Valley. He then established contact with the Delawares and Mingos, and he narrowly escaped death when he was seized at Sonioto (Portsmouth, Ohio) by Shawnees. When Blainville's forces withdrew in the autumn, Joncaire accompanied them. He returned to the area a year later and was stationed at Chiningué (Logstown, now Ambridge, Pennsylvania) to prepare for a more substantial French occupation. In 1753, Joncaire moved to a deserted trading post near the mouth of French Creek, on the site of Franklin, and stayed there until the French built Fort Machault (Venango), in the spring of 1754. Joncaire was in charge of the delicate diplomacy required to maintain the goodwill of the Delawares and Shawnees and to neutralize the opposition of the Iroquois colonists on the Ohio, who protested the construction of forts.

The final crisis in Joncaire's rivalry with the British for Iroquois allegiance began in 1755. When four separate enemy armies approached the borders of New France, Gov. Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil was anxious to learn the sentiments of the Iroquois. In the autumn of that year, he met with a delegation of Senecas under the leadership of Chief Guyasuta. The Senecas requested that Joncaire return to reside among them as a symbol of the Seneca-French alliance. Joncaire used his post with the Senecas to learn of developments among the Iroquois. He called on them to supply war parties to aid the French or, failing that, to observe the neutrality they had officially embraced. In 1758, as the Indians saw emerging evidence of British power, the French cause began to weaken. Joncaire's network of informants failed to warn him of an attack on Fort Frontenac (Kingston, Ontario) in August 1758. In June 1759, a party of Mohawks ventured into Seneca country and surprised Joncaire in his trading post. He was able to flee and retreated to Fort Niagara, where he was captured in July when the fort fell. Joncaire went to France in 1760, where he was made a knight of the Order of Saint Louis. It is not known whether he ever returned to Canada, but in a letter written on November 9, 1766, Lt. Gov. Guy Carleton referred to Joncaire's recent death.

Katja Wuestenbecker

See also

Chabert de Joncaire, Louis-Thomas; Chabert de Joncaire de Clausonne, Daniel Marie; Fort Frontenac (Ontario); Fort Niagara (New York)

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Chabert de Joncaire de Clausonne, Daniel Marie

Born: 1714 Died: July 3, 1771

French agent, trader, interpreter, and diplomat. Baptized on January 6, 1714, in Repentigny, Quebec, the son of Louis-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire, Daniel Chabert de Joncaire was sent to live among the Senecas as a young boy. In the ensuing years he also resided for some time among the Ottawas, Ojibwas, and Shawnees. His later influence among the Indians was certainly enhanced by his status as an adopted son of the Iroquois and the fact that he had a Seneca wife and children by her.

In 1740, Joncaire (who also became known as Chabert de Joncaire de Clausonne) acted as an interpreter in the peace negotiations between the French and the Chickasaws of the lower Mississippi Valley. He was promoted to ensign in the colonial regular troops in 1748 and, after his brother Philippe Thomas resigned that same year, became France's principal agent among the Iroquois. Despite Iroquois objections, Clausonne began constructing a new fort, which became known as the Little Fort Niagara or Fort du Portage, about a mile and a half above Niagara Falls. He took command of the new post and was subsequently given a monopoly on the portage traffic. In 1757, he was promoted to lieutenant.

During the 1750s, Clausonne tried to counter growing British influence among the Native Americans by making numerous visits to the various nations. The British prevailed, however, and in 1759, when the Iroquois allowed William Johnson's forces to besiege Fort Niagara (near Youngstown, New York), Clausonne was among the officers who signed the capitulation on July 25. In December 1759, an exchange of prisoners brought Clausonne to Montreal, where he served with the army under François Gaston, Duc de Lévis, who besieged James Murray at Quebec in the spring of 1760. When the siege was lifted, Clausonne retreated with the rest of the troops to

Montreal and was sent to assemble Native Americans for the defense of that city by Gov. Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil.

In 1761, Clausonne left Canada for France. Soon after his arrival he was among the 23 people imprisoned in the Bastille in connection with the "Canada affair." These civil officers, military people, and traders were accused of misappropriating public and royal funds. Clausonne and the others remained in the Bastille until the end of their trial in December 1763. At his trial, Clausonne explained the considerable wealth he had accumulated by claiming to have engaged in a profitable trade in ginseng. But it was the fur trade that was the source of his wealth, in which he, as with other officers, had engaged despite explicit orders to the contrary. The court found Clausonne guilty of carelessness in examining the inventories of provisions in the forts he had commanded, yet it acquitted him.

Clausonne went to London, and in October 1764 he unsuccessfully petitioned the British monarch for land on the east bank of the Niagara River—a site near his former fort that included the present-day Buffalo River, land he asserted had been given to his father by the Iroquois. British authorities warned Governor Murray that despite his failure to get the land, Clausonne was planning to return to Canada and should be prevented from conversing with Native Americans. Murray, however, was soon succeeded by Guy Carleton. Clausonne applied to the new governor for permission to trade with the local nations. After personally assuring him of his future good conduct, Clausonne was at last allowed to go to Detroit in 1767. He died and was buried there on July 3, 1771.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Carleton, Sir Guy, First Baron Dorchester; Chabert de Joncaire, Louis-Thomas; Chabert de Joncaire, Philippe Thomas; Chickasaws; Iroquois; Murray, James; Ojibwas; Ottawas; Senecas; Shawnees

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Chacato Troubles

Start Date: 1674 End Date: 1676

Native American rebellion against Spanish missionaries. During 1674–1680, the Spanish established two missions, San Carlos de Chacatos and San Nicolas de Tolentino, under the auspices of

fathers Rodrigo de la Barreda and Miguel de Valverde in Jackson County, Florida. The missions were part of an effort to convert the Chacato (or Chatot) tribe to Christianity. The Chatots are believed to have been related to the Choctaws.

In 1674, a few months after the establishment of the missions, the Chisca (Yuchi) tribe, which lived nearby, began to incite a rebellion among the Chatots against the missionaries. A force of Spanish soldiers under the command of Captain Juan Fernandez de Florencia, deputy governor of the Apalachee Province, was sent to quell the uprising. Florencia was successful in quelling the disturbance, and the mission work continued peacefully.

However, when the Spanish soldiers withdrew in late 1674, the Chatots once again revolted and completely destroyed the missions of San Carlos and San Nicolas. Both missionaries fled to the mission of Santa Cruz de Sabacola, urgently seeking help. As a result of the second uprising, Florencia returned to the Chatots' tribal lands in 1676 with a large force of Spanish soldiers and mission Native Americans from the Apalachee Province. Convinced that the Chiscas were again responsible for the Chatots' latest rebellion, Florencia crossed the Choctawhatchee River and attacked the Chisca village there, killing hundreds of the tribe. After the removal of the Chiscas, the Chatots were then relocated eastward to the vicinity of Sneads, where, in 1680, a new mission known as Señor San Carlos de Chacatos was established among them.

In 1696, however, this new mission became the focus of hostilities between the Spanish and the Native Americans to the north in what are now Alabama and Georgia. Several of the Chatots were killed, and others were carried away as captives. The few survivors fled to the region of San Luis (Tallahassee), then to the French settlements near Mobile, and later onward to Texas and Oklahoma. Nevertheless, the Chatots disappeared as a people in the early 1700s.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Apalachees; Choctaws; Florida; Spanish Mission System, Southeast

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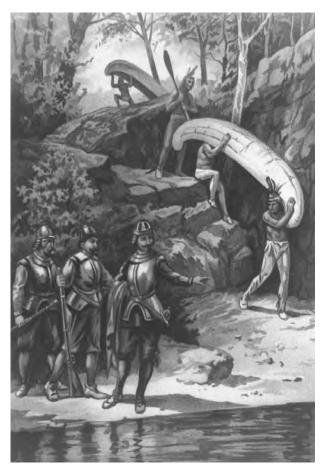
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Champlain, Samuel de

Born: July 3, 1567

Died: December 25, 1635

French explorer, writer, cartographer, colonizer, governor of New France, and founder of Quebec. Born in Brouage, southeast of Rochefort, France, on July 3, 1567, Samuel de Champlain was the son of a ship's captain. He was briefly educated by parish priests and spent several years working aboard his father's ship. He then became a billeting officer for the French Army (1594–1598) and



French geographer and explorer Samuel de Champlain. Founder of Quebec and governor of New France, he helped establish the French in Canada. (Library of Congress)

served on chartered French ships carrying cargo to and from the West Indies during 1599–1601.

His time in the West Indies fueled Champlain's curiosity about the New World, and on his return to France he was appointed a royal geographer. In 1603, he journeyed to Canada with noted explorer Francis Grave, Sieur du Pont Pontgravé, who established a trading post at Tadoussac. Champlain then traveled up the St. Lawrence River to the Lachine Rapids, before returning to Tadoussac and embarking with Pontgravé for France.

Champlain returned to Canada in 1604 in an expedition headed by Pierre Du Gua de Monts to Acadia and helped found St. Croix in 1604 and Port Royal in 1605. Having learned from the established explorers of his day, Champlain mapped New England as far south as Martha's Vineyard (Massachusetts). He returned to France in 1607.

In 1608 Champlain returned to North America with 32 colonists to found a fur trading outpost at Quebec. There he built on the work of Jacques Cartier and allied himself with the local Huron and Algonquin tribes. Champlain twice assisted the Hurons in defeating their rivals, the Iroquois, during 1609–1610, leading to 150 years of hostility between the Iroquois and the French.

114 Charles Town (South Carolina)

In 1612, Champlain was appointed commandant of New France. He regularly traveled to France (making 21 Atlantic crossings between 1603 and 1633) and promoted trade, exploration, missionary work, and military alliances with the Native Americans. Champlain carried the first Recollet and Jesuit missionaries to New France in 1615 and 1625, respectively, and he pushed for agricultural colonization to diminish dependence on the fur trade. He hoped that increased self-sufficiency would render New France better able to compete with English colonies to the south.

Champlain also conducted a series of explorations that made clear the vast extent and military importance of many of North America's most important waterways. He made the first ascent by a European of the water route between the St. Lawrence River and the Hudson River, and in 1609 he discovered the lake that bears his name. Champlain made the first European traverse of the Ottawa River to the head of Lake Huron and then to Lake Ontario in 1613, and in 1615 he finally reached Georgian Bay. Champlain kept meticulous maps and journals of each expedition, then published his findings in a series of books. These detailed accounts dramatically increased French (as well as English) interest in Canada.

English forces captured Quebec from Champlain after a year-long siege in 1629. When the city was ceded back to France in the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye in March 1632, Champlain returned, despite the fact that he was already 65 years old. Appointed governor of New France by King Louis XIII in 1633, Champlain inaugurated a period

of expansion, founding settlements at Beauport and at Trois Rivières in 1634. He also reestablished Jesuit missionaries among the Hurons.

Champlain died in Quebec on December 25, 1635. He is buried there in the Church of Notre-Dame de la Recouvrance and is remembered as the founder of French Canada by a large statue in the Old City.

Lance Janda

See also

Acadia; Algonquins (Algonkins); Black Robes; Hurons; Iroquois; Jesuits; Lake Champlain; New France; Port Royal (Nova Scotia); Trois-Rivières; Quebec; Quebec, Attack on (1629); St. Lawrence River

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Charles Town (South Carolina)

A major seaport and settlement on the southern coast of the Carolina Colony (as it was known until 1712). Charles Town, later Charleston, was the first settlement in Carolina. Later, it became the colonial capital and served as one of the principal ports for the southern colonies. It also served as South Carolina's primary port



Engraving of Charles Town (present-day Charleston), South Carolina in 1673. (Kean Collection/Getty Images)

since the 17th century, even though it is vulnerable to tropical storms and hurricanes. Because of its role as a major port, Charleston held a great deal of strategic value and was often the target of attack.

A group of favorites of King Charles II, known as the Lords Proprietors, established the colony at Albemarle Point near the Ashley River in 1670. The Proprietors named the settlement Charles Town, after their benefactor. The name changed to Charlestown around 1719 and then to Charleston in 1783. Meanwhile, in 1712, Carolina was split in two, creating North and South Carolina. Around 1672, after Charleston's location had proved undesirable, the town was relocated to a new site, situated between the Ashley River and Cooper River. This is the site of present-day Charleston. In 1680, this new town became the seat of the colonial government.

Once in its new location, the town grew rapidly, mainly because of its port activity. Charleston was a major point for exporting the produce of the southern colonies and for the importation of European-manufactured goods as well as African slaves. Although the colony grew to include many different ethnicities, Charleston remained predominantly English. This demographic lent its unique stamp to the city, which became a cultural center of the southern colonies as well as their political center.

Often, Charleston served as a staging area for expeditions to the interior of the colony. This was the case when the colony came to the aid of North Carolina in the Tuscarora War (1711–1713). Likewise, the pattern repeated itself during the Yamasee War (1715–1717), when South Carolina governor Charles Craven used the city as an area in which to organize movements against the hostile natives of the interior.

Native Americans were not the only threats to the colony's coast, however. In 1706, during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), the town came under assault by French and Spanish forces. Nathaniel Johnson, governor at the time, successfully repelled the attack. Charleston was also ripe for slave rebellions. The town was a major slave port, with nearly 40 percent of the Africans imported into North America passing through Sullivan's Island in Charleston Harbor between 1700 and 1750. With such a large transient and restive population, slave insurrection stood as a constant concern for Charlestonians.

Indeed, the fear of a slave revolt became a reality in 1739 with the Stono Rebellion, instigated in part by the governor of Spanish Florida. Part of the plot involved seizing weapons to arm slaves who would then march on Charleston. The attempt to foment insurrection within the colony grew out of the burgeoning Anglo-Spanish War, also known as the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739–1744). Above all, Charleston's proximity to Spanish-held Florida, its natural and commodious harbor and ports, and its central role as the economic and cultural powerhouse of the lower South lent the city an importance that few other colonial cities possessed.

JAMES R. McIntyre

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Charles Town, Attack on; Craven, Charles; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; South Carolina; Stono Rebellion; Tuscarora War; Yamasee War

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Charles Town, Attack on

Start Date: September 7, 1706 End Date: September 1706

Combined Spanish and French attack against the English colonial port of Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) beginning on September 7, 1706, during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713). The offensive was intended to ease English pressure on Florida, which English and Native American forces had attacked several times over the previous few years. As long as the Spanish held St. Augustine, English coastal settlements were permanently threatened with amphibious assault. But at the same time, the English coastal settlements were a threat to both the Spanish in Florida and the French in Louisiana.

In early September 1706, Captain Jacques Lefebvre led a French naval expedition from St. Augustine. He had secured Spanish ships and men in both Cuba and in St. Augustine. En route, the French vessel *La Brilliante*, carrying commander of the land forces General Arbousset and 200 of his troops, fell in with a Dutch warship and became separated from the rest of the squadron.

Lefebvre and the remainder of the squadron pressed on. The five French and Spanish ships entered Charles Town Harbor on September 7, 1706. The city had already been warned of impending attack by smoke signals from lookouts on nearby Sullivan's Island. Lefebvre demanded Charles Town's capitulation, which the Carolinians refused outright.

Several days later, Lefebvre sent ashore his land forces. The invading troops, organized into two main parties, managed to inflict some damage to outlying property. On James Island, however, militiamen and Native Americans defeated Spanish raiders, but 160 Spaniards destroyed a building and two small boats on land between the Wando River and the Atlantic Ocean. The Spanish celebrated and rested to prepare for what they expected would be victory on the following day. Carolina militiamen, however, launched a surprise attack, defeating the Spaniards and capturing 60 of them. Another 12 were slain in the fight and several of the raiders drowned. Later, Charles Town militiamen dispatched a half dozen boats, including a fire ship, against the French fleet. Lefebvre then ended the operation, recalled the remaining raiders, and sailed away.

Not long after Lefebvre's departure, *La Brillante* arrived and Arbousset arrived and put his men ashore at Seewee Bay, east

of Charles Town. Arbousset and his men then moved toward Charles Town as if planning to take it by direct assault. While one group of militia engaged and then repulsed Arbousset and his men, another group captured *La Brilliante*, ending this threat. The Carolinians had captured 320 French, Spanish, and natives and killed another 30.

MICHAEL DOIDGE

See also

Charles Town (South Carolina); Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; St. Augustine

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Chaussegros de Léry, Gaspard-Joseph

Born: July 20, 1721 Died: December 11, 1797

French military engineer and officer in the colonial regular troops (troupes de la marine) of New France. Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry was born in Quebec on July 20, 1721, the son of the chief engineer of Canada.

A cadet in the troupes de la marine at age 12, he fought his first campaign far from home, in what is now Mississippi. Léry was part of a detachment of 200 Canadians and 300 Native Americans sent south in 1739 to help the governor of the French colony of Louisiana, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, defeat the Chickasaws, allies of the English. In the 1740s his career alternated between building or strengthening fortifications in Canada and the Great Lakes region and raids into New England. In 1746 Ensign Léry served with the Canadian and Native American force that captured and destroyed Fort Massachusetts at Williamstown, Massachusetts, and laid waste to the surrounding region.

Ten years later, by now a lieutenant, Léry was given a command of his own and led a force of 360 Native Americans, Canadians, and French regulars through trackless forests in the depths of winter to attack a British supply depot at Fort Bull (near present-day Oneida Lake, New York). Destruction of the depot and its accumulation of supplies wrecked British plans for a spring offensive in the Great Lakes region and set the stage for the capture of Fort Oswego by the army of Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, later in the year. Léry distinguished himself in the latter operation as a commander of Canadian and Native American troops. His feats in 1756 won him a promotion to captain and the Cross of Saint Louis. The succeeding decade, however, would be less kind to Léry.

Wounded at the Battle of Quebec, Léry was a British prisoner of war for a time and in 1761 he and his family were bundled off to

France. Unable to obtain employment in the French armed forces, Léry decided to return to Canada, where his family still owned extensive properties. Arriving in Quebec in 1764, he managed to ingratiate himself with the British provincial government and was rewarded by being made commissioner of roads for Quebec province. He was also given appointments to the legislative councils of Quebec and Lower Canada. Léry died in Quebec on December 11, 1797.

BRUCE VANDERVORT

See also

Chickasaw Wars; Fort Bull (New York); Fort Massachusetts (Massachusetts); Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Troupes de la Marine

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Cherokees

Native American nation strategically located in and around the southern Appalachian Mountains. During the colonial period, the Cherokees were one of the largest and most formidable native groups in the eastern woodlands of North America. The alliance with English colonists gave the British a military advantage over their antagonists in the Southeast, namely, the Spanish, French, and their native allies. From their homeland in the Appalachian Mountains of North Carolina, the Cherokees during the early- to mid-17th century helped force the Koasatis (also known as Coushattas) and Muscogees from their homelands in eastern Tennessee, northwest Georgia, and northeast Alabama into central and eastern Alabama. This action opened up land to the gradual settlement of Cherokees first into eastern Tennessee in the 17th century and later in the 18th century in northwest Georgia. During most of the 17th century, the Cherokees joined Chiscas, Westos, and Yuchis in slave raids on Apalachees, Creeks, Timucuas, and Yamasees among other Native American groups in Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. Slaves from these raids were traded to the English in Virginia and South Carolina for guns, an assortment of metal utensils, and cloth, among other items. Cherokee warfare and their raids against native peoples located to their south helped to create the consolidation of various native groups into what later became known as the Creek Confederacy.

By the beginning of the 18th century, the Cherokees lived in five groupings of towns named according to their geographic relationship with the English colony at Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina). They were the Lower, Middle, Valley, Out, and Overhill towns. The Lower Towns were located on the eastern side of the Appalachians, mostly in South Carolina with some also in Georgia and North Carolina. The Overhill settlements were located on the other side of the mountain chain in Tennessee. The



Cherokee Native Americans. The Cherokees occupied the area of the southern Appalachian Mountains and were one of the largest Native American tribes during the colonial era. (North Wind Picture Archives)

other three groups of settlements were located between the Lower Towns and Overhill Towns in the mountain valleys, with the Out Towns to the northeast of the Middle Town settlements and the Valley Towns to the southeast of the Middle settlements.

The Tuscarora War was the first time Cherokee war efforts directly affected British colonists. The Cherokees along with other native groups in Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina helped the colonists defeat the Tuscaroras in the Carolinas during 1711–1713. The Cherokees sent a contingent of 200 warriors to participate in this war in which South Carolina used more than 1,000 southern warriors to permanently expel the Tuscaroras from North Carolina.

Soon after the end of the Tuscarora War, the Lower Towns of the Cherokees joined other natives in a war against the British in South Carolina known as the Yamasee War (1715–1717). The initial allies of the Lower Town Cherokees included all the Native Americans located between Cape Fear in North Carolina to the Alabama River

in central Alabama. With the encouragement of British officials, the Lower Towns, and eventually all of the Cherokees, turned against their native allies in this war and joined the Carolinians in quelling this native uprising. This Cherokee shift in allegiance initiated a war with the Creeks that lasted until 1755.

In 1730, for reasons known only to himself, Sir Alexander Cuming visited the Cherokees and eventually convinced a majority of the towns to swear allegiance to and recognize the sovereignty of King George II. In order to validate his accomplishment, Cuming took seven young warriors with him on his return to Great Britain. One of the young men to accompany him became known as Attakullakulla, and he would remain a staunch advocate for a continued allegiance to the British over the next several decades. By creating this alliance with the Cherokees, Cuming secured the western frontier of the Carolinas and Virginia against French encroachment until the outbreak of the Cherokee War in 1759.

With the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1754, the British continually called on the Cherokees for aid in their fight against the French and their native allies. The eventual British success in the Ohio Valley can in no small part be attributed to the fighting savvy of the Cherokees. Cherokee war parties blocked numerous Shawnee and other transmountain Indian raids from reaching Virginia and the Carolinas.

Prior to the outbreak of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the British built Fort Prince George near the Cherokee Lower Town of Keowee to facilitate trade with the Cherokees and provide military support for their staunch allies. However, the Overhill Cherokees also wanted a fort built among their towns to provide a refuge for the families of Cherokee warriors as they went out in war parties fighting for the British. Finally, the British decided to shore up their position among the Cherokees by building Fort Loudoun among the Overhill Towns in 1756.

The relationship between the Cherokees and the British soured in 1758 and 1759, just as the British gained the upper hand over the French in the French and Indian War. Eventually, after a series of unfortunate but avoidable incidents exacerbated by South Carolina governor William Henry Lyttelton's imprisonment and massacre of a Cherokee peace delegation at Fort Prince George, full-blown warfare broke out between the Cherokees and British in 1759. Under the primary leadership of Oconostota ("Great Warrior"), the Cherokees turned back a British expedition led by Colonel Archibald Montgomery and captured Fort Loudoun in 1760 before suffering the burning of villages among the Lower, Middle, and Valley towns by a second British campaign under the command of Colonel James Grant in 1761. Attakullakulla negotiated the end of hostilities with Grant in 1761. Afterward, the Cherokees again became close allies of the British until the defeat of both at the hands of American troops during the American Revolutionary War.

DIXIE RAY HAGGARD

See also

Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter); Caesar; Creek-Cherokee Wars; Creeks; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Fort Loudoun (Tennessee); Fort Prince George-Keowee (South Carolina); Indian Presents; Lyttelton, William Henry; Native Warfare; Oconostota; Tuscarora War; Tuscaroras; Yamasee War

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Cherokee War

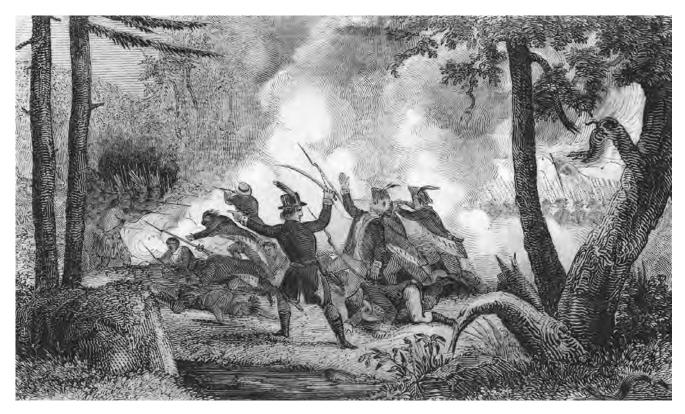
Start Date: October 5, 1759 End Date: November 19, 1761

A protracted and devastating frontier conflict that weakened the Cherokee Nation but did not break its traditional alliance with Great Britain. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, the Cherokees, an Iroquoian-speaking assemblage of tribes, were the largest ethnic bloc along the southern Appalachian highlands, an area encompassing parts of present-day West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, and the Carolinas.

The tribe itself, numbering as many as 21,000 in 1735, was a regional power to be reckoned with. Early on, the Cherokees had established friendly trade relations with English colonial settlements in Virginia and the Carolinas, and fought alongside them and against their traditional Creek and Yamasee rivals in 1716. The English saw the Cherokees as a potential ally against Frenchmanipulated Creek and Shawnee tribes situated to the north and south. In 1730 several leading chiefs arrived at London for a formal appearance at the court of King George II. There a formal treaty of alliance was sealed with several individuals, the most prominent being Oconostota, who held the title "Great Warrior," and Attakullakulla, a peace chief.

The next 25-year interval proved both peaceful and prosperous. But the onset of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), plus a rising tide of white encroachment on Cherokee territory, led to increasing friction between the erstwhile allies. The British, for their part, sought to protect the Cherokees from French attacks—and influence—by constructing Fort Prince George near Keowee (South Carolina) in 1753, and Fort Loudoun near Chota (Tennessee) in 1756. Whatever military benefits these posts conferred was basically negated by the growing perception and resentment among Cherokees that their territorial rights were being infringed on.

By 1758, many elements within the tribe waxed openly hostile toward the British and a single provocation could transform simmering resentment into frontier violence. When the French and Indian War began in 1754, the Cherokees dutifully dispatched war bands to assist Brigadier General John Forbes in his campaign against Fort Duquesne. But on the return home, these same warriors were attacked and killed by Virginia militiamen who claimed that they had stolen their horses. The tribesmen were understandably enraged when their slain warriors were then scalped by the militiamen, who subsequently collected bounties on the scalps. These acts triggered a spate of retaliatory raids against English settlements across the southern frontier, resulted in the deaths of at least 20 whites, and prompted the former consorts to take up arms against each other.



Lieutenant Francis Marion leads an advance guard of South Carolina militiamen against Cherokee positions near the village of Etchoee in June 1761. Wood engraving, ca. 1844. (The Granger Collection)

On October 5, 1759, Gov. William Henry Lyttelton of South Carolina officially declared war against the Cherokees and prepared to lead an armed expedition of 1,300 men against them in the field. Word of this spurred several Cherokee chiefs, including Oconostota, to visit Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) in an attempt to forestall hostilities. The chiefs were nevertheless taken prisoner by Lyttleton and marched under guard to Fort Prince George. There the governor met with Attakullakulla and demanded that 24 warriors known to have murdered settlers be turned over for punishment. The peace chief agreed to comply on December 26, 1759, and arranged the release of Oconostota. However, the remaining 24 chiefs and tribal leaders were to be retained as hostages.

A short truce ensued between the antagonists until February 16, 1760, when Oconostota lured the commander of Fort Prince George out into the open for a parley, and had him killed. The enraged British garrison then slaughtered all their hostages in retaliation, ending any chance for a peaceful, negotiated settlement.

For many weeks into the war, Cherokee bands raided and terrorized frontier settlements with impunity, forcing Lt. Gov. William Bull, Lyttlelton's successor, to appeal to Major General Jeffery Amherst, supreme British commander, for assistance. Amherst responded by dispatching several British regiments under Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Montgomery, who arrived at Charles

Town on April 1, 1760. Once augmented by supplies and militia, Montgomery marched 1,600 soldiers and militiamen to the relief of Fort Prince George. From there the force embarked on a punitive expedition against the Cherokee Lower Towns.

The British first moved against the nearby village of Keowee, which they devastated on June 1, 1760. They then proceeded against a bigger settlement at Echoe (in North Carolina). Here the Cherokees established an effective ambush, which was sprung on June 27, 1760. Montgomery suffered 20 killed and 70 wounded before driving off his antagonists, after which he withdrew to Charles Town.

Considering the disparity in numbers and equipment, this was a considerable Cherokee victory and inspired the Overhill bands of the tribe to continue fighting. Here Oconostota's war bands managed to blockade Fort Loudoun and starved it into surrendering. Captain Paul Demere, the commander, had been promised free passage back to English territory, but on August 8, 1760, angry Cherokees attacked his column, killing Demere and 32 others and taking the remainder hostage. This proved to be the largest humiliation for British troops during the entire war.

The loss of Fort Loudoun prompted Amherst to detail 2,500 British and Scottish troops under Lieutenant Colonel James Grant to Charles Town as reinforcements in the spring of 1761. Grant took to the offensive on March 20 by marching to Fort Prince George, where he conferred with Attakullakulla. The colonel brushed off the chief's

peace offer as being impossible to accept following the Fort Loudoun massacre, and then set about chastising the Cherokees further.

The British marched in force toward the Middle Towns, where, on June 10, 1761, only two miles from where Montgomery's force had been ambushed, the Cherokees launched another devastating attack. Grant managed to rebuff the warriors, driving them from the field, but at a cost of 10 killed and 50 wounded. The victorious British then spent an entire month systematically devastating native villages, crops, and fields, forcing upward of 5,000 Cherokees to flee into the wilderness. The natives proved unable to sustain this swath of destruction, and unable to secure assistance from neighboring tribes, many chiefs believed they had no recourse but to sue for peace.

Attakullakulla, Oconostota, and other tribal leaders subsequently conferred with Grant at Fort Prince George that fall, where a peace treaty was formalized on September 23, 1761. The treaty stipulated that the tribe would renounce and summarily cease all contacts with the French and recognize the sovereignty of English courts over wanted fugitives hiding on native land. It also pushed the South Carolina border 26 miles past the village of Keowee. The British also demanded that the Cherokees hand over several chiefs for execution. But Attakullakulla, having ventured to Charles Town to confer with the lieutenant governor, had this demand rescinded. A separate arrangement signed with Virginia on November 19, 1761, finally brought the Cherokee War to an end.

Afterward, the Cherokees and the British normalized relations to the extent that lingering anger and resentment on both sides allowed. The natives, in particular, had sustained considerable loss of life, displacement of entire communities, and the surrender of valuable hunting grounds. In their weakened condition, the Cherokees were unable to stem the rising tide of colonial encroachment along the frontier, despite the best attempts of British authorities to contain it east of the Appalachians. But whatever reservations they may have entertained against their former allies, the tribe trusted the emerging American nation even less. In 1776, perhaps thinking they had no choice, the Cherokees took up their war hatchets on behalf of Great Britain, and suffered commensurately for it.

JOHN C. FREDRIKSEN

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter); Cherokees; Forbes Campaign; Fort Loudoun (Tennessee); Fort Prince George-Keowee (South Carolina); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Lyttelton, William Henry; Oconostota

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Chesapeake, Virginia and Maryland Conflict over

Start Date: 1630s

End Date: November 1657

Clash between Virginia and Maryland, beginning in the 1630s, over contested land in the Chesapeake region. The 1632 charter that was granted to Cecilius Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore, established the Maryland Colony on the Chesapeake Bay, thereby reducing Virginia's territory by some 12 million acres. Members of the former Virginia Company objected to this enormous property transfer and tried to sabotage Calvert's plans by various means, including the incitement of mutiny among his sailors. Maryland's first colonists finally sailed in November 1633, in the charge of Leonard Calvert.

Approximately two years before, William Claiborne—a Virginia official as well as agent for an English company—had occupied Kent Island, located in the disputed area. Claiborne, accompanied by about 100 settlers, had built a fortified trading post and cleared land for a plantation. As the island lay well within the area granted to Lord Baltimore, Calvert offered Claiborne a license to conduct trade. But Claiborne accepted neither Calvert's terms nor Maryland's authority, arguing that he had settled the island before Lord Baltimore received his charter.

In April 1635, Maryland seized a small vessel for trading without a license. Claiborne sent a ship with orders to retaliate, and on April 23, it met two Maryland ships. The ensuing battle ended with three casualties and the surrender of Claiborne's ship. Claiborne's men won a second clash on May 10. However, because the scuffle was interfering with trade, Claiborne's English employers replaced him with a man more willing to cooperate with Maryland authorities. Claiborne retired to Virginia, where he continued to serve on the governing council, and bided his time. He appealed to London to certify his ownership, but received an unfavorable ruling in 1638. The Maryland assembly then passed an act calling for the confiscation of Claiborne's property.

The English Civil War and the subsequent execution of King Charles I provided Claiborne with several opportunities to regain his foothold in Maryland. When a supporter of Parliament, Richard Ingle, invaded Maryland in 1645, Governor Calvert fled to Virginia. Claiborne took advantage of the upheaval and reclaimed Kent Island. The period of Calvert's absence came to be known as the "Plundering Time." Calvert raised a militia and retook Maryland in 1646. Claiborne urged his Kent Islanders to continue fighting, but they accepted

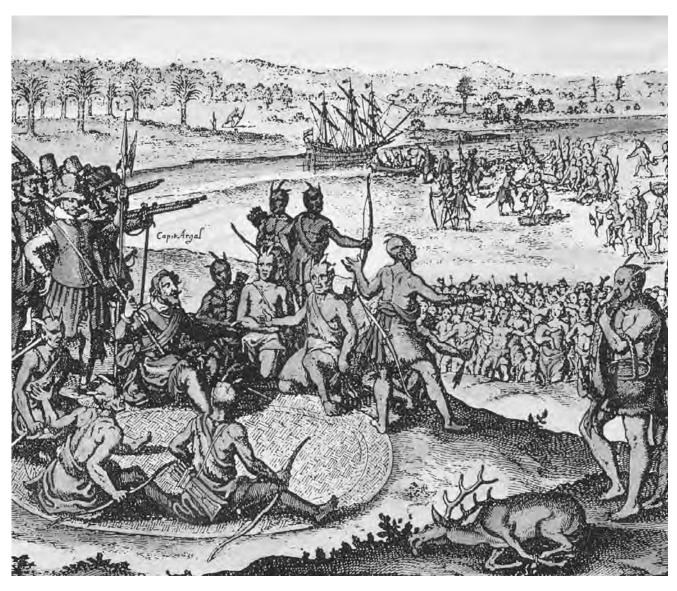
Calvert's offer of a general pardon. Claiborne tried again to reclaim his holding in 1649 by reporting to London that Maryland retained royalist sympathies. He then requested and received a commission from Parliament to "reduce" Maryland to obedience. Claiborne removed the proprietary governor, William Stone, from office in 1652, but the ensuing popular outcry compelled Stone's reinstatement.

Also in 1649, some 300 Puritans fled Virginia for Maryland, availing themselves of Maryland's legal guarantee of religious tolerance. In 1654 the Puritans called on Claiborne to return from Virginia to remove Governor Stone, whom they again accused of disloyalty to the Commonwealth. Claiborne and a fellow commissioner deposed the governor and replaced him with a Puritan council. The Puritan government subsequently restored to Claiborne his Kent Island property.

In England, Lord Baltimore obtained Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell's permission to retake control of Maryland and sent orders to Governor Stone to oust the Puritan government. In March 1655, Stone sailed toward the Puritan settlement on the Severn River with more than 100 men and a dozen vessels. On March 25, Stone and his men marched on the town and encountered a larger Puritan force. The Battle of the Severn ended when Stone surrendered after losing half his men. The Puritans executed four of their captives and held Stone and his council until Cromwell ordered their release. An agreement signed in November 1657 finally reestablished Lord Baltimore's authority and brought incursions by Virginians to an end.

See also

Calvert, Cecilius, Second Lord Baltimore; Claiborne, William; English Civil War, Impact in America; Maryland; Virginia



English captain Sir Samuel Argall meeting with leaders of the Chickahominys, in Virginia ca. 1610. Engraving by Theodore de Bry. (The Granger Collection)

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Chickahominys

Native American tribe that lived between the Chickahominy River and the James River in eastern Virginia. The Chickahominys' territory extended into present-day New Kent County, Virginia. Essentially, their name means "coarse-pounded corn people" and may possess a connection to the word "rockahominy," a coarse cornmeal often consumed by Native Americans and later European colonists during hunting. The Chickahominys were Algonquian speakers and occasionally allied with the Powhatans, best known for their chief Powhatan and his early contacts with the English colonists. As with the Powhatans and other eastern tribes, the Chickahominys subsisted by hunting, fishing, trapping, and raising crops, corn in particular.

At the time of the English landings in Virginia in 1607, the Chickahominy tribe was already present in the region. Although the Powhatans vastly outnumbered the Chickahominys, the former were never able to gain complete suzerainty over the latter. By the same token, the Chickahominys did send men to fight alongside the Powhatans as a part of their alliance.

The alliance arrangement between the two tribes greeted the English on their arrival in Jamestown in 1607. Shortly thereafter, several Chickahominy warriors captured Captain John Smith as he explored the Chickahominy River. In accordance with their relationship to the Powhatan tribe, they turned the English captain over to Chief Powhatan. That set in motion the sequence of events that eventually led to a brief marriage alliance between the English and Powhatans via the union of John Rolfe with Powhatan's daughter Pocahontas.

Around 1615, after the First Anglo-Powhatan War (1610-1614), the Chickahominys negotiated a treaty with the English colonists, represented by Sir Thomas Dale. The Chickahominys made this peace with the colonists to preserve some of their autonomy in relation to both the Powhatan tribe and the growing English presence. One facet of the agreement included a promise to supply the English with military assistance when called on. Still, when forced to choose sides in the Second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622–1632), the Chickahominys chose to remain loyal to the Powhatans. As English settlements expanded, and native attempts to stop or slow down the growth of these settlements met with continued failure, the Chickahominys were reduced in numbers. They made a shaky peace with the English in 1632, which held until the outbreak of the Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1644-1646). That conflict saw the tribe lose much of its native territory to the colonists. The Chickahominys joined other groups in a forced relocation to the region known as the Pamunkey Neck. Later, in 1718, they were removed from this area as well.

The governing style of the Chickahominys was at variance with their native neighbors. As opposed to rule by a chief, or any other single dominant figure, the Chickahominys were ruled by a council of elders. Although many contemporaries commented on the different organization of the Chickahominy government, none left any real explanation as to how and why it was organized as it was. Through all of their travails, the Chickahominys managed to retain some of their tribal and cultural distinctiveness, and exist in the present day as an independently recognized tribal group.

JAMES McIntyre

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, First; Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Anglo-Powhatan War, Third; Jamestown; Pocahontas; Powhatan (Wahunsonacock); Powhatans; Smith, John

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Chickasaws

One of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes of the Southeast (in addition to the Cherokees, the Choctaws, the Creeks and the Seminoles). Sharing the Western Muskogean language family with the Choctaws, the Chickasaws settled primarily in present-day northern Mississippi. Based on their shifting fortunes in war and diplomacy, the Chickasaws also claimed territory extending into present-day Alabama, Kentucky, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee. Consequently, they battled a wide assortment of tribes, including the Choctaws, the Cherokees, the Caddoans, the Shawnees, and the Illinois. Chickasaw military operations extended north beyond the Ohio River and as far south as the Gulf of Mexico.

The Chickasaws constructed permanent communities in Mississippi and Alabama that featured palisades for defense and space reserved for such public events as councils and athletic competitions. The primary unit of social organization for the Chickasaws was the house group, which was based on matrilineally related women residing with their husbands, children, and unmarried brothers. House groups functioned as part of larger clans, each of which took the name of an animal with which it identified based on spiritual visions.

The Chickasaw economy was a mixed one in which women tended crops and the men hunted, fished, and trapped. Trade with other tribes and the Europeans was also part of the Chickasaws' economic activities. Because the Chickasaws lived in towns, their population was concentrated. There were likely six to eight Chickasaw towns at the time of first European contact.

Placing a higher premium on mobility than the Choctaws, the Chickasaws heavily relied on horses for hunting, devoting relatively less energy to agriculture. As such, they helped pioneer equestrian warfare in the Southeast. Male prisoners taken in battle were usu-

ally executed, which left captured women and children as the primary sources of slaves. Nonetheless, the Chickasaws adopted a fair number of war captives to augment their population. By the middle of the 18th century, trade with the British had brought African slaves into Chickasaw communities.

Warfare served a variety of purposes for the Chickasaws. All males who fought in battle attained adulthood and prestige among their peers. Clans used raids to avenge homicides within their communities, as their law allowed for killing the culprit, and, in his absence, a male relative. In the event of a female victim, retaliation on a woman from the offending clan was acceptable. Separating military from civil leadership, larger campaigns were conducted by experienced war leaders who could only persuade fellow tribesmen to join them in combat.

Prior to battle, warriors fasted for three days in a hot house, consuming only herbal tea. Abstinence from sexual activity was also mandated. Several nights of ritualistic dancing culminated in a speech by a retired warrior, ceremonial smoking, and the striking of a red war pole. Each member of the expedition struck the pole while wearing full war paint and regalia.

In fighting colonial forces, the Chickasaws sought to employ tactics of ambush and surprise to avoid the conventional battle that favored European firepower. When both sides were ready to negotiate, the Chickasaws hosted enemy emissaries with elaborate entertainment. They passed a white calumet pipe among those assembled while the Eagle Dance was performed (with a heavy use of red and white colors to symbolize the duality of war and peace).

The ill-fated Spanish expedition led by Hernando de Soto initiated first European contact with the Chickasaws in 1540. Chickasaw-Spanish relations developed amicably at first, and the Spanish remained for about five months. But then de Soto demanded that 200 Chickasaw men serve as porters for travels that would ultimately take him to the Mississippi River. The Chickasaws refused to cooperate and assaulted the Spanish camp under cover of darkness. With the loss of roughly 40 men and nearly all of his equipment, de Soto was fortunate that the Chickasaws chose not to follow up on their initial attack.

During the colonial period, the Chickasaws were aggressively courted by the British, French, and Spanish as each colonial power vied for security and commerce in the region. The eclipse of Spanish influence in North America rendered this a two-way competition by the late 1600s. Although the French made progress in developing a friendly faction, the Chickasaws increasingly gravitated toward the British. This affiliation produced a flourishing trade of horses, guns, textiles, and metals for slaves and pelts.

As the Chickasaws' partnership with the British solidified, the French gradually discarded diplomacy in favor of brutal attacks. During the 18th century, they employed the Choctaws and other native clients to carry these out. Indeed, the French went so far as to hire Iroquois mercenaries from New York, but they never achieved a decisive victory. In fact, the defeat of two French armies at the hands of the Chickasaws helped to destabilize New France's

standing with their Algonquian allies. These periodic conflicts consumed precious French resources and lasted until France lost its hold on the North American mainland in 1763.

The Chickasaws briefly battled the English during Pontiac's Rebellion (1763). They also contested the Cherokees to the north. The Chickasaws backed the English during the American War for Independence. They did so in large part over fears of the relentless westward expansion of colonists.

During the war a promising development emerged in the form of a proposed confederacy of the Chickasaws, the Cherokees, the Choctaws, and the Creeks. They were all to attack the western frontier in conjunction with British forces. This ambitious campaign was forestalled when George Rogers Clark led an intrepid collection of American and French backwoodsmen to recapture a British outpost at Fort Sackville in Vincennes (now in Indiana). In the process, they seized supplies destined for Britain's Native American allies. Realizing that the proposed expedition was now a dead letter, the grand council for pan-Indian action never convened. The aborted plan proved to be a fateful episode for the Chickasaws.

The Treaty of Paris (1783) and removal of their British ally was a great blow to the Chickasaws. In what was at best a delaying tactic, they attempted to play off the Spanish and Americans against each other for commerce along the Mississippi River. By 1830, the Chickasaw Nation, a mere shadow of its former self in size, power, and cultural homogeneity, ceded its remaining territory in Mississippi. As they feared, the Chickasaw peoples had been decimated by white encroachment, sporadic warfare, and diseases brought to the continent by Europeans. They soon proceeded along the infamous Trail of Tears to Oklahoma.

JEFFREY D. BASS

See also

Chickasaw Wars; Choctaw-Chickasaw War; Choctaws; Creeks

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Chickasaw Wars

Start Date: March 1736 End Date: April 1740

Major military campaigns in the American Southeast that reflected both the Anglo-French struggle for continental supremacy and the longstanding Choctaw-Chickasaw rivalry. Although the French committed more forces to these conflicts than in previous native encounters, they remained in search of a decisive victory over the Chickasaws that would deprive the English of a vital commercial

and military partner. In the end, the Chickasaw Wars contributed to the steady decline of New France in terms of strategic assets and its standing among native tribes.

The Chickasaw Wars followed on the heels of the Natchez War (1729–1733) that had pitted the French and the Choctaws against the Natchez and the Chickasaws, with the British assisting the latter coalition. By 1733, hostilities had subsided out of a recognition by most of the involved parties that regrouping was essential. Still chafing under French authority, the Choctaws mounted an independent assault on the Chickasaws in 1734. Roughly 600 warriors tricked the Chickasaws into leaving their forts and entering into an ambush. This bold strike convinced the Chickasaws to lobby harder for peace and to accede to a standing French demand to eliminate the Natchez, who had sought refuge within their territory. In 1734, it briefly appeared as though a lasting peace could be achieved because the Choctaws and the Chickasaws were exhausted and the French were stretched dangerously thin in maintaining their security commitments in North America.

In April 1735, however, a contingent of French soldiers transporting 1,700 pounds of gunpowder happened upon a larger force of Natchez and Chickasaws on a mission to rescue their captured women from the Illinois. The alarmed French quickly opened fire, which led to the defeat of both the soldiers and any hope for peace in the region. Although a delegation of Chickasaw chiefs employed diplomacy to return the French prisoners taken in the engagement, French resolve had hardened. The governor of Louisiana, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, was finally prepared to launch a major French invasion of Chickasaw lands, a task previously relegated to the Choctaws. The French constructed Fort Tombeché (Alabama) along the Tombigbee River as a staging point for the assault.

By March 1736, Bienville had assembled about 460 French soldiers in addition to 100 Swiss mercenaries and 45 African slaves. He could soon expect a sizable Choctaw war party to arrive. But the French operation was plagued by a poor coordination of forces. In February Pierre d'Artaguette had departed from Illinois country with 145 French troops and a native contingent of 326 to include Iroquois, Miamis, Arkansas, and Illinois. By moving into Chickasaw territory ahead of the now delayed Bienville, the force tipped its hand that a major incursion was afoot. There is evidence that the French allies in d'Artaguette's force had grown disenchanted and deliberately discarded bread to reveal their presence. Running low on supplies, d'Artaguette opted in March to attack the Chickasaw village of Ogoula Tchetoka. The assault was thwarted, however, when 400 Natchez and Chickasaws arrived to outflank the invaders. D'Artaguette's native clients deserted him and he suffered serious injuries during what degenerated into a pell-mell retreat. Only a remnant of the original French force escaped as the Chickasaws made away with a considerable cache of gunpowder. French prisoners, including d'Artaguette and a Jesuit priest, were tossed into a fire; the Chickasaws viewed such treatment as an appropriate form of revenge and a means of purification. The captives might well have been spared, but word of Bienville's advance ruined any potential goodwill.

Unaware of this horrendous turn of events, Bienville began his assault along the Tombigbee River in May 1736. About 600 Choctaws joined him, including the devious chief Red Shoes, who periodically shifted his favor between the French and English. Bienville wished to locate the Natchez and quarreled with Choctaw chiefs who preferred to concentrate on the Chickasaws.

Choctaw guides misled the French and forced a battle against several Chickasaw villages in the vicinity of present-day Tupelo, Mississippi. At this site, the Chickasaws enjoyed the strongest defensive position in their entire nation as they retreated inside a collection of sturdy forts atop steep ridges. Bienville's initial attack was composed entirely of Europeans and gained little while absorbing heavy casualties. Bienville had his troops march in ranks with their officers prominently displayed in a classic example of losing a battle in the New World with tactics typical of the Old World. The attackers wore heavy woolen bags to protect them from musket fire, but suffered from shots aimed at their vulnerable legs. When the Europeans threw grenades, the defenders often retrieved them quickly enough to employ against the assault. Dumbfounded over the ineptitude of the French, the Choctaws joined the melee to no avail.

Having presided over the worst defeat ever inflicted on the French by Native Americans, Bienville began a retreat with his demoralized force that proceeded only four miles. He pleaded successfully with Choctaw chiefs for them to remain in his column. On returning to New Orleans, Bienville liberally placed blame for the fiasco with the Choctaws, his own troops, and the English. Authorities in Paris expected him to resume the offensive.

Allowing for time to marshal his forces, Bienville's second invasion did not begin until July 1739. In the meantime the Choctaws had grown more effective in raiding Chickasaw territory and consequently were more frustrated with French timidity. Learning from the French to concentrate on the destruction of crops and horses, the Choctaws had weakened Chickasaw morale to the point where there was strong momentum for peace. Sensing the weariness of their hosts, the Natchez grew increasingly uncomfortable residing among the Chickasaws. Anxious to support their clients, British agents helped to broker a settlement between the Chickasaws and the Choctaws in 1738 using the mysterious Red Shoes. But a rival Choctaw faction commenced hostilities and plunged the region into full-scale war yet again.

At Fort Assumption near present-day Memphis, Tennessee, the French had amassed enough gunpowder, artillery, and grenades to launch their greatest assault against the Chickasaws. Approximately 1,000 Frenchmen, 500 northern native mercenaries, and 1,000 Choctaws now lay under Bienville's command. But poor weather, illness, and desertion took its toll on this force before it ever saw battle. By February 1740, Bienville had lost too many horses and oxen to transport his cannon. He informed his already skeptical native allies that the French could not attack. This disclosure was particularly infuriating to the Choctaws, whom the French

had restrained from launching a major assault of their own despite recent success in raiding the Chickasaws.

Bienville agreed to provide about 200 French troops to accompany 337 natives for a reduced operation. Red Shoes dispatched warriors to alert the Chickasaws to the impending onslaught, but distrust among the Chickasaws rendered this initiative useless.

Pierre Joseph de Celeron commanded the French expedition that moved against Ogoula Tchetoka. Discovering a Chickasaw fort, the French endeavored to erect one of their own. Disgusted with what they perceived as the lack of an offensive spirit, the Choctaws abandoned the operation. Only frantic entreaties kept the northern natives on board. Negotiations produced a peace settlement whereby the northern warriors retired and the Chickasaws promised to deliver the Natchez.

The Choctaws remained free to battle the Chickasaws with French logistical support, and the Chickasaws allowed French commerce to resume along the Mississippi. By April 1740, Bienville left for New Orleans having achieved mixed results. The French had finally completed their quest for revenge against the Natchez for a revolt initiated in 1729 with the wholesale slaughter of colonists. But unable to produce decisive victories over the Chickasaws or compete with British traders for native commerce, the ongoing revelation of French weakness compromised its military, diplomatic, and economic operations throughout North America.

The peace of 1740 proved fragile in implementation. Northern warriors continued to harass the depleted Chickasaws, who were for the most part attempting to make good on their promise concerning the Natchez. Bienville continued exhorting the Choctaws to raid Chickasaw territory but was soon replaced as governor. Considerable strife lay ahead in the quest for supremacy among Europeans and natives in the Southeast.

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See also

Chickasaws; Choctaw-Chickasaw War; Choctaws; Fort Tombeché (Alabama); Le Moyne de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste; Ogoula Tchetoka, Battle of; Natchez Revolt; Natchez War; Red Shoe

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Chignecto Isthmus

Neck of land connecting peninsular Nova Scotia to the Canadian mainland and a key front in the mid-18th-century wars between Great Britain and France in North America. Settled by Acadians from Port Royal in the 1670s, the Chignecto Isthmus became contested ground after the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht placed the French colony of Acadia under British rule. The treaty's language sparked a long struggle over the region. Although the British held that Aca-

dia—defined only by vague reference to its "ancient limits"—encompassed Chignecto, the French argued that the isthmus remained under the sovereignty of New France. Commissions and surveys failed to resolve the dispute, which by the early 1750s had devolved into a stalemate. By then several hundred Acadians and Micmacs inhabited the isthmus, settling in the central village of Beaubassin and smaller communities to the north and east.

Between 1750 and 1755, the Chignecto Isthmus played host to a confrontation that would not only contribute to the outbreak of the French and Indian War, but would lead to one of its most stunning campaigns, the forced removal of the Acadians from Nova Scotia. In 1749, the French ordered a prominent Jesuit, the Abbé Jean-Louis Le Loutre, to relocate his mission from interior Nova Scotia to Point Beauséjour, a spot of high ground on the west end of the isthmus. Drawing many of his Micmac communicants to a makeshift village, Le Loutre tried to spur Acadian migration from British Nova Scotia. Early in 1750, he went so far as to set fire to Beaubassin, driving its Acadian inhabitants toward Beauséjour, where the French planned to construct a fort. To halt what it termed incursions into British territory, the government at Halifax ordered Major Charles Lawrence to drive the French from the isthmus altogether. Two expeditions in April and September 1750 failed, but the British managed to build Fort Lawrence only a few miles from Le Loutre's village. The French sped up work on Fort Beauséjour, and by early 1752 the two structures faced each other across the Missaguash River, which became a de facto border between New France and the British Empire.

In the summer of 1755, Britain took steps to claim Chignecto entirely. Planned to coincide with attacks on Fort Duquesne, Crown Point, and Niagara, an assault on Fort Beauséjour (and the smaller Fort Gaspereau, located several miles to its north) was conducted by a combined force of British regulars and Massachusetts volunteers. Fort Beauséjour's defenders capitulated after a British bomb exploded inside a casement, killing an officer. After occupying the fort, the Anglo-American military leaders received orders from Charles Lawrence, now Nova Scotia's governor, to deport the Chignecto Acadians who had sided with the French. Lawrence soon amended his stance, demanding the removal of Acadians throughout his province. By the early 1760s, Chignecto had been almost entirely cleared of both Acadians and Micmacs, marking a key victory in Britain's campaign to eradicate French influence in North America.

CHRISTOPHER G. HODSON

See also

Acadia Expulsion; Bay of Fundy Expedition; Fort Beauséjour (Nova Scotia); Fort Lawrence (Nova Scotia); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Le Loutre, Jean-Louis; Micmacs; Utrecht, Treaty of

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Choctaw-Chickasaw War

Start Date: September 1752

End Date: 1752

Unsuccessful French-Choctaw campaign against the Chickasaws and the final in a series of nearly uninterrupted conflicts over the previous two decades between two longtime native rivals spurred on by European intrigues. The Choctaw-Chickasaw War of 1752 served as a futile last gasp in the French attempt to eradicate the Chickasaws as British allies in the American Southeast.

By the 1740s, the French-allied Choctaws had lost three successive wars to the Chickasaws. These setbacks severely damaged French credibility, but the Chickasaws had lost perhaps as much as three quarters of their population in the process. In 1742, Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, as newly appointed governor of Louisiana, inherited the onerous task of maintaining French interests in the region. The exhausted Chickasaws initiated peace overtures with the French in 1743, but Vaudreuil demanded cessation of all trade with Britain and the consent of the Choctaws as preconditions. The governor hoped to stall negotiations while awaiting reinforcements with which to tame the Chickasaws. But French priorities lay elsewhere, and the reinforcements never arrived. With diplomacy stymied, both the Choctaws and the Chickasaws resorted to periodic raids while pressing their respective European allies for more trade as an inducement to continue fighting.

The French paid Choctaw warriors for Chickasaw scalps, and Chickasaw prisoners were made available for enslavement. Vaudreuil's alleged commitment to peace appears even weaker in light of instructions he received from Paris in 1751 to encourage internecine warfare among the Choctaws, his own allies. The governor had no moral qualms in executing this policy, but he worried that the Choctaws would recognize his strategy as a means of rendering them more dependent on the French. As the Choctaw tribe bickered over which European power to favor, a civil war ensued from 1746–1750 with the French faction emerging victorious.

In the meantime, British naval exploits during King George's War (1744–1748) reduced French supplies to the point where the Choctaws felt little incentive to attack their neighbors at the behest of New France. As Chickasaw raids had now intensified, the French finally convinced the unenthusiastic Choctaws to act in 1752. Scholars disagree on the number of French troops involved in the Choctaw-Chickasaw War, with estimates ranging from 700 to as few as a handful.

The Choctaw-dominated invasion force moved along the Tombigbee River (located in modern-day western Alabama) in September 1752, just as the French and the Choctaws had done during an earlier war in 1736. The Chickasaws refused to engage their enemies in a conventional battle that would likely have favored the invaders, however. The result was a hit-and-run, guerrilla-style war, with most of the Chickasaws remaining in their well-fortified towns. As such, the French and the Choctaws settled for razing deserted villages and depriving the Chickasaw of crops and livestock. The 1752 war concluded without any alteration in the regional balance of power. France's eviction from the North American mainland in the Treaty of Paris (1763) ultimately ensured Chickasaw dominance over the Choctaws.

JEFFREY D. BASS

See also

Chickasaws; Choctaw Civil War; Choctaws; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Louisiana

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Choctaw Civil War

Start Date: 1746 End Date: 1750

Intertribal conflict among the Choctaws precipitated by the ongoing Anglo-French rivalry. The Choctaw Civil War ensued when Choctaw war chief Red Shoes, a longtime ally of France, switched allegiances to Britain. The civil war can also be seen as one more conflict along with King George's War (1744–1748) in the colonial competition between France, England, and Spain in North America that decimated the indigenous peoples.

Though the French had been in North America a few years longer than the British, they and the British had only arrived in southeastern North America in the early 1700s. Spain had older, albeit more contested, ties with powerful southeastern tribes such as the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. The arrival of the French along the Gulf coast (Choctaw territory) and the British in inland Chickasaw territory led to logical trade alliances between the French and Choctaws and the British and the Chickasaws. French colonists who had trouble inland with the Natchez and the Yazoos turned to their Choctaw allies for help. The resultant decimation of the Natchez tribe and the establishment of New Orleans in 1718 further advanced French-Choctaw alliances. Because New Orleans then functioned essentially as a port of illicit trade and piracy, it also served to bring the French and the Choctaws into conflict with the British-Chickasaw alliance and Spain.

Neither France nor England wanted the age-old Choctaw-Chickasaw rivalry to end. Nevertheless, in 1741 the Choctaw chief Red Shoes tried to negotiate a treaty between the two tribes, perhaps realizing that their real enemy was the ever-growing number of European colonists. Both British and French representatives worked feverishly to thwart the treaty, and French governor Pierre

de Vaudreuil was successful in doing so by 1744. However, bad blood eventually emerged between Vaudreuil and Red Shoes, and it would have serious future consequences.

In 1744, the Franco-British rivalry erupted into King George's War (1744–1748). During the conflict, the British fleet blockaded New World shipping. The blockade had little effect on French colonists, who by this time were self-sufficient. However, it did have a major impact on France's ability to supply European goods to its native allies. As a result, some Choctaw chiefs, headed by Red Shoes, asked the British to open trade, especially for guns, which were vital to Choctaw survival.

As with most Native American groups, the Choctaw Nation was a complex political unit in which each part had some autonomy in certain domestic and foreign affairs. The Choctaws consisted of about eight tribes and many clans, perhaps numbering 40,000 people in all by the mid-18th century. Some groups remained loyal to the French, others sided with British traders, and still other groups remained neutral.

From 1746 to 1748, Red Shoes remained in control with British support. But discontent was rising within the Choctaw Nation. Governor Vaudreuil ultimately conspired with Red Shoes's Choctaw rivals to murder Red Shoes in June 1748. A full-blown Choctaw Civil War then ensued.

The second phase of the civil war from 1748-1750 saw the brother of Red Shoes carrying on the intertribal conflict with British support. Ultimately, the French faction dominated and won the Choctaw Civil War outright by September 1750. In the end, British support for the Choctaws who had allied with them was minimal as the British stood to win either way. The British certainly did not want to incur the wrath of their longtime allies the Chickasaws by supporting the Choctaws. Yet the British hoped to reduce French-native power in the region. The Choctaw Civil War served both purposes, making the British the clear winners. The British went on to defeat a weakened French-native alliance in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). In a sense, the civil war was a precursor to the much larger Franco-British conflict. The Choctaw Civil War and disease combined to decimate the formerly powerful southeastern tribe. Usually able to field around 3,000 warriors and up to 600 in a single battle well into the 1700s, the Choctaws emerged from the civil war with fewer than a third that number.

CHRISTOPHER HOWELL

See also

Chickasaws; Choctaw-Chickasaw War; Choctaws; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Red Shoe; Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Pierre de, Marquis de Vaudreuil

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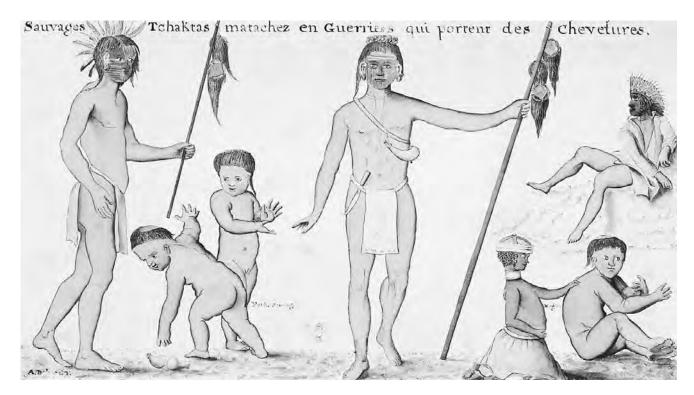
Choctaws

Native American group whose territory included east-central Mississippi as well as parts of Alabama. The Choctaws were one of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes of the American Southeast (along with the Chickasaws, the Creeks, the Seminoles, and the Cherokees). The Choctaw Nation traditionally resisted developing dependency on Europeans, whereas the English, French, and Spanish vied for resources and influence among indigenous peoples.

The Choctaws had developed a multi-ethnic confederacy in present-day east-central Mississippi by the late 17th century. Reputedly the one-time brethren of the Chickasaws, the Choctaws became renowned farmers and fierce warriors. Because of their agricultural prowess, they enjoyed a diverse economy that also included hunting, fishing, gathering, and trapping. Their competitiveness manifested itself in a rough version of stickball known as *toli*, or "little brother of war." These contests trained men for battle and sometimes settled political disputes. Opposing towns sometimes used witchcraft to influence the outcome.

Four social ranks differentiated Choctaw males. The grand chiefs, village chiefs, and war chiefs occupied the highest rung. Under them were the *hatak holitopa*, or "beloved men." The *tashka* ("warriors") held the third level. At the bottom were the *hatak imatahali*, "youth" or "supporting men," who had not seen combat or had slain only women and children. The political organization and social structure of the Choctaws centered on the *iksa* (clan), with their matrilineal kinship networks. Traditional political power hierarchies tended to be weak, however.

The size and central location of the Choctaw Nation rendered it strategically vital for imperial ambitions in the region. The French secured the first sustained European contact with the Choctaws through a trading post, which prompted the English to befriend the adjacent Chickasaws and Quapaws with the promise of weapons in exchange for Choctaw slaves. By 1699, the Choctaws had lost nearly 2,000 people to English-inspired slave raids and military assaults. In 1702, the Choctaws allied with the French to gain firearms. However, a lack of immunity to European diseases reduced their population by roughly 5,000 within 15 years of continuous exposure. The British, in 1711, along with the Chickasaws and the Creeks, launched a major campaign that inflicted on the Choctaw losses to death and slavery in excess of 400. But after 1715, when the British had faced a rebellion of their own among Native Americans, an effort was begun to entice the Choctaws to abandon the French.



An 18th-century sketch of Choctaw warriors and children. During the colonial era, the Choctaw occupied substantial portions of present-day Mississippi and Alabama. (Corbis)

Because indigenous slaves were perishing rapidly in South Carolina, the British favored commerce with the Choctaws while increasing the importation of African slaves. The French countered with an increasingly large volume of gifts to selected Choctaw chiefs. But a lack of effective hierarchy in Choctaw society rendered these expenditures ineffective in securing strong influence. Indeed, Choctaw chiefs routinely redistributed European goods to their people. Thus they perceived French gifts in terms of their own cultural interpretation as an affirmation of friendship. But French authorities grew to resent what they deemed an arrogant expectation of tribute.

Financial strains on New France in the early 18th century reduced its generosity as officials resorted to bypassing civil chiefs in favor of direct scalp bounties to warriors. The British had their own difficulties thanks to a bloody uprising known as the Yamasee War (1715–1717). The Choctaw alliance with the French was solidified in the aftermath of the Natchez Revolt (1729) in which French settlers along the Mississippi River were slaughtered and enslaved. The Choctaws played an important role in exacting retribution on the Natchez in the conflicts of the early 1730s. Because some of the Natchez had fled to the Chickasaws, the French aimed to eradicate the Natchez and compel the Chickasaws to renounce their alliance with the British. The French then constructed a fort in Choctaw territory along the Tombigbee River and initiated two unsuccessful wars with the Chickasaws.

By the mid-18th century an intense effort by the French and British to curry favor among the Choctaws had plunged the nation into civil war. French officials showered the war chief Red Shoes (Shulush Homa) with gifts and medals to help him supplant civil chiefs and turn him into a pliable client. But the ambitious leader created an independent power base from which to play the French and the British off against each other (as well as against Choctaw factions) during the 1730s with a series of intricate diplomatic maneuvers. When Red Shoes parleyed with the British and the Chickasaws in 1745, the French arranged for the murder of several delegates. Red Shoes retaliated by ordering the slaying of a French officer and two traders the following year. The Choctaw system of justice did not prescribe death for the perpetrators despite the fact that the French had executed two of their own in 1738 for the murder of a Choctaw couple. The Choctaws attempted to placate the French by killing more of the Chickasaws and the British, but internal divisions deepened.

Meanwhile, the British hoped to compel more trade with the Choctaws. But they required only a small range of goods—generally clothing, textiles, metal tools, and blankets. The British consequently promoted rum and the credit necessary to purchase it as a means to create commercial dependency. Numerous Choctaw hunters soon languished in debt as they desperately sought the animal pelts necessary to settle accounts. Feeling betrayed over a partnership with few dividends, the French hired an assassin who murdered Red Shoes in 1747. A civil war ensued as no other leader could maintain his delicate equilibrium of power and diplomacy. The conflict was slowed by a smallpox epidemic, but the pro-French faction ultimately triumphed.

Following the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the French eviction from the North American mainland left the Choctaws vulnerable to attacks from their neighbors. For more than a decade the British periodically agitated the Creeks into attacks. But the Choctaws subsequently used the threat posed by Spanish Florida to gain commercial and diplomatic advantages with the British. Choctaw warriors joined British forces arrayed against the Spanish during the American Revolutionary War, but meager pay and supplies led nearly all of the fighters to depart before battle. The Choctaws were forcibly removed from their ancestral lands by the U.S. government to the Oklahoma Territory during the first half of the 19th century.

JEFFREY D. BASS

See also

Chickasaw Wars; Chickasaws; Choctaw-Chickasaw War; Choctaw Civil War; Creek-Choctaw Wars; Creeks; Natchez Revolt; Natchez War; Red Shoe; Slave Trade and the American Colonies

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Chubb, Pasco

Born: ca. 1664

Died: February 22, 1698

New England militia officer during King William's War (1689–1697) known for his treacherous dealings with Native Americans and the surrender of Fort William Henry in Maine. The son of English immigrants, Pasco Chubb was born in Beverly, Massachusetts, about 1664. He settled in Andover, Massachusetts, and went on to serve as a captain in the Massachusetts Bay Militia during King William's War, eventually becoming the commander of Fort William Henry at Pemaquid, Maine, in late 1695.

In spring 1696, a party of Abenakis approached the fort at Chubb's invitation to treat with the English. After several days of peaceful dialogue and trade, Chubb's soldiers fired on the natives, killing two, including Egeremet, a leading peace advocate among the Abenakis, and capturing several others. Chubb and his men may have acted so deplorably in hopes of collecting high bounties placed on native scalps and prisoners.

Only months later, in August 1696, a combined force of Abenakis and Frenchmen retaliated by attacking Fort William Henry. Chubb vowed to defend the fort to the last, but when the French began lobbing mortar shells into the works, he quickly negotiated safe passage for his garrison and surrendered the fort. The French gave their allies the fort's arms, ammunition, and supplies and then destroyed the supposedly impregnable bastion.



Born in Plymouth Colony in 1639, Benjamin Church was a highly successful military leader who advised adopting Native American ways of war. (Library of Congress)

Returning to Boston, Chubb found himself vilified for his cowardice, charged with treason, and imprisoned for several months. Once released (without being tried, however), Chubb again settled in Andover, where he died in a Native American raid on February 22, 1698.

DAVID M. CORLETT

See also

Abenakis; Fort William Henry (Maine); King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Militias

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Church, Benjamin

Born: 1639

Died: January 17, 1717

New England soldier and frontiersman, and the first of the "border captains" who figure so prominently in the history—and mythology—of the colonial wars against Native Americans. Benjamin Church was born in 1639 at Duxbury in Plymouth Colony, the son

of a carpenter and veteran of the Pequot War (1636–1638). To the dismay of the more conventional English soldiers in Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies and the Puritan divines, particularly Increase Mather, Church counseled adopting Native American ways of fighting (the so-called skulking way of war). He also urged use of Native American allies to defeat King Philip (Metacom) and his warriors in King Philip's War (1675–1676). Church practiced what he preached. He taught colonials under his command to move silently through the forests and swamps, to "scatter" as the Native Americans did if attacked, and to "never fire at an Indian if you can reach him with a hatchet."

Ranging through Massachusetts and Rhode Island, his mixed band of Native Americans and handpicked Plymouth soldiers burned enemy villages and crops and took many native prisoners. Finally, on August 12, 1676, Church and his rangers tracked the Native American leader King Philip to his camp near Mount Hope, Rhode Island, and killed him when he tried to escape. The dead chief's head was cut off and taken to Plymouth, where it remained atop a pole for some 25 years as a trophy of English victory. For his exploits, the Plymouth authorities awarded Church the sum of 30 shillings.

Church frequently fell out with colonial leaders over treatment of native foes during the war. On more than one occasion, Native Americans he had convinced to surrender or who had been captured were sold into slavery, to his great fury. This was the fate of King Philip's wife and son, taken by Church and his rangers 10 days before they killed the Native American leader.

When King William's War broke out in 1689, Church was commissioned a major and led Plymouth forces in the fight against the French and their Native American allies in Maine, then part of Massachusetts Colony. His troops participated in the Battle of Brackett's Woods, which helped lift the siege of Fort Loyal. Church led three more expeditions into Maine and what is today New Brunswick, Canada, in 1690, 1692, and 1696. These were in retaliation for French and Native American raids against the eastern borders of New England.

In March 1704, although by now a rotund 65 year old, Church was granted a commission as colonel of Massachusetts troops and was ordered to raid into Acadia. The raids were in revenge for French and native destruction of the town of Deerfield, Massachusetts, the month before. Fortified by a promise of £100 for each Native American scalp, moving from place to place by whaleboat and taking to snowshoes when necessary, Church's 550 New England volunteers attacked native villages, seized and burned the towns of Les Mines (Grand Pré) and Chignecto, and threatened the French base at Port Royal.

The Acadia raid was Benjamin Church's last campaign. He retired to his farm at Little Compton, Rhode Island, where he and his son Thomas composed the two volumes of his memoirs of King Philip's War and the struggles against the French and Native Americans, the primary material for which was a diary Church had kept over the years. The volumes are noteworthy for the author's insistence on the importance of human agency—his own, primarily—in the victories



William Claiborne, Jamestown colonist, trader, and prominent colonial leader. (Cirker, Hayward and Blanche Crirker, eds., *Dictionary of American Portraits*, 1967)

of the colonists over their enemies. Other contemporary historians of the wars, such as William Hubbard and Cotton Mather, had seen the triumphs as evidence of God's will. Publication of his memoirs made Church a model for other "border captains," such as Robert Rogers, to follow. Church died on January 17, 1717, near his home at Little Compton, Rhode Island.

BRUCE VANDERVORT

See also

Brackett's Wood, Battle of; Deerfield, Massachusetts, Attack on; Fort Loyal (Maine); Grand Pré, Battle of; King Philip's War; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Metacom; Skulking Way of War

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Claiborne, William

Born: 1600 Died: 1677

Virginia trader and colonial official. William Claiborne's date of birth is unknown, but he was baptized in Crayford Parish, Kent, England, on August 19, 1600. Claiborne emigrated to North America and became a trader in Virginia. Traveling from that colony to the upper eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay, Claiborne established a trading post on Kent Island in 1631. He represented a London trading company, Cloberry and Company, and held several offices in the Virginia government including secretary of state (1626–1634 and 1652–1661), deputy governor (1652–1660), and councilor (1624–1637 and 1643–1661).

Claiborne was a leading opponent of the Calvert family's 1632 proprietary charter for the colony of Maryland. When the first Maryland ships arrived in 1634, Claiborne's trading post had a population of about 100 people. His fortified settlement was obviously within Maryland's colonial territory, but Claiborne claimed that the Island was excluded from the Calverts' territory because the charter only granted them unsettled land.

Claiborne and the Calverts failed to negotiate a settlement to this dispute. Instead the conflict escalated to armed confrontation in April 1635. Near the mouth of the Pocomoke River, two proprietary ships defeated a vessel loyal to Claiborne, the *Cockatrice*, on April 23. Two weeks later, however, Claiborne's forces prevailed in a second naval battle also near the Pocomoke River.

Cloberry and Company officials, fearing that this dispute could diminish trade, replaced Claiborne in 1637 with an agent willing to negotiate with the Calverts. Claiborne, however, claimed Kent Island again in 1645 during the absence of Maryland's governor, Leonard Calvert. Support for Claiborne collapsed when the governor returned with an armed force in 1646.

Claiborne returned to Maryland from Virginia once more in 1654 during England's Interregnum period to deliver orders enforcing parliamentary allegiance and demanding Puritan rule in the colony. This time he declined to press any claims to Kent Island. Claiborne died at Romancoke, his New Kent County, Virginia, home, shortly after sending a final petition in March 1677 to King Charles II seeking the return of Kent Island.

CRESTON LONG

See also

Calvert, Cecilius, Second Lord Baltimore; Chesapeake, Virginia and Maryland Conflict over; Maryland; Virginia



Increase Mather, a leading 17th-century Massachusetts minister who saw the Battle of Clark's Garrison in 1676 as a sign of divine retribution against the Puritans. (*The Illustrated Book of All Religions*. Chicago, Star Publishing Company, n.d.)

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Clark's Garrison, Battle of

Event Date: March 12, 1676

Key engagement in the Native American uprising in New England known as King Philip's War (1675–1676), occurring on March 12, 1676, in Plymouth Colony. The Battle of Clark's Garrison helped reshape colonial military tactics and the treatment of combat in the New England legal system. Indeed, after the attack, English settlers had concluded that only the heavy use of indigenous forces, hit-and-run operations, and vicious treatment of enemy captives would subdue the rebellion and prevent similar occurrences.

During the height of King Philip's War, numerous surprise attacks on lightly defended colonial outposts terrorized New Englanders. Such was the fate of a garrison house located several miles south of Plymouth owned by William Clark. The eldest son of a wealthy Boston importer, Clark appears to have been targeted because local natives knew of his military supplies through an ongoing commercial relationship. The home was fortified to serve

as a common defensive position in the event of hostilities, but archaeologists have not found any evidence of palisades. When warriors attacked the garrison, settlers offered little resistance because most males were attending a Sabbath meeting. One of Clark's sons, Thomas, was left for dead with a tomahawk wound. He later recovered to spend the rest of his life with a silver plate attached to his head.

Accounts of colonial fatalities ranged as high as 11 and included Clark's wife, Sarah. Casualty figures may have been inflated by the powerful and imposing minister Increase Mather, who used the war as a sign of divine retribution for the failure of Puritans to maintain their special covenant with God. Because the victims had not respected the Sabbath, Mather characterized the Clark's Garrison tragedy as a lesson to those who succumb to materialism. He was contributing to a growing sense of declension that gripped New England and preoccupied Puritans who already believed that nothing happened by chance.

The number of native attackers remains unclear, as Mather's records do not match those of the Plymouth General Court. In September 1676, colonial troops produced a collection of surrendered natives to Plymouth magistrates with confessions that three of them had participated in the attack on noncombatants at Clark's home. A purported testimonial from a native woman augmented the case, and the accused were put to death without regard to their status as prisoners of war. In effect, the Plymouth General Court regarded this attack as a crime against humanity as civil authorities swiftly discarded military distinctions in their rulings.

With the conflict dissipating after the death of the charismatic Metacom (Metacomet or King Philip) in August 1676, New England courts increasingly used their power as a form of vengeance to conclude what had become a war of attrition. Soon, New England Native Americans would no longer enjoy their status as sovereign nations, as treason ranked among the charges leveled against them.

JEFFREY D. BASS

See also

King Philip's War; Metacom

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Cockacoeske, Queen of the Pamunkeys

Born: Unknown Died: 1686

Pamunkey leader who remained loyal to Virginia's colonial leaders during English conflicts with native peoples. Cockacoeske became the Pamunkeys' *weronsqua* (or female leader) in 1656 after her husband, Totopotomy, the tribe's leader, died in battle fighting neighboring natives hostile to the colonial government.

In 1676, Cockacoeske appeared at the Virginia General Assembly with an interpreter and her son, John West. When assembly members asked Cockacoeske to supply warriors to help defeat Nathaniel Bacon's rebellion (1676–1677), she remained quiet, then yelled her husband's name when pressured to commit forces. She then stated that the Pamunkeys had in the past sacrificed for government causes without reparations. When officials continued to request troops, she finally agreed to provide 12 warriors.

When Bacon's forces raided Pamunkey villages, Cockacoeske told her people to flee and not fight. Rebels captured and killed several natives. Terrified when she saw the carnage and destruction wrought by the raids, Cockacoeske hid in nearby woods for days. On February 20, 1677, she asked that the General Assembly recover seized Pamunkey property and land and compensate her people. Assembly members countered that she had to prove that the items belonged to the Pamunkeys. Cockacoeske pressed her demands directly with King Charles II's commissioners. In due course, they instructed the Assembly to assist her because they realized full well that the government needed her as an ally.

During negotiations for the 1677 Virginia-Indian Treaty (also known as the Treaty of Middle Plantation), Cockacoaske secured terms favorable to expand her power. The treaty stated that she was the leader of the Pamunkeys and several nearby tribes. Cockacoeske aspired to create a confederacy similar to that created by Powhatan. The uncooperative tribes did not pay the tributes she demanded,



Frenchman Jean-Baptiste Colbert, minister of finance under King Louis XIV. A strong proponent of mercantilism, Colbert favored the establishment of overseas colonies and a strong navy. (Ridpath, John Clark, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

however, insisting that they had not agreed to such stipulations. Cockacoeske complained to colonial officials but did not achieve her ambitions before her death in 1686.

ELIZABETH D. SCHAFER

See also

Bacon's Rebellion; Jamestown; Pamunkeys; Powhatans; Virginia; Virginia-Indian Treaty (1677/1680)

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Colbert, Jean-Baptiste

Born: August 29, 1619 Died: September 6, 1683

French minister of marine, regarded as the founder of the modern French Navy. Born in Reims, France, on August 29, 1619, Jean-Baptiste Colbert was first a lawyer's clerk and then worked in a financial firm. In 1640, he joined the Ministry of War, and in 1642 he became chief clerk to Michel Le Tellier, who installed him as his secretary when he became counselor of state. From 1651, Colbert performed a variety of duties for Cardinal Mazarin, chief minister to King Louis XIV. Beginning in 1660, he became interested in naval affairs and took over its administration, and in 1669 he was formally granted the title of minister of state for the navy.

As controller general of finances, in effect chief minister to King Louis XIV, during 1665-1683 Colbert worked hard to apply mercantilist principles, seeking to make France economically self-sufficient and increase the wealth from which state taxes were drawn. Toward this end, he encouraged the development of industry and worked hard to increase the manufacture of luxury goods and exports in order to achieve a favorable balance of trade. Colbert abolished many internal tariffs, promulgated a commercial code and marine code, and significantly improved communication within France by the construction of roads and canals. He also fostered colonies abroad, and in 1664 he established the French East India and West India companies for trading with India and America respectively. His efforts to encourage immigration to the French colonies met only partial success because, unlike the English, the French government refused to allow religious dissenters to emigrate to New France. In the naval sphere, Colbert sought to implement Cardinal Richelieu's plans to build a powerful navy. He took over what was a moribund naval establishment, and his substantial effort in this area merits recognizing him as the father of the modern French Navy. Colbert's naval program embraced all aspects of the navy, including supplies, administration, creation of ports and dockyards

Important Items in the Columbian Exchange

New World to Old World	Old World to New World
Avacados	Bananas
Chewing gum	Barley
Chocolate	Cattle
Corn	Chickens
Guinea pigs	Coffee
Llamas	Horses
Peanuts	Influenza
Peppers	Oats
Potatoes	Measles
Squash	Melons
Syphilis	Pigs
Tapioca	Rice
Tobacco	Smallpox
Tomatoes	Sugarcane
Turkeys	Wheat

(such as Rochefort), organization (creation of marine infantry), standardization of ship classifications and gun calibers (in which he was ahead of his time), establishment of hospitals, and the promulgation of ordinances in 1681 and 1689, which codified the merchant marine and the navy. He also worked to encourage the building of ships for the merchant marine. Colbert's chief shortcomings as minister of marine were to regard the navy too much from an administrative point of view and to give too much authority to administrators rather than its line officers.

Colbert was one of France's greatest financial reformers and organizers. Hard working and humorless, he did increase state revenues. He also understood what the king did not, that France needed peace to put its financial house in order. Colbert was thus a staunch advocate of peace, save in the case of the Dutch War, for which his commercial policy was partly responsible. Colbert was never able to overcome the growing expense of King Louis XIV's many wars and was thus forced to raise taxes sharply. He died at Paris on September 6, 1683.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

France, Navy

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Columbian Exchange

Initiated by Christopher Columbus's voyage to the New World in 1492, the Columbian Exchange involved the exchange of people, flora, fauna, diseases, and ideas between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. This changed the world's ecosystems and gave Euro-

134 Columbus, Christopher

peans distinct advantages over Native Americans, ultimately allowing European peoples to conquer and subdue the New World. Native American plants such as maize (corn), squash, beans, potatoes, and tomatoes were introduced to Europeans. These crops, especially maize and potatoes, helped prevent famine and stimulated population growth in Europe and Africa, which aided the European conquest of the New World. In return, Europeans and Africans introduced wheat, rice, bananas, sugar, and wine grapes to the Americas.

Many European colonists used these Old World crops along with the New World cultivation of tobacco as cash crops to create viable economies that sustained their colonies. Europeans also introduced domesticated animals such as cattle, fowl, horses, hogs, and sheep to the New World. Unfortunately, disease proved to be perhaps the most significant element introduced to the New World, and it was also the single most destructive aspect of the Columbian Exchange for Native Americans. Europeans unintentionally brought with them influenza, malaria, measles, plague, and smallpox. Because Native Americans had no previous exposure to these diseases and had not acquired immunities to them, they suffered very high mortality rates once infected. Often, aspects of colonialism such as warfare and the Native American slave trade helped

spread diseases and contributed to the devastating impact they had on native societies.

DIXIE RAY HAGGARD

See also

Captivity of Indians by Europeans; Indian Presents; Military and Naval Medicine; Sickness and Mortality in Colonial America; Smallpox

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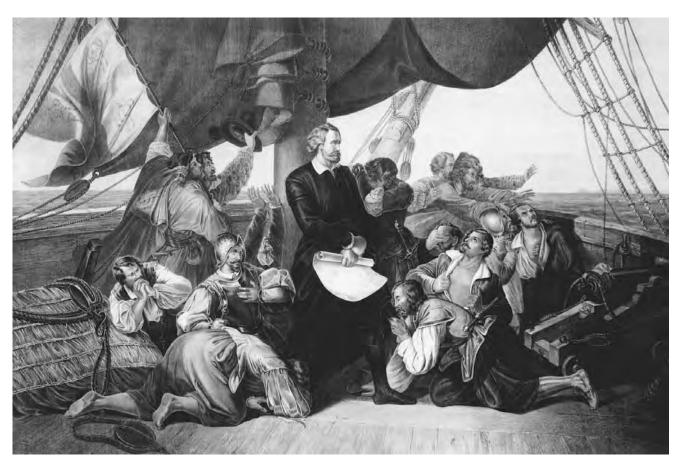
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Explorer Christopher Columbus and the crew of the Santa Maria sighting the New World in October 1492. (Library of Congress)

Columbus, Christopher

Born: 1451

Died: May 20, 1506

Italian-born navigator and explorer. Born Cristoforo Columbo in Genoa, Italy, in 1451, Columbus received little or no formal education in his youth. Indeed, he never wrote in Italian, although he did learn to read and write in both Spanish and Portuguese. Columbus spent much of his youth working as an apprentice to his father, who was a master weaver and part-time wine-shop owner, but by his own account, Columbus took to the sea at a "tender age."

At the age of 19, Columbus made his first trading voyage in the Aegean Sea. In his early twenties, he began to make longer voyages to Marseilles, Tunis, and the Greek isles. In 1476, Columbus set out for Flanders and England, but his vessel was sunk by French privateers. He landed penniless in Portugal and was taken in by one of many Genoese living in Lisbon. There Columbus acquired most of his knowledge of navigation.

Although the Portuguese were in the process of developing a trade route to India by sailing around Africa, Columbus advocated sailing west to reach the Indies. Inspired by the writings of Florentine cosmographer Paolo Toscanelli, Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly's *Image of the World*, and Marco Polo's account of the Far East, Columbus believed that the Earth's circumference was much smaller than it actually is and that a western route would be shorter. When the king of Portugal rejected Columbus's proposal to finance the voyage, he turned to King Ferdinand V and Queen Isabella I of Spain, who in April 1492 agreed to sponsor the expedition. Commanding the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Niña*, Columbus departed Spain on August 3, 1492, and after a trying two-month voyage reached the island of San Salvador in the Bahamas on October 12. After landing on Cuba and Española (later called Hispaniola), where he left a garrison of 40 men, Columbus returned to Spain in 1493.

On his return, Isabella commanded Columbus to sail again immediately. He embarked on a second expedition with 17 ships and 1,000 colonists in September 1493. On returning to Española, he discovered that the garrison he had left behind had been killed by the natives. Columbus established the colony of Isabella near modern Cape Isabella in the Dominican Republic, and he landed on Dominica, Guadeloupe, and Antigua and explored the coast of Cuba. Before returning to Spain in 1496, Columbus founded Santo Dominigo as the capital of Española.

In May 1498, Columbus, who still believed he had reached Asia, set out on his third expedition. He landed on the island of Trinidad and sighted what is now Venezuela, discovering the continent of South America. When he arrived in Santo Domingo, Columbus found the colony of Española in revolt. Across the Atlantic in Spain, discontented colonists successfully persuaded Ferdinand and Isabella to remove Columbus as governor of Española in May 1499 and appoint Francisco de Bobadilla to establish order in the colony.

Columbus was subsequently arrested and sent back to Spain in chains. On his return, Isabella pardoned Columbus but refused to restore him to office as governor of Española.

In May 1502, Columbus ventured on his fourth and final expedition. Hampered by a hurricane, he managed to reach Honduras and searched in vain along the Central American coast for a passage across the continent to Asia. In January 1503, Columbus landed at Panama and established a colony there. In June that same year, his fleet was marooned near Jamaica. After returning to Spain in 1504, Columbus found he had lost not only his title as governor of the Indies but his chief support in the person of Isabella, who had died earlier that year. Suffering from arthritis, humiliated, and frustrated by the elusive fame and wealth that he had so fiercely sought, Columbus died in Valladolid, Spain, on May 20, 1506.

Although Columbus's discovery of the Americas presented undreamed-of opportunities for Europeans, it also marked the beginning of several centuries of famine, disease, dislocation, and violence for the Native American peoples already living in the Western Hemisphere.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Spain

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Committee of Militia (Massachusetts Bay)

Command structure set up by Massachusetts Bay (and copied by other New England colonies) to ensure civilian control of militia units. Although most of the command structure of early American militias was directly borrowed from the English practice, certain changes occurred in the colonial militias that made their command structure different from that of the mother country. Retaining vivid memories of abuse suffered at the hands of militia units under command of powerful lord lieutenants in Stuart England, the Puritan leaders of New England sought to avoid any kind of military abuse of power in the New World. Thus, the position of lord lieutenant was never established in America, despite its prominent place in the English militia system.

To ensure civilian control of the military, most New England militias relied on the civilian nature of the militia and the popular election of militia officers. When in the 1640s militia elections caused unrest in a growing number of communities, because the candidates did not always have proper qualifications for office, the General Court of Massachusetts Bay began to question the system of military safeguards and explore other options.

Concern over the Anglo-Dutch War of 1652–1654 prompted the General Court to establish a new command structure to oversee the

militia in Massachusetts towns; they called the new groups Committees of Militia. Made up of the town magistrate and the top three military officers in the town (or the town's deputy to the General Court and three officers), the militia committee was to oversee its town's militia. This added yet another layer of civilian control over the military. One of the major duties of the committees was to suppress all raising of soldiers except those authorized by the colony's government; the General Court had doubts that elected officers could carry out such an obligation.

Over subsequent years, the Committees of Militia gained more power; most important, they were tasked with the power to impress men for active military duty. The committees became even more powerful with the demise of the election of militia officers in 1668.

During King Philip's War (1675–1676), the committees received more authority as the war escalated. By the end of the conflict, they controlled virtually all aspects of town public life. They supervised fortifications, assigned inhabitants to garrison houses, secured arms and ammunition for the town, set war taxes, controlled impressment, punished those who avoided military service, selected who could and could not evacuate towns, set watch and ward (town patrol) responsibilities, and nominated local commanders. Town selectmen had hardly any duties left to perform in their respective

towns. By the end of King Philip's War, the town Committees of Militia were second only to the governor and the General Court in importance within the military command structure of the colony.

During the Imperial Wars of the early 18th century, Committees of Militia continued to function. They persisted in impressing men for duty and overseeing town defenses. They were, however, never as vital as they had been in the days of King Philip's War. With the increasing use of British regular troops in the 18th century and the establishment of bounties and the voluntary enlistment system for provincial forces, the committees lost much of their function, and most disappeared by the 1740s or 1750s.

Kyle F. Zelner

See also

Anglo-Dutch War, First; Garrison Houses; Impressment, Army; King Philip's War; Massachusetts; Militias; Recruitment

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Woodcut depicting a gathering of colonists at Fairfield, Connecticut, in 1653. (North Wind Picture Archives)

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Connecticut

Area between New Netherland and Massachusetts, principally encompassing the fertile Connecticut River Valley. The Dutch colony of New Netherland and the two English colonies in Massachusetts contended for control of the Connecticut River Valley during 1633–1653. The contest began when Edward Winslow of Plymouth Colony explored the Connecticut River Valley in 1632. The following year, Dutch traders built Fort Good Hope, near present-day Hartford. The Massachusetts Bay Colony constructed a rival post nearby. The two posts vied for primacy with their native trading partners and directly challenged each other, without opening fire, on several occasions.

At first contact, some 5,000 Algonquian-speaking Native Americans belonging to roughly 16 tribes lived in the area that became Connecticut. The most powerful of them, the Pequots, had moved into the area during the late 1500s. The Pequots became regionally dominant, taking whatever lands they pleased. The Mohegans was the other major tribe in Connecticut. Among the minor tribes were small bands of Mahicans, Wappingers, and Nipmucks.

Between 1634 and 1636, the Puritan population of Massachusetts expanded into Connecticut, founding settlements at Windsor, Wethersfield, and Hartford. In 1636, John Winthrop Jr. and Lion Gardiner, a military engineer, supervised the construction of Fort Saybrook at the mouth of the Connecticut River adjacent to Long Island Sound. In 1637, Puritans from London founded the town of New Haven as an independent colony.

Encroaching English settlements and a series of murders led inexorably to the outbreak of war with the Pequots in 1636. The war culminated in the May 26, 1637, massacre of the principal Pequot village on the Mystic River. Captain John Mason and Captain John Underhill led a 150-man force of Connecticut and Massachusetts troops and Mohegan and Narragansett warriors in a surprise predawn attack. They set the sleeping village afire, surrounded it, and killed anyone who tried to escape. Probably more than 400 Pequot men, women, and children died in just 30 minutes. The slaughter horrified even age-old native enemies of the Pequots.

The Massachusetts government divided up the Pequots' former Connecticut land among Puritans. With Winthrop presiding, in 1639 the English towns of Connecticut agreed on a governing document, called the Fundamental Orders. Only approved male members of Puritan congregations, called "freemen," had full voting privileges. Quakers, atheists, and Jews were forbidden to take part in elections. A royal charter granted in 1662 by Charles II left the government of Connecticut virtually unchanged.

In September 1650, New Netherland and New England officials conferred at Hartford to establish a border between the two colonies. The resulting agreement gave Connecticut to the English.

Shortly thereafter, word arrived of the outbreak of the Anglo-Dutch War in Europe. The Dutch maintained their post at Fort Good Hope until a New England force ejected them in July 1653.

Sir Edmund Andros, royal governor of New York, later claimed that New York rightfully extended to the Connecticut River. With King Philip's War imminent, Andros seized the opportunity to move two shiploads of soldiers to Fort Saybrook on July 8, 1675. Connecticut's governor, however, had anticipated the expedition and fully manned the fort, forcing Andros to withdraw.

As the English coerced Metacom (King Philip), leader of the Wampanoags, to cede ever more land, he organized a confederacy to resist English expansion. By autumn 1675, the Narragansetts and the Nipmucks had joined the Wampanoags. The Mohegans and the few remaining Pequots allied with the English. The resulting conflict began beyond Connecticut's borders. Connecticut sent about 300 English and 150 Native American warriors up the Connecticut River Valley into western Massachusetts. Connecticut forces participated in the December 1675 attack on the Narragansetts in Rhode Island, the Great Swamp Fight, that cost the two sides more than 1,000 casualties. The war continued through the winter, but by June 1676 New England had triumphed. By the end of King Philip's War, the Mohegans, staunch allies of the English, were the only important tribe still living in Connecticut. Expanding English settlement reduced Mohegan territory and the tribe's population until it numbered barely 200 people by 1775.

Connecticut towns escaped damage during King William's War (1689–1697), but Connecticut contributed more than 100 militiamen and a sum of money to the defense of New York. During Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), Connecticut came to the assistance of Massachusetts in 1704, when Deerfield fell to a French–Native American assault. Connecticut also sent 300 men to participate in the 1710 capture of Port Royal, Nova Scotia. However, with peace restored, Connecticut refused to supply troops to patrol the New England–New France border.

When war with France again appeared likely, Connecticut bought cannon, built a warship, and fortified its frontier. The colony also sent several hundred militiamen to New York and Massachusetts. During King George's War (1744–1748), 500 Connecticut militiamen joined in the 1745 expedition against Louisbourg.

At the outbreak of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Connecticut sent 1,500 men to build forts on the Hudson River. Over the course of the war, Connecticut sent thousands more troops to the Hudson Valley in response to British calls for assistance. As had been the case in the previous wars, no battles took place on Connecticut soil.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Fort Good Hope (Connecticut); Fort Saybrook (Connecticut); Gardiner, Lion; Louisbourg Expedition; Mason, John; New Netherland; Pequot War; Pequots; Underhill, John; Winthrop, John

138 Converse, James

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Contractors, British Army

During the early years of the 18th century, procuring food and forage for military forces ceased to be an individualistic enterprise, and complex logistical organizations came into being. Although British Army units were under the control of the War Office and the civilian secretary at war (who held no official cabinet rank), the Treasury was responsible for supplying them.

Supplying British and colonial armies in North America was often a contentious affair. Senior British commanders all complained bitterly about the fact that politics and profits often took precedence over the efficient distribution of food and equipment. For example, during the joint British–New England expedition against Canada in 1711, British supply officials found themselves at odds with Massachusetts merchants. Indeed, a number of British commanders indicted colonial merchants for refusing to grant credit, hoarding, and attempting to drive up the cost of supplies through inflationary schemes. Sometimes colonials fought among themselves over supply contracts, as during 1755–1756 in the French and Indian War (1754–1763), when a major disagreement erupted between Massachusetts governor William Shirley and New York lieutenant governor James DeLancey over supply contractors.

Conditions during the French and Indian War dramatically increased the Treasury's supply tasks. An army campaigning in the remote wilderness with a sparse population had great difficulty securing necessary supplies. Almost everything had to be collected from distant areas and transported. The Treasury thus took up the task of contracting for provisions. Most food came from the colonies, but early in the war, food also came from Britain.

The Treasury conducted contract negotiations with London merchants who often subcontracted with colonial merchants. It was these merchants who actually collected, delivered, and stored necessary items. From company storehouses, contractors' agents issued the supplies to the army quartermasters. The only War Office official involved in this process was the commissary general. His sole function was to ensure that supply contractors fulfilled their contracts in terms of quantity, quality, and time of delivery.

An army's commanding officer often had his work cut out for him in terms of supplies. Contractors often sought to extort inflated sums for goods that would still be months in coming. Provincial contractors often failed to live up to their agreements, and when they did deliver the goods promised, they were often substandard and sometimes worthless. Food supplies contracted by the army were often found to be inedible.

Problems with suppliers and contractors were far from unique to the North American colonial theater. Judging by contemporary correspondence, many commanders seemed to think that their situation with particular contractors was unique. Major General Edward Braddock's 1755 expedition against Fort Duquesne was supplied with beef so rancid that the troops buried it. Supplies were slow in arriving, and Braddock complained that having to draw provisions from distant colonies obliged him to employ a number of assistant commissaries. None of these men would serve without exorbitant pay. Braddock was also forced to let more contracts than he believed necessary in order to guard against the failure of some of them.

When the British government took the decision in 1763 to maintain a sizable permanent military force in America, the Treasury's responsibility remained. It continued to negotiate contracts with London firms until this system collapsed with the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War in 1775, when the British had great difficulty securing supplies in America. Most British Army supplies were then shipped to America from stores at Cork.

Anna Kiefer

See also

Braddock's Campaign; Great Britain, Army; Logistics; Quartermaster General; Sutler

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Converse, James

Born: November 16, 1645

Died: July 8, 1706

Military and political leader of Maine and Massachusetts at the time of King William's War (1689–1697) and considered one of the few effective military officers of the era. James Converse was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, on November 16, 1645. In the early years of King William's War, he served as a captain in the Massachusetts Militia on the Maine frontier.

Converse was second-in-command to Major Benjamin Church during the latter's raid through Maine in September 1690. Church

left Converse in charge of a detachment in Wells, Maine. There he helped repulse an attack by 200 Norridgewock Abenakis on the "garrison" (palisaded blockhouse home) of Joseph Storer in Wells in June 1691.

In November 1691, a group of Abenaki chiefs met with Converse at the mouth of the Kennebec River. Among them was an especially hostile chief named Moxus. Nevertheless, an uneasy peace agreement was reached. The Abenakis returned at least 10 captives and promised to bring those remaining to Wells by May 1, 1692. The truce, however, was short lived, and in February 1692, the Abenakis raided York, Maine, killing 48 people and taking another 73 captives.

In the summer of 1692, Converse was in command of 15 provincial troops and a comparable number of refugees in Wells. On June 10, 1692, a score of Canadians, led by Lieutenant René Robineau de Portneuf, and 400 Abenakis, led by Moxus, launched another attack on the Storer garrison. Also with them was Jean-Vincent d'Abbadie de Saint-Castin, a French baron, former army officer, and future chief of the Penobscot Abenakis. Converse held out through a 48-hour siege, albeit not a highly determined one. The enemy sought unsuccessfully to taunt Converse into emerging into the open but finally withdrew after butchering cattle, burning the church and some homes, attempting to burn two sloops in the river, and torturing a captured villager to death.

With this strong defensive action, Converse was credited with saving the Maine frontier from collapse. He was subsequently promoted to major and placed in charge of all Massachusetts forces on the northern frontier. In 1693, he ranged across the Maine frontier with 250 newly levied troops (as far north as modern-day Waterville) and also built a stone fort on the west side of Saco Bay. The Native Americans moved farther inland to avoid contact, and Maine was spared from major conflict that year. In 1698 Converse was appointed as one of three commissioners assigned to broker a peace with the eastern Native Americans at Casco Bay. The treaty was signed on January 7, 1699.

In addition to his military duties, Converse also represented Woburn in the Massachusetts assembly (1695–1699, 1701–1705) and eventually served as speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives (1699, 1702, 1703). In 1702, during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), the Massachusetts governor named Converse commander of all field forces. After being elected to the assembly for yet another term in 1706, Converse died suddenly in Woburn, Massachusetts, on July 8, 1706.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Abenakis; Casco Bay; Church, Benjamin; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Maine; Wells (Maine)

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Coode's Rebellion

Event Date: July 1689

Protestant uprising in Maryland that began with the news of William of Orange's ascension to the throne of England during the Glorious Revolution. The rebellion resulted in the displacement of Maryland's proprietary family, the Calverts, as the ruling authority in the colony until 1715. The rebellion took its name from John Coode, one of its principal leaders. Coode was born in Cornwall, England, in 1648. After attending Oxford University and becoming an Anglican priest, he migrated to Maryland in 1672, relatively poor. He and his wife, a wealthy resident of St. Mary's County, moved to Charles County, where Coode developed a reputation for political agitation.

The Calverts first perceived Coode and his associate, former governor Josiah Fendall, as threats to their authority in 1681 when they both spoke out against the Calverts' control of the Maryland government. Charles Calvert invoked memories of Bacon's Rebellion (1676–1677) in neighboring Virginia in describing both Coode and Fendall. There was no substantial connection between the Virginia rebellion and the Maryland unrest other than the fact that agitators in both colonies challenged the authority and legitimacy of their respective governments. In fact, during Bacon's Rebellion, the Maryland government ironically appointed Coode to patrol the Potomac River to prevent the spread of violence into Maryland.

Although little came out of the 1681 confrontation between Coode and Fendall and the colonial government, a clear division began emerging in the early 1680s. The Catholic Calverts controlled much of the land in the colony and influenced the government by choosing governors and surrounding them with other Catholics in high office. At the same time, however, a growing number of Protestants in the colony's legislative assembly wanted to diminish the power of the Calverts and Catholics in general.

When word reached Maryland in 1689 that England had a new Protestant monarch, anti-Catholic forces in Charles County began to muster under the command of Coode. They called their organization the Protestant Association and demanded limitations on Catholic office holders and the end of Calvert control. Coode proclaimed that the most pressing concern involved raising a militia to prevent Catholics from inciting rebellion among Native Americans. This baseless fear had often been brought as a charge against the Calvert family in the past.

In late July 1689, Coode and other Association leaders drafted a declaration outlining their grievances against the Maryland government and proclaiming their allegiance to the new king and queen of England. The declaration clearly demonstrated their determination to assert the authority of Protestants in Maryland. By the time they descended on Maryland's capital at St. Mary's City on July 27, 1689, Coode's forces had grown substantially. William Digges, a member of the Calvert family, surrendered the capital when 80 to 100 pro-Calvert defenders refused to offer any resistance.



American writer James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851), who captured the popular imagination with stories rooted in America's own history that lauded the frontier experience and Native American culture. (National Archives)

Several days later the last force of about 160 pro-Calvert militiamen surrendered to approximately 700 rebels, marking the end of this bloodless seizure of power. The pro-Calvert men were allowed to return home and were ensured of their rights as citizens of Maryland.

The Associators next began the process of establishing a new government. They first solidified their control of the colony by removing from office any remaining Calvert loyalists, including justices, militia officers, and all minor office holders. Their other primary concern involved gaining recognition for their government from the new English monarchy. To secure royal acceptance, the Associators formed their own convention with delegates from all but one of Maryland's counties. In the Associators' Convention, delegates outlined a plan to keep the county-level positions in operation and they formally asked for royal guidance on the government of Maryland.

In early February 1690, royal authorities directed the Associators to maintain their control of the colony. This order came after Lord Calvert offered a compromise plan in late 1689 to appoint only Protestants to government posts in Maryland. Officials in London named Lionel Copley acting governor of Maryland in May 1690. When Copley arrived in 1692, he began a period of royal control over the colony that lasted until 1715, when the Calvert family regained direct authority over the colony after converting to Anglicanism.

See also

Bacon's Rebellion; Glorious Revolution in America; Maryland

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Cooper, James Fenimore

Born: September 15, 1789 Died: September 14, 1851

American novelist who treated the colonial experience in many of his novels and glorified Native Americans. The first American to support himself completely by writing novels, Cooper helped to create a unique American literature, capturing the influences of nature and the frontier experience in his stories. Although he believed it was the duty of the United States to expand across the continent, Cooper also decried the destruction of the wilderness and the Native Americans, whom he viewed as noble.

Born on September 15, 1789, in Burlington, New Jersey, Cooper was the son of a land agent and developer. William Cooper moved his family in 1790 to Cooperstown, then a village in upstate New York on the edge of the wilderness. There his son played in the forest and dreamed of earlier days.

Cooper was raised as a Federalist gentleman, to support the Republic and protect it from the vagaries of the mob. Not a good student, he was often in trouble. Cooper studied at Yale during 1803–1805 but was expelled for blowing up another student's door. His father arranged for him to go to sea, preparatory to entering the U.S. Navy. The experience gave Cooper a love of the sea as a place of freedom and adventure. Appointed a midshipman in January 1808, Cooper was assigned to the U.S. Navy warship *Wasp* as a recruiting officer. When his father died in 1809, Cooper inherited \$50,000 and resigned his commission in May 1811. By 1820, Cooper had gone through his inheritance and faced financial ruin. In desperation, he turned to writing as a career.

Cooper's first novels were published anonymously. His first, *Precaution*, about English manners, appeared in 1820 and was a failure. His second, *The Spy* (1821), was a patriotic historical treatment of the American Revolutionary War. It was one of the first novels written by an American with an American setting and characters. *The Spy* was hugely popular. His next novel, *The Pioneers* (1823), was autobiographical and dealt with the founding of Cooperstown. A prevalent theme in the novel was the conflict between taming the wilderness and preserving it. In this novel, Cooper intro-

duced his most memorable character, Natty Bumpo, an aged hunter. He became the symbol of the American frontiersman. The character was based on Daniel Boone and other scouts and explorers. Natty Bumpo appeared in four other Cooper novels, including *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), Cooper's most famous work. Known as the Leatherstocking Tales, the five novels are *The Pioneers* (1823), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), *The Prairie* (1827), *The Pathfinder* (1840), and *The Deerslayer* (1841).

Cooper's works were widely read by both Americans and Europeans. His descriptions of the frontier and its effect on the American character were highly influential. His depiction of American expansion as inevitable and correct conformed with the manifest destiny philosophy accepted by many Americans of his day.

During the 1830s, Cooper's popularity declined. His elitist approach alienated many. Cooper disliked the "tyranny" of popular democracy and favored a republic controlled by the elite. Cooper's later writings were often permeated with polemics against the vulgar crowd. He also became known for his many libel suits against publishers critical of his ideas and writings.

Cooper supported the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), seeing it as part of the mission of the United States to spread liberty around the world. He thought the Mexican people would benefit by fair and honest rule in the U.S. model. He wrote one novel set in the war, *Jack Tier; Or the Florida Reefs* (1848). One of the most important themes of the novel was that of a benevolent U.S. government rescuing Mexico from ambitious and dishonest rulers. Among his 52 books is the first scholarly study of the early U.S. Navy, *History of the Navy of the United States of America* (1839). Cooper's health declined in the spring of 1851, and he died at Cooperstown on September 14, 1851.

TIM WATTS

See also

Mahican

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Córdova, Francisco Hernández de

Born: Unknown Died: 1518

Spanish explorer and slave trader. There is no known birth date or place for Francisco Hernández de Córdova (also spelled Francisco Fernández de Córdoba), and his early years remain an enigma. Córdova was the first Spaniard to explore Mexico's Yucatan Peninsula

in 1517. On February 8, 1517, Córdova and 110 men left Cuba in three ships bought on credit from the governor of Cuba, Diego Velásquez. Although the initial goal of the expedition was to procure slaves on the small islands off the coast of Honduras, storms drove Córdova off course. His expedition landed on an unknown coastline in March 1517. Córdova inquired of the native peoples (in Spanish) where he was. They replied (in their own language) "Tectetan," which meant "I do not understand you." Henceforth, the Spaniards called the region "Yucatan."

Although a few shipwrecked Spanish sailors had found refuge on the Yucatan Peninsula prior to Córdova's arrival, Córdova was the first European to explore the region. He initially landed on the northeastern end of the peninsula and continued northwest. Almost immediately, he realized that the Native Americans he encountered on the peninsula, the Maya, had a civilization far more advanced than any of the other native civilizations that the Spaniards had encountered in the Caribbean. In his report to Velásquez, Córdova noted that the Maya constructed buildings made of limestone, had sophisticated agricultural techniques, and wore fine cotton clothing and gold jewelry. The Mayan people, however, greeted Córdova's expedition with great hostility. Over the course of their journey, more than half of the expeditionary force was killed, and the remainder of the soldiers, including Córdova, were wounded.

After several months of exploration, Córdova returned to Cuba and presented his report to the governor. He died there in early 1518 of the wounds he had received at the hands of the Maya. Velásquez was absolutely convinced of the importance of Córdova's discovery, however. Indeed, Córdova's expedition opened the door for Juan de Grijalva's expedition to the Yucatan Peninsula in 1518 and, most important, Hernán Cortés's lucrative foray into Mexico in 1519.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Spain

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Cornstalk

Born: ca. 1720

Died: November 10, 1777

Shawnee leader who lobbied for good relations with English colonists. Cornstalk was born in Pennsylvania around 1720. Like many other warriors who were unhappy with the British crown after 1763, Cornstalk led raids against Virginia's frontier settlements. After Pontiac's defeat at Bushy Run (1763), however, Cornstalk recognized the folly

of armed rebellion. He would spend the rest of his life working to forge a peaceful accommodation with the westward-moving English.

Cornstalk's diplomatic measures were tested in 1774 when Gov. Lord Dunmore of Virginia dispatched soldiers to the Ohio Valley following a series of frontier murders and revenge raids. By October 1774, some 1,100 soldiers had invaded Shawnee territory. Although Cornstalk counseled peace, the Shawnees voted to attack the invaders. Cornstalk subsequently led Shawnee, Mingo, Delaware, Wyandot, and Ottawa warriors against the unsuspecting Virginia camp at Point Pleasant on October 10, 1774. Following a humiliating defeat, Cornstalk led a Shawnee delegation to Camp Charlotte and accepted Lord Dunmore's peace terms.

Cornstalk honored the treaty provisions and encouraged other natives to embrace the strategy of peaceful neutrality during the American Revolutionary War. In 1777 the Shawnee leader visited Fort Randolph to inform the Americans that the Shawnees, including his own band, would ally with the British. Cornstalk, along with Red Hawk, a young Delaware chief, and his son Ellinipisco, were then detained. When a young soldier was killed and scalped while hunting for deer, an angry mob of John Hall's Rockbridge volunteers murdered Cornstalk and his two companions on November 10, 1777.

Jon L. Brudvig

See also

Bushy Run, Battle of; Lord Dunmore's War; Pontiac's Rebellion; Shawnees

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Cornwallis, Edward

Born: February 22, 1713 Died: January 14, 1776

British Army officer, founder of Halifax, and governor of Nova Scotia (1749–1751) and Gibraltar (1762–1765). Edward Cornwallis, son of Charles, Fourth Baron Cornwallis, and Lady Charlotte Butler, was born in London on February 22, 1713. Following his education at Eton, he secured a commission as ensign in the British Army in 1730.

His prominent family's influence enabled Cornwallis to rise quickly through the ranks, and by 1742 he held the rank of major. The following year he was elected to the House of Commons. In 1744, Cornwallis joined his regiment in Flanders and won promotion to lieutenant colonel, although the regiment was ordered back to Britain to help quell the Jacobite uprising in 1745. Cornwallis

fought at Chester and Culloden, and King George II recognized his service with an appointment as groom of the bedchamber in 1747.

In 1748, Lord Halifax and the Board of Trade decided to strengthen the British hold on Nova Scotia by establishing a settlement on the east coast. Selected to command the expedition, Cornwallis received the appointment as governor of the province, along with a promotion to colonel. He then resigned from Parliament and arrived in Nova Scotia in 1749, the head of more than 2,500 settlers. Cornwallis founded the town of Halifax on Chebucto Bay, which could serve as a base for the Royal Navy.

The situation of the Nova Scotia settlement was precarious, with the potentially hostile Acadians on the western side of the peninsula, and the Micmac natives located in the province's interior. Cornwallis fortified Halifax against attack by land, established a second settlement across the bay, and requested troops to strengthen his position. Although the Acadians remained peaceful, the Micmacs resented the British intrusion and launched a harassing war, killing many settlers who ventured outside the palisades and preventing the British from expanding the settlement. Cornwallis failed to defeat the Micmacs, and the Board of Trade blamed him for the continuing hostilities as well as the heavy expenses involved in maintaining the settlement. In 1751, citing poor health, Cornwallis resigned as governor and returned to England.

Reelected to Parliament in 1752, Cornwallis strengthened his political connections the following year by his marriage to Mary Townshend, daughter of the Second Viscount Townshend. Cornwallis served—without distinction—in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), but his connections enabled him to rise to lieutenant general and governor of Gibraltar in 1762. However, illness forced him to leave Gibraltar in 1765, and he remained in poor health until his death in England, probably at his home in Essington, Hertfordshire, on January 14, 1776.

JIM PIECUCH

See also

Acadia; Halifax (Nova Scotia); Micmacs

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Coronado, Francisco Vásquez de

Born: 1510

Died: September 22, 1554

Spanish explorer and provincial governor. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado was born in Salamanca, Spain, in 1510 to noble parentage. In 1535 he moved to Mexico in the company of Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, seeking fame and fortune. Coronado served in



Illustration depicting Spanish explorer Francisco Vásquez de Coronado during his futile 1540–1542 search for the legendary Seven Cities of Cibola. (Library of Congress)

various political offices and ultimately rose to become the governor of the province of Nueva Galicia in Western Mexico.

The Spaniards had long heard tales of cities of gold located in the northern interior of the continent, and legend had it that the famed "Seven Cities of Cibola" existed in the uncharted wilds of North America. Allegedly, these cities held riches that surpassed even those of the Aztec and Incan Empires. Two "eyewitness" accounts held particular influence over the Spaniards' lust for riches. One account was that of Álvar Núñez Cabez de Vaca, who traveled throughout Texas and told of seeing precious metals in the mountains of northwestern Mexico. However, the most tempting account of riches came from Friar Marcos de Niza, who discovered "seven cities of gold," the smallest being larger and richer than Mexico City.

On hearing these stories, Mendoza appointed Coronado commander of an expedition charged with finding the Seven Cities of Cibola. The expedition left the Culiacan on April 22, 1540, and consisted of 300 Spanish soldiers and a large contingent of Native American allies. The caravan moved north, reaching the Zuni village of Hawikuh, supposedly one of the Seven Cities in present-day Arizona. The Spanish laid siege to the village and captured it on July

7, 1540. However, the settlement was not a city of gold, but rather a small, native community. The other alleged cities turned out to be simple villages as well.

Undeterred, Coronado led his men east on an arduous trek through New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and into Kansas in search of the golden city of Quivera. Coronado found nothing more than a settlement of seminomadic Native Americans. Failure though it was, Coronado's expedition extended Spanish influence into much of today's southwestern United States. Coronado was also the first Spaniard to make contact with many unknown Native American tribes, establishing a pattern of hostility and distrust for centuries to come.

Coronado returned to Mexico City in July 1542, where he faced an inquiry for the mistreatment of natives he encountered. Found guilty several years later, he was removed from office. Coronado died on September 22, 1554, in Mexico City.

RICK DYSON

See also Pueblos; Spain

144 Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville, Joseph

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Coulon de Villiers, Louis

Born: August 10, 1710 Died: November 2, 1757

French colonial regular army officer. Louis Coulon de Villiers was born on August 10, 1710, at Verchères, Quebec, the son of Nicolas-Antoine Coulon de Villiers and Angélique Jarret de Verchères. He began his military career as a cadet in the French colonial regulars and served in France's western holdings located in present-day Michigan, Wisconsin, and Indiana. In 1753, he returned to Montreal after his service in the hinterlands and in 1754 received command of 600 Canadians and more than 100 Native American warriors to reinforce Fort Duquesne. On his arrival on June 26, he learned that a scouting party led by his brother, Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville, had been attacked by Virginia provincial troops under the command of Colonel George Washington and their native allies, led by Tanaghrisson (Half-King). Thirteen French soldiers, including Jumonville, were killed, 1 was wounded, and 1 escaped; the remaining soldiers were taken prisoner. Louis Coulon de Villiers then requested the command of the force of 600 French regulars, Canadian militiamen, and 100 native allies that had been mustered to drive the British out of the territory claimed by France.

Villiers encountered Washington's forces at Fort Necessity on July 3, 1754. After dispersing his men among the wooded hillsides surrounding the fort, Villiers ordered the attack at around 11:00 a.m. The French rained bullets down into the English positions; they themselves were largely sheltered from retaliatory fire. It had begun raining heavily early that morning, and the rain caused firing mechanisms to become useless. By midafternoon, few if any English muskets could be fired. By dark, a third of the men in the fort were either dead or wounded.

At 8:00 p.m., Villiers invited the English to negotiate; Washington sent Jacob Van Braam to treat with the French. Villiers offered the English the chance to withdraw from the battlefield. He explained that he was there to avenge the death of his brother and his men, which he had done. Villiers would allow the English to withdraw from the field with their personal possessions, arms, and colors if they agreed to sign articles of capitulation, withdraw from the Ohio Country (and promise not to return for a year), to repatri-

ate the prisoners they had taken, and to leave two officers as hostages at Fort Duquesne as a guarantee of compliance with the terms of surrender.

Van Braam returned to Washington bearing the articles of capitulation. Either he did not understand, or did not say, that the document he carried placed responsibility on Washington for the "assassination" of Jumonville. Neither he, nor anyone else within the confines of the fort, realized the gravity of the articles and the repercussions of Washington's signature.

Villiers and his men returned to Fort Duquesne after destroying Fort Necessity and the remnants of English occupation in the Ohio Country. They were welcomed into Duquesne as heroes. Ange Duquesne de Menneville, Marquis de Duquesne and governorgeneral of Canada, praised Coulon's valor and restraint in sparing the lives of the English.

The following year, 1755, Villiers gained further renown in western Pennsylvania. He also distinguished himself in the capture of Fort Granville and Fort Oswego. Villiers was awarded the Cross of Saint Louis just days before his death from smallpox on November 2, 1757, at Montreal.

Anna Kiefer

See also

Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville, Joseph; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Granville (Pennsylvania); Fort Necessity (Pennsylvania), and Battle of; Fort Oswego (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Tanaghrisson (Half-King); Washington, George

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Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville, Joseph

Born: September 8, 1718 Died: May 28, 1754

French colonial regular army officer. Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville was born on September 8, 1718, at Verchères, France, the son of Nicolas-Antoine Coulon de Villiers and Angélique Jarret de Verchères. He was one of six brothers, all officers in the French colonial regular troops. Jumonville became an ensign and had a relatively undistinguished career until May 28, 1754. In 1733, he was first stationed at Baie-des-Puants (present-day Green Bay, Wisconsin) and later served on the Acadian frontier. In 1753, the French began constructing a chain of forts south of Lake Erie to the Ohio River to gain military control of the area. Jumonville was subsequently stationed at Fort Duquesne, constructed to defend the Forks of the Ohio.

In the spring of 1754, Virginia provincial troops under the command of Lieutenant Colonel George Washington and Native American allies under Tanaghrisson (Half-King) were sent to Ohio to survey the situation. The commander of Fort Duquesne, Claude-Pierre Pécaudy de Contrecoeur, was under orders to avoid hostilities with the British but to defend his position if attacked. On May 23, Contrecoeur dispatched Jumonville and a force of 35 men to see if the Virginia troops were on French territory. If this were the case, Jumonville was to notify the fort, then deliver a formal summons to Washington asking him to withdraw. Jumonville considered his small force an embassy sent to gather reliable intelligence.

Washington learned four days later that a small party of French had been scouting his location. His men were encamped at Great Meadows, a marshy clearing tucked neatly in between Laurel Ridge and Chestnut Ridge. Because of its strategic location halfway between Wills Creek and Red Stone Fort, its constantly running stream, and its abundant grasses to feed the expedition's livestock, Washington planned on building a fortification at this site. The Virginians were entrenching and preparing to build a stockade the morning of May 27. Christopher Gist, Washington's guide, informed the colonel that a party of French troops appeared to be proceeding toward Great Meadows.

Washington dispatched 75 men under Captain Peter Hogg to intercept the French but became concerned when he learned that the French were encamped just beyond Laurel Ridge, about seven miles northwest of his position, and in the opposite direction from which he sent Hogg. At dawn on May 28, 1754, Washington's force surrounded the French camp. There are varying accounts of the ensuing battle, though the most accurate appears to be the secondhand account given by a Private John Shaw. Shaw claims that the French fired first and the English returned fire. During a brief pause in the fighting, Jumonville supposedly tried to deliver his message from Contrecoeur but was shot and wounded before he was able to do so. What angered the French most was the murder of Jumonville by Tanaghrisson after he was wounded and the apparent massacre of the remaining French troops after the cease-fire. Thirteen Frenchmen were killed, 1 was wounded, 1 escaped, and the rest were taken prisoner. Jumonville died on May 28, 1754, near present-day Jumonville, Pennsylvania. The shots fired in the small glen in western Pennsylvania proved to be the opening volleys of the French and Indian War (1754-1763).

Anna Kiefer

See also

Coulon de Villiers, Louis; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Necessity (Pennsylvania), and Battle of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Gist, Christopher; Pécaudy de Contrecoeur, Claude-Pierre; Tanaghrisson (Half-King); Washington, George

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Council of the Indies

The supreme governing body of Spain's colonies in the Americas during 1524-1834. Established by King Carlos V, the Council of the Indies (Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias, Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies) functioned as a legislative, judicial, and administrative body. It was responsible for preparing and issuing legislation governing the colonies, approving all activities performed by colonial officials, controlling trade between Spain and the New World, supervising conversions by the Catholic Church of native peoples, directing military affairs in the Indies, and administering justice in the Americas. Normally, there were between 6 to 10 council members, all of whom were appointed by the king. The council was responsible for producing massive amounts of legislation, which were codified in the Laws of the Indies in 1680. A powerful and effective institution that suffered from inflexibility, the council declined in importance during the 18th century with the advent of the Bourbon Reforms.

The Council of the Indies supervised the Casa de la Contrataci (House of Trade), an institution established in 1503 to regulate all commerce between the colonies and Spain. The House of Trade organized the biannual *flotas* (treasure fleets) that sustained the Spanish economy. The council was also the court of last resort for all civil cases appealed from the colonial courts and was in charge of appointing government officials to oversee the colonies.

The viceroy, the most important political position in the New World, was directly accountable to the Council of the Indies. To monitor the viceroys, the council instituted the *residencia* (judicial inquiry), which was performed at the end of a colonial government official's term in office. A judge was sent to the Americas to hear testimony regarding the official's performance. Another method of control was the *visita* (secret investigation), a surprise visit that could occur at any time during an official term.

Although Spain had the most elaborate and well functioning of all the European colonial administrations in the New World, there were weaknesses in the system. The Council of the Indies ruled from a great distance, which invariably caused problems. Notwithstanding elaborate safeguards, it was difficult to guarantee that the officials sent by the council would not be corrupt. In addition, most council members were *peninsulares* (Spaniards born in Spain) who had little firsthand knowledge of the Americas. Regardless, the council was able to preside over a vast territorial empire for three centuries. In fact, it became the administrative model for European colonial offices throughout the 19th century.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also Spain

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Coureurs de Bois

French term, meaning "woods runners." As French traders to Native Americans, coureurs de bois and voyageurs (voyagers) created and cemented an alliance system primarily among Great Lakes and upper Mississippi River Native American tribes for the French government in North America. They also directly and indirectly carried out French imperial policy throughout the colonial period. Voyageurs were traders officially licensed by the French government to trade with Native Americans, and coureurs de bois were the unlicensed brethren of the voyageurs. Both participated in the trade of furs, mostly deer and beaver skins, caught by Native Americans and traded primarily for alcohol, guns, cloth, an assortment of metal utensils, and various trinkets and body paint.

Both *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois* tended to adopt native culture and many married tribal women with important family connections to strengthen their trading position. Because *coureurs de bois* were not licensed by the government, they usually did not abide by limitations and bans on trading alcohol with Native Americans, and often traded with the colonial rivals of the French in North America, the British and Spanish. As a result of these types of activities, *coureurs de bois* undermined French policy as much as they promoted it, and often created problems with native people and British and Spanish colonists that French officials had to resolve.

However, in times of warfare such as the French and Indian War, *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois* proved invaluable to the badly outnumbered French in North America. The bulk of the fighting for the French was done by native allies, and most of the time, *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois* joined with and led these native allies on raids against the British. In wartime, both groups proved invaluable in motivating and organizing French-native attacks on the British colonies in North America.

DIXIE RAY HAGGARD

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Indian Presents; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; New France; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns

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Covenant Chain

A system of treaties, alliances, and councils between the five nations of the Iroquois Confederation (the Senecas, the Cayugas, the Onondagas, the Oneidas, and the Mohawks) and the English North American colonies. After 1720, the confederation expanded to include six nations with the addition of the Tuscaroras.

The first recorded agreement of the Covenant Chain was that negotiated with New York's Gov. Edmund Andros in 1677. A visible emblem of the chain appeared in 1692, with a treaty recorded on the *Guswenta*, a four-foot-long, two-row wampum belt. One row of it symbolized the Iroquois and the other the settlers, representing an arrangement that was equal as brothers rather than dominant/subordinate as father to son. A three-link silver chain was made to make the metaphor tangible.

In place between the late 17th century and the 1760s, the Covenant Chain dealt with issues of settlement, trade, and the episodic violence between the colonials and the Iroquois Nations. The Iroquois spoke for the tribes they had subordinated in battle, creating a greater illusion of unity in Native American councils than actually existed, given that the Iroquois government included not only the 50 hereditary chiefs but also a multitude of village leaders. The treaties that comprised the chain were renewed regularly. Generally, the renewals entailed the "polishing" of the wampum belt's silver chain, and the provisioning of aid to the Iroquois Confederation.

Because most of the negotiations occurred in New York's Mohawk Valley, that colony served as the principal colonial negotiator. Over time, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Maryland joined the chain as well. In 1720, the Tuscaroras, scattered from their home in North Carolina after the Tuscarora War (1711–1713), also joined the Covenant Chain.

In June 1753, the Mohawks announced that colonial seizure of Iroquois lands had broken the chain. In July 1754, leaders from seven colonies met with Iroquois leaders at Albany to restore the chain, now fearful of French efforts to expand into the Ohio Valley. The meeting dealt principally with English-native land disputes and the growing tensions with France. The Albany Conference also introduced the Iroquois condolence ceremony, which remained part of the native negotiating process for years to come. The Iroquois Confederation remained neutral during the early years of the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

In 1760, the Seven Nations (or Seven Fires) of Canada decided to abandon the French side in the war. They promptly joined the Covenant Chain after a meeting with British major general Jeffery Amherst and Indian Superintendent Sir William Johnson. In the fall of 1768, a meeting at New York's Fort Stanwix polished the tarnished chain and set the boundaries for hunting grounds as promised in the Royal Proclamation of 1763. During the American Revolutionary War, four of the six Iroquois Nations fought alongside the British. Clearly, however, after 1763 the tenor of the Covenant Chain had changed. The withdrawal of the French from North America had more to do with this than any other single development.

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See also

Albany Conference; Decanisora; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Johnson, Sir William; Proclamation of 1763

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Craven, Charles

Born: 1682

Died: December 26, 1754

Proprietary governor of South Carolina (1712–1716). Born in London in 1682 to a family with Royalist sympathies, Charles Craven was the brother of Lord William Craven, one of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina. After attending Trinity College, Oxford, in 1708 Charles was sent to Carolina by his brother to act as secretary of the colony. In 1712, he was selected as governor of South Carolina.

In his new position Craven immediately addressed the need to improve South Carolina's defenses. Many of the Native Americans in the region were known to be restive and in communication with the Spanish in Florida. Craven worked to improve relations with the local Native Americans and sought to aid English traders in preempting the French in trading with the Native Americans. Through his tenure as governor, Craven generally enjoyed harmonious relations with the South Carolina representative assembly.

Although Craven achieved much as governor, he is chiefly remembered for his actions during what became known as the Yamasee War (1715–1717). Craven sent a party headed by Indian Agent Thomas Nairne to treat with the Yamasees in an effort to right past wrongs and establish harmonious relations, but on its approach, the Yamasees attacked the party and killed all but one

member of it. With the beginning of the Yamasee War in a series of coordinated Native American attacks on April 15, 1715, Craven took quick and decisive action. He proclaimed martial law and called up the militia, dispatching them to strong points within the colony. To keep frightened settlers from abandoning the colony, Craven forbade departures. Craven also appealed to the leaders of the other colonies for assistance. Only Massachusetts responded positively, sending some arms but no troops.

The Yamasee War was one of the most destructive of Native American–colonial conflicts, and the native threat was sufficiently severe for Craven to order the arming of a number of slaves to assist in the defense of the colony. Craven personally led a force of some 250 men against Yamasee Town, but the expeditionary force was caught by surprise in a Native American attack along the Combahee River some 16 miles from Yamasee Town. Craven rallied his men, and the colonist beat back the attack, killing a number of Native Americans while losing only a single one of their own.

Craven also successfully treated with the Cherokees, keeping them neutral. Had the Cherokees joined the Yamasees in the fighting, a colonial defeat would have been certain. As it was, Craven only narrowly averted defeat. By early 1716, South Carolina was secure and the Yamasees had fled to Florida.

Much of South Carolina had been devastated in the fighting and with the conclusion of the war, Craven concentrated on rebuilding the colony. He also took measures to put an end to the trading abuses that had brought on the hostilities, creating a trading monopoly to oversee the Indian trade under the supervision of the South Carolina government.

Among Craven's other accomplishments as governor of South Carolina were ordering soundings of the Port Royal River in order to improve navigation, and establishment of the town of Beaufort. In 1716, Craven traveled to London to lobby to have South Carolina made a royal colony to better provide for its future defense. In 1719, he was among the three proprietors who still owned an interest in the colony. Craven's involvement with South Carolina affairs ended with an uprising in Charles Town (present-day Charleston) in 1719. When word was received at that place of the approach of a Spanish Fleet, the citizens mounted a bloodless revolt against the proprietary government and insisted that the Crown assume control. London considered South Carolina too important strategically, and so the government bought out the proprietors and appointed an interim governor. Craven remained in London. He died in Berkshire on December 26, 1754.

JAMES R. McIntyre and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

South Carolina; Yamasee War

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Creek-Cherokee Wars

Start Date: 1716 End Date: April 1754

The Creek Nation and the Cherokee Nation fought several wars in the Southeast. These conflicts sprang from disputes over hunting grounds, from frustrations over Carolina English settlers' designs on their lands, and from alliances forged with other native tribes. The fighting occurred in two phases: one from 1716 to 1727 and the other from 1740 to 1754. The Creeks and Cherokees were two of the most populous Native American nations in the Southeast and any conflict involving them was bound to affect English settlers in the Carolinas and Georgia.

Hostilities between the Creeks and Cherokees began in 1716 during the Yamasee War. The fighting started when the Cherokees assassinated Creek diplomats sent to the Lower Cherokee towns to secure support for an assault on English Carolina. During the war, Cherokee warriors, assisted by Carolina settlers, repeatedly raided Abeika (Upper Creek) towns. The settlers, made aware of the precariousness of their southern frontier during the Yamasee War, aided the Cherokees in the expectation that internative warfare would weaken both nations and prevent them from attacking English settlements. The situation was further complicated by warfare between the Creeks and the pro-French Choctaws.

Attempts of officials in Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) to influence the Creek-Cherokee War to English advantage were not successful. As the fighting on the frontier escalated, Carolinians increasingly feared for their safety. In 1725, the English sent Tobias Fitch as agent to the Creeks with the mission of securing an end to the war. Despite this and other English efforts, the Creeks and Cherokees continued fighting.

In March 1726, several hundred Cherokee and Chickasaw warriors moved against the Creeks. Operating under the British flag in the false belief that they enjoyed the support of the Crown, the warriors destroyed most of the Creek village of Cussita. The attack terrified many of the English settlers, who feared that it would bring closer ties between the Spanish and the Creeks. After a small force of about 40 Creek warriors attacked and defeated some 500 Cherokee and Chickasaw warriors, officials in Charles Town renewed their push for peace. By January 1727, these officials had negotiated an end to the fighting.

Fighting between the Creeks and Cherokees resumed in 1740, shortly after onset of the War of Jenkins' Ear between Britain and Spain in 1739. The Creeks remained largely neutral during the fighting in America, whereas many Cherokees allied themselves with the British. Hostilities began when the Creeks attacked a Cherokee war

party that had entered Creek country. The Cherokee warriors, who were on their way to attack the Choctaws and their French allies, believed that an ongoing war between the Creeks and Choctaws would allow them to march safely through the Creek territory. In this they miscalculated.

Fighting between the Creeks and the Cherokees continued for several years, until 1744 and the onset of war between Britain and France (King George's War, 1744-1748). British officials then sought to secure Indian allies and end the Creek-Cherokee dispute. In 1745, despite a recently negotiated truce with the Creeks, the Cherokees allowed the Senecas and the Iroquois to use their territory as a staging ground for attacks on the Creeks. When Cherokee warriors joined the fighting, Creek-Cherokee hostilities resumed. In late 1748, Gov. James Glen of South Carolina tried to arrange another truce. The French, correctly assuming that peace between the two Native American nations would benefit the English, sought to disrupt the peace talks by arranging for Creek headman Acorn Whistler to lead an attack on the Cherokees. Despite this action, the Creeks and Cherokees came to an agreement. They settled on boundaries for their hunting grounds, and the Cherokees agreed to stop allowing northern natives passage through their lands to attack the Creeks. Glen agreed to guarantee the agreement, promising to punish transgressors.

The treaty did not hold. Although the Upper Creeks and Cherokees refrained from warfare, in 1750 several Lower Creek towns waged war on their Cherokee neighbors. This fighting was prompted primarily by frustrations caused by what the Lower Creeks saw as the Cherokee control of valuable hunting grounds and continued Cherokee assistance to the northern Indian attacks on the Creeks.

Malatchi, Creek headman of the important Coweta village, led a campaign that sought to conquer hunting grounds from the Cherokee. In April 1750, Malatchi and 500 Lower Creek warriors attacked and razed the Lower Cherokee towns of Echoi and Estatoe. The Creeks continued on the offensive, and when South Carolina restricted trade with the Cherokees for a series of frontier depredations in 1751, the Creeks escalated their campaign to acquire Cherokee lands. This effort was largely successful as all but three of the Lower Cherokee towns were destroyed and many Cherokees were made refugees. As a result of the fighting, the Creeks secured much of the disputed hunting ground between the Little River and Broad River north of present-day Savannah, Georgia.

In 1752, Acorn Whistler and other Creeks assassinated Chero-kee diplomats while they were in Charles Town. Governor Glen demanded justice, and under great pressure from English officials the Creeks finally executed Acorn Whistler. In May 1753, Creek officials traveled to Charles Town to negotiate another peace treaty with the Cherokees. Small skirmishes plagued the region for the following year, but in April 1754 at Coweta, the Creeks and Cherokees negotiated a formal end to the war and brought a lasting peace settlement.

Native American Conflicts Supported by European Intrigue

Name	Dates	Other Cause(s)
Mohawk-Mahican War	1624–1626	Securing of trade with the Dutch
Creek-Choctaw Wars	1702-1776	Longstanding conflict
Creek-Cherokee Wars	1716–1754	Land disputes and alliances with other tribes
Choctaw Civil War	1746-1750	Differences in allegience
Choctaw-Chickasaw War	1752	Longstanding conflict

See also

Cherokees; Creek-Choctaw Wars; Creeks; Georgia; South Carolina; Yamasee War

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Creek-Choctaw Wars

Start Date: 1702

End Date: October 1776

Series of pitched conflicts and low-level warfare between the Creek Nation and the Choctaw Nation. Warfare constantly plagued relations between the Creeks and the Choctaws during the colonial period. Although not always technically defined as wars, slave raids and disputes over hunting grounds periodically caused military conflicts between the two southeastern communities. According to some anthropologists, these disputes predated the region's settlement by the Spanish and British. However, they became more pronounced and frequent in the colonial period.

The Creeks and the Choctaws both emerged as distinct communities during the late 17th century, as disease and warfare destroyed the pre-Columbian chiefdoms in the American Southeast. Both nations spoke variants of the Muskogee language, employed similar horticultural practices, used comparable gender norms, and had similar cosmologies. These similarities did not, however, prevent the tensions that were fostered by their proximity to one another. The Creeks primarily lived along the rivers in what became Georgia, Florida, and Alabama. The Choctaws lived to the west in what became Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi.

At the start of the 18th century, the Creeks initiated the first Creek-Choctaw War. Encouraged by English officials and armed with English guns, bands of Creek warriors repeatedly marched on several Choctaw towns in an attempt to capture slaves. These slaves were valuable commodities in South Carolina, and this lure would shape the behavior of the Creeks for more than a decade. The British alliance with the Creeks, who obtained a reputation for their martial prowess, led the Spanish and French to forge their own alliances with various southeastern tribes. The Choctaws found allies in traders and officials from French Louisiana.

Soon the fighting between the Creeks and the Choctaws became immersed in the Franco-British rivalry. In the early years, the Creeks were the aggressors in most of the campaigns. This was especially true during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), when approximately 1,000 Creek warriors attacked the Choctaws and their French allies in 1711. The Creeks launched similar, albeit smaller, slaving campaigns in the following years.

After demand for Native American slaves declined in South Carolina after the Yamasee War (1715–1717), warfare between the Creeks and the Choctaws remained constant along the southern interior. Although tensions did not explode into large-scale warfare, disputes over trade and hunting parties caused ongoing troubles between the nations. Repeated efforts by British officials to resolve the territorial disputes failed. In the most notable attempt, in 1759 Edmund Atkin traveled to the Creek village of Tuckebatchee to delineate the boundary between the nations. The Creeks denied the existence of a boundary between their nation and the fighting over hunting grounds continued.

Following the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the nature of Creek-Choctaw warfare changed once again. With France's withdrawal from the American Southeast, Great Britain became the major player in the region. With the hope of creating a profitable and peaceful new order, Great Britain organized a regional congress in 1763 to be held at Augusta, Georgia. When the Choctaws indicated their desire to participate, some Creek warriors threatened to kill any Choctaws who traveled through the Creek country in order to attend. The Creeks, fearful that their long-term enemy would obtain guns and other supplies from the British, had hoped that France's demise would lead to the deterioration of the Choctaws' position.

Most Choctaws heeded the warning, but Red Shoe, a lesser-known chief, traveled through Chickasaw territory in order to avoid the Creeks and still reach Augusta. After he met with the British, he traveled by boat to Mobile in West Florida. The Creeks, outraged at the emerging diplomatic and economic relationship between the Choctaws and the British, tried to prevent the alliance from being sealed. In 1763, they attacked the Choctaws and reinitiated the Creek-Choctaw War. The Creeks had hoped to force the British into choosing sides rather than making peace with both nations. Rather than siding with their longtime Creek allies, as many Creek headmen anticipated, the British chose to supply both the Creeks and the Choctaws. With ample and uninterrupted supplies, the Creek-Choctaw War became a bloody campaign that preoccupied the warriors of both nations. The desire by British officials to keep the two nations as allies and to focus Creek atten-



Creek Native Americans. The Creeks occupied present-day Georgia and Alabama. (North Wind Picture Archives)

tion on the Choctaws rather than the expanding colony in Georgia led to the continuation of this policy until 1776. During this time, several leading headmen were killed, the harvest of deerskins fell precipitously, the debts of Creek hunters skyrocketed, and few diplomatic solutions were found.

The Creek-Choctaw War finally came to a close in 1776, as the ensuing American Revolutionary War led the British to demand a peace rather than continue fueling the dispute. That October, British Indian superintendent John Stuart met with headmen from both nations in Pensacola and negotiated an end to the war.

Andrew Frank

See also

Atkin, Edmond; Augusta, Congress of; Choctaws; Creeks; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Red Shoe; Stuart, John; Yamasee War

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Creeks

Multi-ethnic Native American group, also known as the Muskogees, who in the colonial period lived in the southeastern portion of North America in what is now Florida, Georgia, and Alabama. The Creeks' location between British Georgia and South Carolina, French Louisiana, and Spanish Florida allowed them to play the colonial powers off one another and protect their diplomatic concerns throughout the colonial period. The Creeks tended to pursue a policy of neutrality when it came to the wars that consumed their

European neighbors. They also vigorously protected their interests against their Choctaw and Cherokee neighbors.

Organized in the 17th century, after the disease-induced collapse of the southeastern chiefdoms that once dominated the region, the Creeks obtained their name from the English who noted that their villages were always built near inland waters. The Spanish similarly called them "Tallapoosa Indians," after one of the rivers along which they primarily lived. At its height, the Creek Confederacy included approximately 60 villages. Comprised of a diversity of ethnic and linguistic groups, the Creeks remained decentralized throughout the colonial period. Nevertheless, Muskogee became the dominant language of the confederacy. A series of ceremonies like the Green Corn Ceremony and a system of matrilineal clans unified them as a people. The Creeks were an agricultural society, with women farming corn, beans, and squash. Men hunted in order to augment their diet and provide skins for the marketplace.

An amorphous polity known as the Creek Confederacy slowly emerged, but at best the Creeks were an alliance of loosely affiliated villages. Rather than a centralized nation, Creeks primarily associated themselves with their village. During the colonial period, they typically referred to themselves as Cowetas, Abihkas, Hichitees, and Alabamas rather than as Creeks. Unbeknownst to colonial officials, many of the most prominent leaders represented only a minority interest or a single village. For example, Tomochichi, one of Georgia governor James Oglethorpe's closest allies, represented the Yamacraws, one of several conquered groups among the Creeks. The Creek spokesperson Brims, frequently called "Emperor Brims," was similarly misunderstood. Rather than a national leader in the early 17th century, Brims was simply the *mico* (head chief) of Coweta, one of the most powerful Creek villages.

Power in Creek society was primary organized around villages and matrilineal clans, and authority was extended to individuals who could convince rather than coerce others into agreement. As a result, Creek power was extremely localized and fluid, and Creek villages were largely autonomous entities. The confederacy served as an organizing principle for trade and war. It did not act as a centralized nation. Marriages, trade, and clan ties connected the villages, but individual villages were free to choose who to ally themselves with or make war against. As a result, Creek villages often divided against one another during the colonial wars. In addition, most villages often tried to remain neutral in the colonial wars, even as neighboring Creek villages went to war.

The emergence of the deerskin trade and the presence of Spanish and British neighbors shaped the diplomatic history of the Creeks. Connections and resistance to slave raiders also helped define the position of the Creeks in the region. During the Yamasee War (1715–1717), the Creeks primarily allied themselves with the French in order to counter trade abuses by the English. The Cherokees took this opportunity to secure an alliance with the British. As a result, a devastating war between the Creeks and Cherokees ensued (ca. 1716–1754).

After the Yamasee War, many Creek leaders decided that neutrality was the best policy. Most towns created trading alliances with

the English. They allowed traders to reside in their village and often marry the daughters of influential leaders. At the same time, Upper Creek villages in the west encouraged the French to build Fort Toulouse (Alabama) to bring supplies and trade goods into the region. Similarly, several Creek villages negotiated alliances with the Spanish in Florida. Despite the hopes of many European diplomats, trade connections and pledges of peace did not necessarily lead to allies during wartime. Although some Creek warriors accompanied Governor Oglethorpe in his invasion of Florida in 1743, most Creeks refrained from participating. During King George's War (1744–1748), most Creek villages remained on the sidelines even as some villages felt pulled by the British or French relationships.

Creek neutrality in terms of their European neighbors did not result in a colonial peace, however. Instead, the Creeks fought several wars with their Cherokee and Choctaw neighbors in the colonial period. The Creeks fought two wars with the Cherokees. The first took place during the Yamasee War. The other occurred in the 1740s and early 1750s. These wars resulted from conflicts over hunting grounds and as attempts to conquer each others' territory. The Creeks also fought a series of bloody wars with the Choctaws (ca. 1702–1776). The conflicts began as reciprocal slave raids and as extensions of the French-English rivalry in the region. These slave raids were often encouraged by European neighbors. In 1711, for example, the English armed more than 1,000 Creek warriors as they marched on their French-Choctaw enemy. Hostilities between the Creeks and Choctaws were the most severe after the French and Indian War (1754–1763). When the British called for a congress at Augusta to establish the postwar order, the Creeks sought to exclude their longtime Choctaw enemies. The English provided guns and ammunition to both sides in the ensuing war, and the Creeks and Choctaws remained at arms until the American Revolutionary War. Thereafter, the Creeks had to contend with the new state of Georgia, which had little regard for former treaties or Creek land rights.

Andrew K. Frank

See also

Augusta, Congress of; Brims of Coweta; Creek-Cherokee Wars; Creek-Choctaw Wars; Fort Toulouse (Alabama); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Georgia; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Tomochichi; Yamasee War

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George Croghan, an 18th-century Irish-born trader, land speculator, and diplomat. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

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Cresap, Michael

Born: June 29, 1742 Died: October 17, 1775

Frontiersman and land speculator in the upper Ohio River Valley. Born in Allegheny County, Maryland, on June 29, 1742, Michael Cresap became an important figure on the frontier in the region of the upper Ohio River Valley. He is often accused of initiating the hostilities referred to as Lord Dunmore's War, to the extent that the conflict is often referred to synonymously as "Cresap's War."

At first, Cresap attempted to make a living as a shopkeeper. Failing in this endeavor, he set out for the frontier, eventually settling near present-day Wheeling, West Virginia. In 1774, Cresap began speculating and working to promote settlement of lands in the upper Ohio region, and it is here that he earned his place in history.

The controversy involves a pair of incidents in which Cresap allegedly shot and killed several Native Americans, members of Mingo chief Logan's family. Logan blamed the attack, later known as the Yellow Creek Massacre, on Cresap and his men, though indeed they did not commit the act.

Although Cresap participated in attacks on Native Americans on April 27 and 28, 1774, neither of these actions involved Logan or his people. By the same token, the death of Logan's family and his attempts at revenge led Gov. Lord Dunmore of Virginia to initiate hostilities with the Mingos. Cresap served with Daniel Morgan during the resulting campaign.

In 1775, in response to a call for duty by the Continental Congress, Cresap raised a company of riflemen from the Ohio Valley and began leading them to Boston. He died en route in New York City on October 17, 1775.

James R. McIntyre

See also

Lord Dunmore's War; Ohio Country; Ohio River Valley

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Croghan, George

Born: ca. 1720

Died: August 31, 1782

Trader, land speculator, and diplomat. Born around 1720 in Dublin, Ireland, George Croghan received what is believed to have been only a rudimentary education. In 1741, he immigrated to Pennsylvania. Once there, he embarked on a career that included roles as a frontier diplomat, Native American trader, and speculator.

When he first arrived in North America, Croghan traded with natives in an area ranging from Western Pennsylvania as far west as the Ohio River Valley. However, this trade was cut short by the outbreak of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). During the conflict, Croghan served as a local militia commander and helped survey the route for what became the path of Major General Edward Braddock's campaign to reach the Monongahela River. According to one biographer, Croghan even assisted in carrying the wounded general from the field during the 1755 battle.

After 1754, Croghan turned from his business interests as a trader to become a full-time diplomat. In 1756, he began a term of service under Sir William Johnson as deputy superintendent for Indian Affairs for the Northern District. He continued in this post until 1772. During his tenure, Croghan took part in several notable conferences, including the Easton Conference of 1758 and the Fort Stanwix Conference. Likewise, he helped put an end to Pontiac's Rebellion (1763) by convincing a number of the western tribes to convene at a conference at Detroit.

Throughout his life in the colonies, Croghan also speculated in land in the frontier territories. By 1773, he had accumulated vast tracts in both western Pennsylvania and western New York. After this point, however, he was forced to sell off much of this property in order to meet various obligations. His contemporaries often viewed Croghan with distrust in financial matters, and this hurt him when it came to redeeming the expenses of his various diplomatic efforts, since these always included gift giving. Croghan died on August 31, 1782, in Passyunk, Pennsylvania, now a part of the city of Philadelphia.

JAMES R. McIntyre

See also

Braddock's Campaign; Easton Conference and Treaty; Fort Stanwix (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Indian Presents; Johnson, Sir William; Ohio Country; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Crown Point (New York)

Strategic site on the southwestern end of Lake Champlain, situated approximately 90 miles north of Albany, New York. Although only about three miles long and a mile wide, New York's Crown Point Peninsula dominated travel from Lake Champlain's southern narrows into the lake's broader northern section. Two forts—Frenchbuilt Fort St. Frédéric erected in the 1730s and, after 1759, Britain's Fort Crown Point—controlled this vital transportation route.

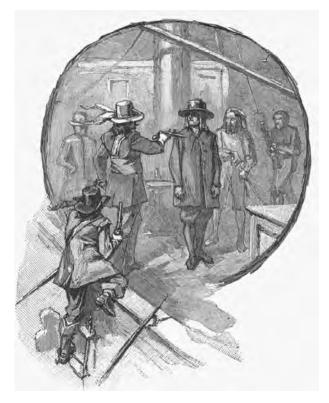
During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), British and provincial forces repeatedly attacked the French in the Champlain Valley. After stalling an English invasion at the September 1755 Battle of Lake George, the French strengthened their hold on Lake Champlain by constructing Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga). It was located 10 miles south of Crown Point at the junction of Lake George and Lake Champlain. Though Fort Carillon repulsed a British attack in 1758, the small garrison could not resist Major General Jeffery Amherst's methodical advance in July 1759. Brigadier General François-Charles de Bourlamaque chose to destroy both Fort Carillon and Fort St. Frédéric before retreating northward. Amherst paused, rebuilding Fort Carillon as Fort Ticonderoga and beginning construction of one of the largest North American forts at Crown Point. The new fort could support future operations, deter French and Native American frontier raids, and possibly serve as a bargaining chip during subsequent peace negotiations. Nearly 2,000 troops labored on the ambitious project through the fall of 1759.

Fort Amherst, soon renamed Fort Crown Point, occupied a bluff overlooking Fort St. Frédéric's ruins. Constructed of log crib earthworks nearly 30 feet high, the pentagonal fort enclosed a seven-acre

parade ground. Capable of supporting a 4,000-man garrison, the fort and its outworks mounted more than 100 guns. Amherst's men built three of four planned 10-gun redoubts a few hundred yards south and east of the fort. Three wooden blockhouses straddled the peninsula's base farther to the south.

In 1760, Crown Point served as a forward base for Brigadier General William Haviland's successful drive against Montreal. With the 1763 Treaty of Paris, Britain retained Canada, making Crown Point's future unclear. After 1760, the British garrison steadily decreased from eight understrength companies to half that number by 1764. To further cut costs and counter Stamp Act agitations, the British shifted additional forces from the Champlain Valley to New York City and Albany in 1765. That left fewer than 100 men to garrison both Crown Point and Ticonderoga.

In April 1773, disaster struck Crown Point when a chimney fire ignited wooden shingles. The blaze quickly spread from the barracks to storage buildings and, ultimately, the fort's wooden wall supports. Rather than rebuild, the garrison shifted to Fort Ticonderoga, leaving a small detachment in one of the outer redoubts. On May 11, 1775, fresh from the capture of Ticonderoga, a group of Vermont's Green Mountain Boys under Seth Warner overwhelmed Crown Point's 11 caretakers. The rebels salvaged military stores and more than 60 cannon from the ruins. Instead of defending British imperial interests, the fort thus ultimately aided the American Revolutionary War.



A 19th-century engraving depicting the arrest of George Durant aboard the schooner *Carolina* on December 2, 1677, during Culpeper's Rebellion. (The Granger Collection)

STANLEY J. ADAMIAK

See also

Fort Ticonderoga (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Lake Champlain

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Culpeper's Rebellion

Start Date: July 1677 End Date: November 1680

Bloodless popular uprising in the Albemarle Sound area of northeastern Carolina by colonists opposed to abusive proprietary rule, enforcement of the Navigation Acts, and increased taxation. During the three-year-long revolt, the provincial governor, customs collector, and several other colonial officials were for a time imprisoned. The leader of the rebellion was John Culpeper, who became chief executive of the region and summoned a popularly elected assembly that operated for two years, along with a court system. English authorities eventually regained control of the colony and tried Culpeper for treason, although he was never punished for his role in the affair.

The primary cause of the long-simmering discontent in the Albemarle settlement was enforcement of the Navigation Acts, which had previously been neglected in the economically struggling colony. These acts, dictated by London, prevented the colonists from importing goods not shipped directly from England and forbade intercolonial trade. They also stipulated that American goods be sold only to England. Furthermore, the 1673 Plantation Duty Act had imposed a penny-per-pound tax on tobacco shipped from one colony to another. This measure struck directly at northern Carolina's most profitable cash crop, which was already beginning to decline in profitability.

Thomas Miller, an Albemarle landowner and newly appointed colonial secretary, illegally took power as chief executive of the region in July 1677 in the absence of Gov. Thomas Eastchurch, who dallied in the West Indies rather than assume his post at Albemarle.

Miller's high-handed conduct and rigid collection of duties led to his imprisonment by angry residents under the direction of John Culpeper and George Durant, who also illegally took over the government. Culpeper had arrived in Albemarle Sound in 1675 from the Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) settlement with a reputation for political agitation.

The Albemarle rebels jailed Miller and customs collector Timothy Biggs and outlined their grievances in a document known as "The Remonstrance of the Inhabitants of Pasquotank [County]." They then circulated this document among the various precincts in the region, where several tax officials were also seized. Miller was kept prisoner for two years but managed to escape and return to England. Culpeper and Durant eventually decided to negotiate an amicable settlement with the Albemarle proprietors and returned to England in 1680 to present their version of events. Proprietary officials in England, fearing a royal takeover of their colony if the Crown perceived it to be in disorder, opted not to seek punishment against Culpeper and other leaders of the rebellion. In fact, they defended Culpeper at his trial in November 1680, in which he was acquitted. Meanwhile, in July 1679 a commission arrived from England to restore proprietary government, which brought at least limited stability and order to the Albemarle region.

JOHN R. MAASS

See also

North Carolina

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Cuming, Alexander

Born: December 18, 1691

Died: 1775

Scottish nobleman who traveled in the spring of 1730 to Cherokee country and concluded a trade and military alliance between the British and the Cherokees that lasted for almost three decades. Alexander Cuming was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, on December 18, 1691. At age 12, Queen Anne granted him a commission as a captain in the Earl of Mar Regiment. In 1713, Cuming received a doctor of law degree from the University of Aberdeen. He led a company against the Jacobites during the uprising of 1715, the revolt in Scotland known as "The Fifteen" (for 1715), and afterward he practiced law. From 1719, Cuming was in the employ of the Duke of Argyll.

In 1725 on the death of his father, Cuming became Baronet of Culter. Two years later he was a candidate for a position in the Shire of Aberdeen but did not win the election. Perhaps believing that he should seek another locale in which he might excel, Cuming in Sep-

D

De Brahm, William Gerard

Born: 1718 Died: 1799

German-born cartographer, military engineer in South Carolina and Georgia, and British surveyor general for the Southern District of North America, 1764–1775. William De Brahm was born in Koblenz, Germany, in 1718, and as a young man earned a captain engineer's commission in the army of Holy Roman Emperor Charles VII. De Brahm's conversion to Protestantism forced him to resign his commission in 1748 and eventually led him to emigrate to Georgia in 1751.

De Brahm's background in surveying and fortifications made him useful to the governments of the two southernmost colonies. He became surveyor general of Georgia in 1754 and of South Carolina in August 1755. His 1757 "Map of South Carolina and Part of Georgia" was the first map of southeastern North America based entirely on scientific survey rather than conjecture and verbal reports.

De Brahm likewise assisted in strengthening fortifications in the two colonies during the mid-1750s, as tensions between Britain and France mounted prior to the French and Indian War (1754–1763). His first major project was rebuilding the defenses of Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) in 1755, based on a plan he had submitted in 1752. In 1756, De Brahm journeyed to eastern Tennessee to oversee the construction of Fort Loudoun, and a year later he submitted a comprehensive plan for the defenses of Georgia. In each of these cases, De Brahm's elaborate plans required major modifications to suit colonial budgets and, as with the ill-fated Fort Loudoun, proved to be of limited effectiveness.

In the end, De Brahm was recognized most for his cartographic skills. In November 1764, the British government in London

appointed him surveyor general for the Southern District of North America. With the British having won undisputed claim to the southeast in 1763, the government dispatched De Brahm to East Florida to conduct an extensive survey of the peninsula's poorly charted coast. De Brahm spent seven years there, ending his surveys in 1771, when a political dispute with Gov. James Grant of East Florida forced him to travel to London to defend his appointment. Though he would return to America in 1775 to resume his duties, the American Revolutionary War prevented him from ever again acting as surveyor general for the Southern District. De Brahm retired to Philadelphia in the 1790s, where he changed careers and wrote a series of mystical religious and prophetic works. He died in Philadelphia in 1799.

ROBERT PAULETT

See also

Florida; Fort Loudoun (Tennessee); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Georgia; South Carolina

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Decanisora

Born: Unknown Died: ca. 1720s

Onondaga diplomat and orator. Decanisora, known as Teganissorens to the French, represented the Iroquois Confederation in

negotiations with New France and New York in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. His precise birth and death dates are unknown. In a time of declining Iroquois strength, he used diplomacy to divide New France from its allies and to balance the French and English against each other. The first recorded mention of Decanisora was in 1682. In that year, he offered assurances of peace to the French in Montreal, hoping to immobilize them, while Iroquois war parties attacked the Illinois and the Miamis, French allies in the west.

By 1693, the Iroquois had suffered heavy losses in the Beaver Wars (1641–1701), as well as in King William's War (1689–1697). Thus they began sounding out the French for peace. In 1694, Decanisora approached the English and voiced frustration with English efforts to prevent negotiations with the French when the English were unable to prevent French attacks, much less oust the French from Canada as promised. He informed them that the Iroquois would be compelled to seek unilateral peace unless additional military supplies were forthcoming. The English immediately complied. Now in a stronger position, Decanisora insisted to the French that peace talks must include the English and that the negotiations must be held in Albany (knowing that neither the French nor the English were prepared to negotiate with each other). Meanwhile, other Iroquois delegations informed the western tribes that the French were abandoning them and negotiating a separate peace with the Iroquois, which soon resulted in a separate peace between the Iroquois and the western tribes.

War between the Iroquois and the French soon resumed, but now the Iroquois were better supplied and the French were shorn of allies. It is not clear, however, to what extent this outcome was planned and to what extent it was the result of ongoing politics between pro-English and pro-French factions in the Iroquois Council.

In 1697, the French and English concluded the peace. This transformed the geopolitical situation for the Iroquois, but the New York authorities apparently neglected to inform them of such. The Iroquois learned of the treaty from the governor of New France late in 1699. Decanisora expressed particular irritation because the English continued to press the Iroquois to fight. At the same time the Iroquois were once again under attack from French-allied tribes to the west. Rumors spread among the Iroquois that the two European powers were conspiring to attack them.

At this point, the Iroquois shifted to a true neutralist position while still attempting to balance the French and English against one other. In 1701, Decanisora led a delegation that agreed to a peace treaty with New France and, at French insistence, with its Native American allies. One provision in the treaty called on the Iroquois to remain neutral during any Anglo-French conflict. The Iroquois also renewed their alliance, the so called Covenant Chain, with the English, but they held the English at arm's length, denying them permission to build a fort on Onondaga territory for another quarter-century. They maintained their neutrality in Anglo-French wars for the next half-century.

Decanisora was courted by both English and French governors, who recognized him as being highly influential within the Iroquois Confederation. In 1721, the Onondaga Council replaced him as

chief orator, possibly because of memory loss. His wife, a Christian Mohawk accused of witchcraft, was murdered in 1700 by an Onondaga, possibly a member of a rival faction.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Beaver Wars; Covenant Chain; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Iroquois Treaties of 1700 and 1701; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns

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Deerfield (Massachusetts)

Colonial settlement in western Massachusetts, along the Deerfield River, just west of the Connecticut River. Deerfield was built in a valley between the Hoosac Range to the west and the Pocumtuck Ridge to the east. The neighboring settlement of Northfield lay several miles to the north, near the present-day Vermont and New Hampshire border. Other nearby settlements to the south of Deerfield included Hadley (east of the Connecticut River), Hatfield, and Northampton (west of the Connecticut River).

The area was inhabited by the Pocumtuck tribe, which numbered several hundred people by 1600. Warfare among various regional tribes caused the Pocumtucks to disperse from the area, and in 1667, Captain John C. Pynchon of Springfield (an established settlement farther south along the Connecticut River) was able to purchase land at Pocumtuck. However, the men for whom Pynchon purchased the land quickly sold it. It was subdivided into 43 lots and laid out along a main village street that was a mile in length. Settlement began by 1671. The hamlet was highly vulnerable to attack, as there was little in the way of physical protection for the village.

In 1675, King Philip's War began between the English and the Wampanoags in eastern Massachusetts. By summer's end of that year, the conflict had spread west and was threatening Deerfield and other Connecticut River Valley settlements. In September, marauding Native Americans killed one settler there, and in another incident attacked Deerfield residents as they were going to church services. No one was killed in the latter attack, but it was not long before a second, major attack occurred. On September 18, 1675, soldiers from Hadley were escorting grain from Deerfield back to Hadley for safekeeping. They reached a stream a few miles south of Deerfield, when a Wampanoag ambush took them by surprise. A company of soldiers from Deerfield arrived on the scene too late, and dozens of soldiers and several Deerfield residents were killed. Another force of 100 men happened to be nearby and together the two companies repelled the Native Americans. The so-called Bloody

Brook Massacre left Deerfield defenseless. Its residents were so shaken that they abandoned the settlement altogether.

When King Philip's War ended in 1676, settlers slowly began to return to Deerfield, and a garrison of 20 soldiers was ordered there. However, Native Americans raided Hatfield in September 1677 and then moved north to Deerfield, where they once again decimated the village. Deerfield was again abandoned. Finally, in 1682, the village was resettled in earnest. Lots were given away free of charge so long as the settlers promised to remain for three years. Deerfield's first minister, John Williams, arrived in 1686.

Another war, this one between the English and the Abenakis, broke out in 1688. Deerfield's population had reached about 240 people by this time, and the residents, mostly farmers, did not want to give up their homes and land. In 1690, a stockade was erected at the center of town, enclosing 10 houses in a safety zone.

The War of the League of Augsburg (known as King William's War in America) between England and France during 1689–1697 overlapped with the Second Anglo-Abenaki War. Now the French had begun to ally themselves with certain tribes. In 1693, Native Americans killed several Deerfield residents; then, during 1694–1696, the village came under repeated attacks, resulting in several deaths, injuries, and hostage taking. Growth continued nonetheless. A meeting house was erected in 1695, and in the same year the town was designated a "frontier town" by the government of Massachusetts. The law made it harder for settlers to leave Deerfield.

After a few years of relative calm, hostilities resumed in 1704, when a force of several hundred French troops and Native Americans marched from Canada all the way to Massachusetts with the explicit intention of attacking Deerfield. In the early morning hours of February 29, 1704, they mounted the palisades and conducted a house-by-house attack. During the 1704 raid, 41 villagers were killed and another 112 were captured and taken north to Canada. Property damage included 17 buildings destroyed and much livestock killed. Once the attack had begun, a few dozen militiamen rode in from Hatfield and Hadley, but the damage had already been inflicted.

This time, the settlement was not abandoned. The remaining residents rebuilt and the town grew. In time, some of the residents who had been taken captive returned to Deerfield. In 1722, Deerfield residents feared attack yet again during the Fourth Anglo-Abenaki War, but that war ended in 1727 without major ramifications for Deerfield.

A conference held at Deerfield in 1735 brought together the governor of the colony and other governmental officials with more than 150 Native Americans. The governor met with several tribes and expressed his desire for peace. By the mid-18th century, native populations had left the area, and the town became less important as an English stronghold.

RICHARD PANCHYK

See also

Abenakis; Bloody Brook Massacre; Deerfield, Massachusetts, Attack on; Pynchon, John

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Deerfield, Massachusetts, Attack on Event Date: February 29, 1704

Raid on and near destruction of the English settlement of Deerfield, Massachusetts, on February 29, 1704, by a combined force of French and natives, resulting in the deaths of 41 English colonists and the capture of 112 more.

As the northwesternmost town in Massachusetts, Deerfield had been a frequent target of Native American assaults during King Philip's War (1675–1676) and King William's War (1689–1697). To the English, Deerfield was merely a small, exposed settlement in the middle Connecticut River Valley. However, to various Native American groups, the town symbolized English intrusion onto their lands as well as a source for potential captives for ransom or adoption.

With the outbreak of Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), the town was once again at direct risk for assault. In May 1703, New York's governor received word of a French and Native American raiding party gathering at Fort Chambly, intent on attacking Deerfield. Similar warnings would come four more times during 1703 and into



A wood entraving from 1845 depicting the Native American and French attack on Deerfield, Massachusetts, on February 29, 1704. (North Wind Picture Archives)

early 1704. In October 1703, 2 Deerfield men were captured while working in the nearby fields. In response to this raid and repeated alarms, Deerfield's inhabitants temporarily crowded into the stockade that surrounded several houses in the center of the town. Massachusetts also sent 20 militiamen from neighboring towns to stiffen the town's defenses. But because nothing else happened, the people of Deerfield began to let down their guard.

A raiding party was indeed aiming at Deerfield, however. In the winter of 1703–1704, Lieutenant Jean-Baptise Hertel de Rouville led a force composed of 48 French and Canadians and between 200 and 250 Pennacooks, Abenakis, Hurons, Kahnawake Mohawks, and Iroquois of the Mountain toward Deerfield.

Just before daybreak on February 29, 1704, Rouville's forces struck. Some of the raiders climbed a snowdrift that had accumulated at the base of the stockade and opened the north gate. The remainder of the attackers then streamed in. The various Native American parties spread throughout the town, bent on acquiring captives for ransom and adoption. Many families in the northern part of town were surprised and quickly captured, but the uncoordinated nature of the attack allowed some English settlers to mount a defense or to hide. The settlers in Benoni Stebbins's house managed to hold out for over two hours. Alerted by sounds of the fight and a few Deerfield residents who managed to flee, militiamen from nearby Northampton, Hadley, and Hatfield came to Deerfield's relief. This makeshift force managed to drive Rouville's raiders from the village. However, as the English militiamen chased the French and Native Americans through the town's North Field, they fell into an ambush and were forced back after losing nine men.

Although Rouville's expedition suffered 10 dead (3 French and 7 natives) and 22 French and an unknown number of natives wounded, his force had devastated Deerfield. The town was left in shambles, with 17 houses and barns completely destroyed. Human losses were even greater. Forty-one inhabitants died in Deerfield, uncounted others were wounded, and 112 were carried off as captives, including the town's minister, John Williams. Two young men would escape soon after, but 21 captives would not survive the march to French and Native American communities to the north. At least 62 Deerfield captives eventually returned to New England, many of them resettling in their former Deerfield home. However, others chose to remain among their captors. Eight young girls, including Eunice Williams, daughter of the town's minister, married natives and remained among the Kahnawake Mohawks or the Iroquois of the Mountain (though one subsequently returned to New England). Ten women and 6 men married French colonists, 2 captives married each other, and all were integrated into Canadian society.

The Deerfield raid was a great success for the French. By spreading fear among the English and putting them on the defensive, Rouville had helped protect France's underpopulated colonies.

DAVID CORLETT

See also

Abenakis; Captivity of Europeans by Indians; Deerfield (Massachusetts); Hurons; Iroquois; King Philip's War; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Mohawks; Pennacooks; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns

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Delaware

Mid-Atlantic colony adjacent to Delaware Bay. Originally settled by the Swedish and Dutch, Delaware was captured by the English in 1664 during the Second Anglo-Dutch War. It was governed as part of New York until 1682, when the Duke of York granted Delaware to William Penn. Although Delaware had its own elected assembly, it would share the same governor as Pennsylvania throughout the colonial period.

In 1609, Henry Hudson became the first European to explore Delaware Bay. The following year an English explorer named Delaware Bay after Lord De La Warr. The name stuck to the bay, the land, and the native peoples once known as the Lenni Lenape. The so-called Delaware Indians consisted of at least 10 Algonquian-speaking subgroups. Their population of about 12,000 at the time of first contact fell to barely 1,000 by the year 1700, as European pathogens wiped most of them out. The remainder retreated north and westward into Pennsylvania.

In 1629, Dutch investors established a trading post, called Swanendael, along the coast at Lewes Creek. The first expedition, numbering 33 men, arrived in spring 1631. The following year, a Native American removed the Dutch coat of arms from its stake outside the trading post, touching off a series of incidents that ended in the massacre of the Swanendael traders. A second expedition arrived in December 1632. However, the post proved unprofitable and the investors had sold out by 1635.

In 1637, Swedish government officials and Dutch merchants formed the New Sweden Company in order to establish an American colony. Led by Peter Minuit, the first colonists arrived in March 1638 and built Fort Christina on the western side of the Delaware River near the future site of Wilmington. New Sweden's small population—no more than about 400 people at its peak—struggled against numerous setbacks. Poor harvests, lack of supplies, the loss of colonists at sea, and years of official neglect by Sweden put the colony's survival in peril. In 1651, Petrus Stuyvesant asserted Dutch authority by establishing Fort Casimir just a few miles from the main Swedish settlement. Johan Printz, who governed the colony from 1643 to 1653, kept potential enemies at bay through skillful diplomatic maneuvers. His replacement, Johan Rising, ousted the Dutch garrison from Fort Casimir on May 21, 1654. Stuyvesant

Foundation of the Permanent English Colonies
in North America

		Became a Royal	
Colony	Founded	Colony	Founder
Virginia	1607	1624	London Company
Plymouth	1620	N/A	Pilgrims
New Hampshire	1623	1679	John Wheelwright
Massachusetts Bay	1630	1691	Puritans
Maryland	1634	N/A	Lord Baltimore
Connecticut	1635	N/A	Thomas Hooker
Rhode Island	1636	N/A	Roger Williams
Delaware	1638	N/A	New Sweden Company
	and Peter Minuit		
Carolina (split into	1663	1729	Group of eight
North and South			proprietors
in 1712)			
New Jersey	1664	1702	Lord Berkeley and
	Sir George Carteret		
New York	1664	1685	Duke of York
Pennsylvania	1682	N/A	William Penn
Georgia	1732	1752	James Oglethorpe

seized on Rising's action as a rationale for invading New Sweden, and with seven ships and more than 300 men, he recaptured Fort Casimir on September 1, 1655. He accepted the surrender of New Sweden on September 15, 1655. Many Swedes took advantage of the generous terms of surrender and remained in Delaware.

A Dutch community, New Amstel, grew up around Fort Casimir. In 1659, Dutch settlers established another settlement, Whorekill, on the coast near modern-day Lewes. After the 1664 English takeover of New Netherland, New Amstel became New Castle. New York loosely governed Delaware, communicating with the distant territory by sea. Maryland planters moved into southern Delaware, bringing tobacco culture and slave labor to the local economy. By the end of the colonial period, Delaware plantations possessed some 7,000 slaves, or 20 percent of the total population, whereas about 10 percent of the population was of Dutch or Swedish origins.

The brief interlude of Dutch control during the Third Anglo-Dutch War gave Gov. Charles Calvert of Maryland a chance to gain a foothold in Delaware under the guise of striking a blow for England. He sent a troop of 40 horsemen to attack the largely Dutch settlement of Whorekill. On Christmas Eve 1673, the Marylanders plundered and burned the entire settlement, leaving the inhabitants empty-handed in the dead of winter. Neighboring Native Americans sheltered and fed the homeless until Dutch authorities sent aid.

Back under English control, Delaware remained an unofficial part of New York until 1682. At that time Penn sought to acquire territory that would give Pennsylvania direct access to the sea, so the Duke of York informally granted Penn possession of Delaware. During their association with Pennsylvania, the three counties on the lower Delaware River—New Castle, Kent, and Sussex—were called the "Lower Counties." Delaware's counties sent representatives to Pennsylvania's assembly, where they had difficulty promot-

ing their interests. Pennsylvania's pacifist Quaker majority declined to fund defense of the Delaware Valley. It also ignored coastal defense because Delaware bore the brunt of attacks by sea. In 1698, pirates looted the coastal settlement of Lewes. Lewes endured a second plundering in 1709 by French sailors, and in 1748 French and Spanish privateers attacked two plantations.

Observing the contention in the combined assembly, Penn permitted Delaware to convene its own assembly. The Delaware assembly first met in 1704. It quickly issued paper currency to pay for defense and passed its first militia law. Delaware militiamen participated in the campaigns of King George's War and the French and Indian War. The outbreak of the French and Indian War encouraged the displaced Delaware tribe to cross Pennsylvania and raid settlements in the Delaware Valley. Delaware raised a 4,000-man militia for its own defense, and in 1758 sent some 300 of its militiamen to join the campaign in western Pennsylvania.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Anglo-Dutch War, Second; Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Fort Casimer (Delaware); Fort Christina (Delaware); Fort Swanendael (Delaware); Minuit, Peter; New Netherland; Printz, Johan Björnsson; Rising, Johan Classon; Sweden; Swedes in America

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Delawares (Lenni Lenape)

Native American group of the Algonquian linguistic family located, at the time of first European contact, in modern-day Delaware, New Jersey, southeastern New York, and southeastern Pennsylvania. The Delawares (Lenni Lenape) were one of the most influential groups of native peoples during the colonial period. Their history is inextricably tied with that of British and French colonization in North America.

From the early 17th century to the beginning of the American Revolutionary War, the Lenni Lenape engaged in trade, diplomacy, and warfare with the Swedes, Dutch, British, French, and finally, the nascent American nation. By the 1680s, however, they had entered into a lengthy peace with the English colony of Pennsylvania. Unfortunately, the long peace with the Quaker colony gave way in the 18th century to events that would see the Delawares much reduced in numbers, influence, and territory.

Lenni Lenape, which translates as "original people," is the term the Delawares used to describe themselves. In recognition of this



Delaware Native Americans. The Delawares (Lenni Lenape) were among the most influential of native peoples during the colonial period. (North Wind Picture Archives)

claim, other Algonquian peoples of the northeast often referred to the Lenni Lenape as "grandfathers." The English christened them "Delaware," as they lived mainly along the Delaware River.

Lenni Lenape myth holds that they migrated across an ocean to the west, crossed the continent, and settled on the eastern seaboard. The story of the Lenni Lenape migration has been recorded in a pictographic record, of debatable authenticity, known as the *Wallum Ollum*. In any case, the Delawares soon settled into a seasonal round of life in which they planted maize, beans, and squash in the spring; fished and clammed along the coast in the summer; and hunted in the fall.

The Delawares had their first recorded contact with Europeans in 1609. In that year, according to a native story recorded by Moravian missionary John Heckewelder in the early 19th century, they encountered Dutch explorer Henry Hudson. Uncertain if Hudson's ship was an island or a large canoe, reportedly a few Lenni Lenape in a canoe approached cautiously. Hudson welcomed them aboard and showered them with gifts. During a subsequent visit from the Dutch, the Lenni Lenape learned more about the character of Europeans. Amused that the natives used axe heads as pendants and stockings as tobacco pouches, the Dutch demonstrated the proper use of these items. When the Dutch asked for a piece of land that could be enclosed by an ox hide, the Lenni Lenape agreed, then watched in dismay as the hide was cut into a single, long, continuous strip that encircled a much larger area than the intact pelt. The Lenni Lenape now knew they would have to exercise caution in their dealings with the newcomers.

The Delawares probably had contacts with the Swedish colonies in what is now southern Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The Swedes however, had difficulty telling one group of native peoples from another, so it is impossible to ascertain this with certainty.

The most notable contacts between the Lenni Lenape and the Europeans began with the founding of Pennsylvania in the 1680s. Although William Penn, like other Englishmen, did not view natives as equals, he did believe that they should be dealt with fairly. Penn duly purchased lands from the Delawares and maintained peaceful relations with them. Indeed, Penn's dealings with the Delawares were so amicable that other Native Americans moved from other English colonies to Pennsylvania.

The era of peaceful dealings with Pennsylvania came to an end, however, when Penn's heirs assumed control of the colony in the early 18th century. Relations became strained as the colony expanded and came to a head with the fraudulent land deal known as the Walking Purchase (1737). In short, Penn's heirs produced a document that they claimed Penn and the Delawares had signed years earlier. The questionable agreement had purportedly granted a tract of land to the colony equivalent to what a man could traverse in a day and a half. The colony fixed the walk so as to acquire considerably more land, and the Delawares protested and refused to move. Realizing that they could not force the Lenni Lenape out of the colony on their own, Pennsylvania called on the Iroquois Confederation to evict them.

Some Lenni Lenape indeed complied with the order of the Onondaga spokesman Cannestego that they relocate to western Pennsylvania. A few, however, remained in the eastern part of the colony and New Jersey. But the majority went west, beyond the Allegheny River and Monongahela River and into the Ohio Country, far beyond the effective reach of the Iroquois and beyond easy reach of English traders.

In the 1740s, English traders began to establish trading relations and posts in the Ohio Country, allowing the Lenni Lenape to trade with them and obtain superior quality English goods. The French, who also claimed the Ohio Country, evicted the English traders. By pressing their claims, they helped precipitate the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The French promised the Delawares that they could regain their old lands. Convinced that the French would win the war, western Delawares joined them and launched attacks on English settlements in western Pennsylvania and Virginia. Delaware warriors also participated in the 1755 battle that led to the defeat of a sizable British force under Major General Edward Braddock attempting to take Fort Duquesne from the French. As the war went on, however, the French had difficulty supplying their native allies with weapons and trade goods. Thus the Lenni Lenape, and other natives, sat out the later stages of the conflict.

Among the Lenni Lenape people in the Ohio Country, a prophet named Neolin came to prominence when he began preaching a movement that called for Delawares and other natives to forsake items of European manufacture, and to return to the ways of their ancestors. It was too late for natives to do this, as they were by then

too dependent on European goods. Nevertheless, Neolin's message was co-opted by the Ottawa-Annisgheg chief Pontiac, who fomented a rebellion against the English in 1763.

The Lenni Lenape remained split after Pontiac's Rebellion. With the beginning of the American Revolutionary War, many sided with the British. However, a few sided with the Americans, becoming the first group of natives to sign a treaty of alliance with the fledgling new nation in 1778.

ROGER M. CARPENTER

See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Braddock's Campaign; Delaware; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Hudson, Henry; Iroquois Confederation; Neolin; Ohio Country; Penn, William; Pennsylvania; Pontiac (Obwandiyng), Chief; Pontiac's Rebellion; Walking Purchase

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Denonville, Jacques-René de Brisay de

Born: December 10, 1637 Died: September 22, 1710

in 1681, and brigadier general in 1683.

French-born military officer and governor of New France (1685–1689). Born on December 10, 1637, into the lower nobility on the family estate at Denonville, France, Jacques-René de Brisay was the eldest surviving son in his family and inherited the title of Marquis de Denonville. After receiving only a cursory education, Denonville joined the army and rose to the rank of captain in the Régiment Royal. During the following decade, he campaigned against the Barbary pirates and fought in the Dutch War of 1672–1678. In 1668, he was commissioned a captain in the Dragons de la Reine (Queen's Dragoons). Promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1673, he became colonel in 1675, inspector general of dragoons

By a commission dated January 1, 1685, King Louis XIV appointed Denonville governor of New France. Apparently singled out for what were regarded as his outstanding military abilities, Denonville replaced Joseph-Antoine Le Febvre de La Barre, who had failed to neutralize the Iroquois threat. Shortly after arriving at Quebec on August 1, 1685, Denonville traveled as far as Fort Frontenac (Kingston, Ontario) at the head of Lake Ontario to survey the colony's defenses. As governor of New France, he contributed, among other things, to the formation of a local military nobility—a new colonial

elite—by successfully advocating that the commissioned ranks of the troupes de la marine be opened up to Canadians.

Denonville perceived that the English constituted a formidable peril. He believed that only after the devastation (or purchase) of the colony of New York would the Iroquois yield to the French. But he found that the Crown was unwilling to allocate the resources necessary for such a massive enterprise. Targeting interloping traders, the governor ordered the capture of Albany merchants in the Great Lakes region and dispatched an expedition to capture the posts on Hudson's Bay in 1686. In June of the following year, he launched a surprise expedition against the Senecas, the most bellicose of the Five Nations. The campaign was not as decisive as Denonville had hoped, but it led to a peace settlement.

In 1689, forewarned by the authorities of New York that the imperial powers were now at war in Europe, the Iroquois resumed their raids on French settlements. Opting for a consolidation of the colony's defenses, Denonville ordered that western posts, including Fort Frontenac, be abandoned. Simultaneously, he spurred his Abenaki allies against New England.

In October 1689, Louis de Buade de Frontenac arrived to replace Denonville as governor. The official reason for his recall was that he would be of greater use to France in the European war theater. As a testament to his satisfactory performance, on his return to France the marquis was promoted to the rank of maréchal de camp des armées du roi (major general). He later served as deputy governor to the Duke of Bourgogne, the Duke of Anjou, and the Duke of Berry. He died at his chateau at Denonville on September 22, 1710.

Jean-François Lozier

See also

Abenakis; Fort Frontenac (Ontario); Iroquois; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Lachine, Battle of; New France; New York; Seneca, French Attack on

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Desertion, Army

Desertion is the act of leaving service in a military force without the intention of returning, or of being absent from one's military unit without permission for an extended period. Desertion has been a consistent problem for every army and navy in history, but certain factors exacerbate the problem. Chief among the causes of desertion is low morale, whether due to boredom, poor service conditions, harsh discipline, or battlefield failures. Armies comprised of forcibly recruited soldiers, whether impressed or conscripted, have

typically had higher rates of desertion. Desertion rates have also usually increased during periods of economic growth.

In the colonial period in North America, opportunities for desertion depended on service location. In particular, the friendliness of local populations affected soldiers' decisions to desert. In the English colonies, deserters could often flee to frontier regions or other colonies with little fear of capture. Occasionally, European deserters joined Native American societies as an alternative to military service. However, for troops posted in the wilderness with no local friendly populations, the incidences of desertion remained much lower than for troops on garrison duty in major population centers. Regulars who deserted often did so to take employment in colonies short of laborers and were shielded by colonial employers, who provided higher wages and required less discipline than military service.

By definition, desertion is limited to enlisted personnel, who, unlike officers, could not resign their position at will. The penalty for desertion varied depending on country and time and often depended on whether the desertion occurred during peacetime or wartime. Peacetime deserters returned to the ranks faced harsh disciplinary measures. Wartime deserters, however, faced possible execution if apprehended.

One of the most common and popular forms of desertion was to desert while being held as a prisoner of war, often at the urging of the captor. European forces, particularly the British Army, routinely recruited from prisoner-of-war populations. The penalty for deserters captured fighting for the enemy has almost always been summary execution.

The division between regular army forces and provincial troops contributed to desertions during the colonial period. Regular officers complained that provincials were lazy, untrustworthy, and poorly trained and disciplined. The provincials, in turn, resented the harsh discipline meted out by regular officers, and had strong opinions about where and how their services could be compelled. Provincials who deserted often returned to their homes and resumed their peacetime occupations. Not surprisingly, desertion rates increased during planting and harvesting periods. At times, entire provincial units deserted en masse and returned to their homes. Such desertions were rarely punished by imperial authorities, however.

PAUL JOSEPH SPRINGER

See also

Desertion, Navy; Discipline, Army; Impressment, Army; Mutiny, Army; Recruitment

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Desertion, Navy

In the age of sail, all of Europe's major navies experienced the problem of sailors deserting their ships or posts. Because of its large and constant presence in North American waters and ports, the British Navy faced the most severe threat of desertion of the major colonial powers. Numerous factors influenced seamen to desert their ships. Positive motivations, or pull factors, included the opportunity to earn higher wages on merchant ships (especially in wartime) or the desire to start over in a new but not completely foreign environment. Negative motivations, or push factors, included impressment (the individual might have been forced against his will into naval service), harsh discipline and officer brutality, and concerns over poor food, cramped conditions, and disease aboard ship.

The British Navy categorized men absent from duty as deserters once they had missed three consecutive weekly musters. By the British Articles of War, desertion was punishable by death, although the navy executed a very low percentage of its deserters. The navy chose instead to make examples of captured deserters by flogging them in front of their peers. In the French and Indian War (1754–1763), a conflict for which historians have reasonably reliable figures, the British Navy lost about 7 percent of its personnel annually to desertion, or between 36,000 and 40,000 men during the entire war. Of those numbers, only about a dozen were actually hanged.

Geography played an important role in a seaman's decision to desert. American colonial seaports proved especially attractive because of their cultural similarity and shortages of skilled seafarers there. American merchants in need of experienced sailors to man their ships would do everything possible to entice them away from the navy. Merchant labor agents, known as crimps, were not above tricking or even spiriting sailors away from naval vessels. British captains sought to circumvent this, but not always with success. Limiting shore liberty and anchoring off shore did not always work, as seamen seeking to desert might lower a boat over the side and row to shore or else attempt to swim the distance. Desertion continued to plague British ships in American waters and was later a contributing factor to the War of 1812.

DENVER BRUNSMAN

See also

Admiralty Law; Discipline, Navy; France, Navy; Great Britain, Navy; Impressment, Navy; Mutiny, Navy; Piracy; Sailors; Spain, Navy

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De Soto, Hernando

See Soto, Hernando de

Detroit

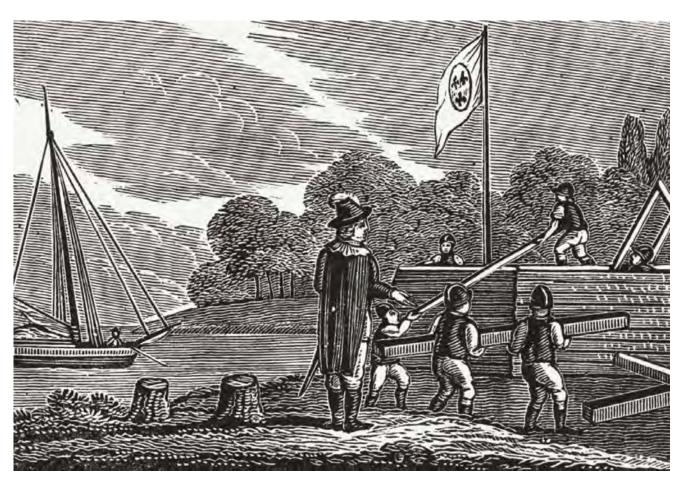
French trading center and defensive outpost. Captain Antoine Laumet, also known as Lamothe de Cadillac, established Detroit in 1701. Cadillac claimed, and the French Crown hoped, that the post constructed on the Detroit River, which connects Lake Huron to Lake Erie, would block English attempts to gain access to the upper Great Lakes and France's key native allies. Detroit was controlled by the French from 1701 to 1760, by the British from 1760 to 1796 and 1812 to 1813, and by the United States from 1796 to 1812 and then from 1813 to the present.

The French, British, and Americans all used Detroit as a center for Native American trade and relations. Under all three regimes,

Detroit regularly witnessed treaty delegations, the distribution of presents, war councils, and visits by native dignitaries from as far west as the Plains and as far south as New Orleans.

Peace with the Iroquois in 1701 enabled the construction of the palisade and bastions, called Fort Pontchartrain, and the establishment of a settlement. On arrival, Cadillac and his men began construction of the fortifications, which were largely completed by October 1701. The planting of crops and arrival of two white women (the wives of Cadillac and his aide) that fall signaled that this French post would be different from others within the Great Lakes region. The settlers arranged themselves along the customary pattern of river lots as seen in New France's seigneurial system.

Cadillac did not intend for the settlement merely to be populated by French men and women. He wanted native nations to gather at the site, where they would come under the sway of the French language, religion, culture, and commerce and, most important, act as a ready source of manpower to defend France's imperial claims in North America. By 1703, Ottawas, Hurons, Miamis, Ojibwas, and Loups had settled in the region. By 1707, the settlement had more than 1,000 natives living nearby and a French population of over 250. When the British assumed control of the fort and settlement in 1763, the population stood at approximately 1,000 French and 2,500 natives.



Wood engraving from 1840 depicting construction of a fort at Detroit. (The Granger Collection)

Natives besieged Detroit in 1708, 1712, and 1763. In 1708, a disagreement between the Ottawa and Miami tribes led to an armed clash. The French allowed the Miamis to take shelter in Fort Pontchartrain, which Cadillac now commanded. As a result, the Ottawas attacked the post. In 1712, another conflict between the Fox Indians and various French allies resulted in the massacre of the latter and engulfed the region in a series of wars. In 1763, with the British now in control of the fort, Detroit was besieged by Chief Pontiac and his supporters during Pontiac's Rebellion. The British post survived Pontiac's initial attack thanks to a timely warning and survived the resulting siege by the appearance of British reinforcements as well as the support of the Ojibwa chief Wabbicommicot. The last siege of Detroit took place in 1812 during the War of 1812.

By 1760, Fort Pontchartrain de Detroit covered an area of approximately 200 by 100 yards and contained within the palisades some 300 civilian and military buildings. The palisades had been extended several times to accommodate new buildings, which created an irregular shape to the fortifications. Additionally, being wooden, the palisades were in need of constant repair because of the fort's proximity to the river. The fort was maintained and expanded until after the War of 1812, when peace and more settlements made the palisades irrelevant and unnecessary.

KARL S. HELE

See also

Native American Trade; Ottawas; Pontiac's Rebellion; Seigneurial System

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Devil's Hole Road, Battle of

Event Date: September 14, 1763

Ambush by Native Americans of a British supply convoy during Pontiac's Rebellion (1763). The British routinely sent supply convoys to Detroit overland from Fort Niagara to Lake Erie. This portage passed through Seneca territory. On September 14, 1763, a combined force of 300 Seneca, Ottawa, and Chippewa warriors set an ambush for a British convoy on its way to Detroit. The Indians chose a location near a ravine close to the whirlpool known as Devil's Hole in the Niagara River Gorge.

The British convoy consisted of 25 wagons accompanied by only 31 soldiers. The Native American ambush took the convoy by surprise and killed all but 2 of the soldiers. The musket fire alerted two

companies of the British 80th Regiment nearby. These men rushed to rescue their comrades, but instead ran into a second ambush. During this engagement approximately half of the soldiers from the 80th Regiment became casualties.

Between the two ambushes, some 80 British soldiers were killed. The ambushes effectively closed the portage between Lake Niagara and Lake Erie and prevented the British from being able to resupply Detroit. The British garrison at Fort Niagara spent the next several weeks trying to reopen the portage, but the Senecas continued to attack the convoys even when they were well guarded. This, combined with deteriorating weather conditions, halted all attempts to resupply Detroit. The garrison undoubtedly would have been starved into surrender but Detroit was saved by Pontiac's truce.

DALLACE W. UNGER JR.

See also

Detroit; Fort Detroit, Siege of; Fort Niagara (New York); Native Warfare; Ottawas; Pontiac's Rebellion; Senecas

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Dieskau, Jean Armand, Baron de

Born: 1701 Died: 1767

French Army officer. Born in Saxony in 1701, Jean Armand, Baron de Dieskau, began his French military service with the Maréchel de Saxe, whom he served as an aide-de-camp. Dieskau fought under de Saxe during the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1738) and the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), and he was a colonel of cavalry at the Battle of Fontenoy in May 1745. In 1747, he was promoted to major general and became the military governor of Brest.

In 1755, Dieskau became the commander of French regulars in North America, sent to oppose British troops under Major General Edward Braddock at the start of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Dieskau's instructions, however, made him subordinate to the governor-general of Canada, Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil. As a consequence of Braddock's 1755 defeat in battle near the Monongahela River, the French secured papers revealing British strategy for the coming campaign. Vaudreuil then dispatched Dieskau to take Oswego on Lake Ontario. He recalled him, however, when a force under Colonel William Johnson threatened Fort St. Frédéric. Dieskau proceeded down the Richelieu River, sent some of his men to Fort Frontenac, and moved toward Fort Edward. Johnson began to construct a fort at the head of Lake George (later site of Fort William Henry) and north of Fort Edward. Intelligence garnered from a prisoner led Dieskau to believe that the British

force was split, leaving 500 men at Fort Edward. Given this information, Dieskau split his force in violation of orders. He took approximately 200 regulars, 600 militiamen, and 700 native warriors and advanced toward the fort.

On reaching Fort Edward, his native allies refused to attack a fortified position that had cannon, so Dieskau turned to assault the British at Lake George. That same day, on September 8, 1755, Johnson had sent a relief column of 1,000 men to relieve Fort Edward, but Dieskau's planned ambush of this force failed. The failure can be attributed to either unauthorized native communication with the British, or the French having prematurely revealed their position. The British fled back to Lake George, and when Dieskau's regulars reached them, he ordered a frontal assault, which failed. Dieskau was wounded three times before the French retreated under his second-in-command.

The British took Dieskau prisoner, treated his wounds, and held him until 1763. At the end of hostilities that year, he returned to France. Dieskau died at Suresnes in 1767.

MICHAEL K. BEAUCHAMP

See also

Braddock, Edward; Braddock's Campaign; Fort Edward (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Johnson, Sir William; Lake George, Battle of; Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Pierre de, Marquis de Vaudreuil

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Dinwiddie, Robert

Born: October 3, 1692 Died: July 27, 1770

Lieutenant governor of Virginia at the outbreak of the French and Indian War. Born in Germiston, Scotland, on October 3, 1692, Robert Dinwiddie was one of nine children. Dinwiddie graduated from the University of Glasgow in 1711.

Dinwiddie amassed wealth as a merchant and made influential friends in Parliament. In 1721, he was appointed agent for the Admiralty in Bermuda. From 1727 to 1738, he was collector of the customs for Bermuda. Then, during 1738–1749, Dinwiddie was surveyor general of customs for the Southern District of America (those colonies from Pennsylvania south). In 1749, he returned to England, where, in July 1751, he was appointed lieutenant governor of Virginia. He arrived in the colony with his family that November.

Dinwiddie served at the pleasure of two absentee Virginia governors, Willem Anne van Keppel, Second Earl of Albemarle, and John Campbell, Fourth Earl of Loudoun. Dinwiddie's troubles began in 1753, when he discovered that the French were building forts in the contested Ohio River Valley. The new French governorgeneral at Quebec, the Marquis de Du Quesne, escalated tensions when he evicted all British traders from the region. Dinwiddie, a shareholder in the Ohio Company of speculators in western lands,



Robert Dinwiddie, lieutenant governor of Virginia, who dispatched a militia force under Major George Washington into the Ohio River Valley, touching off the French and Indian War (1754–1763). (The Library of Virginia)

responded to the news by dispatching Virginia militiamen under Major George Washington into the contested territory to induce the French commanders at Fort Presque Isle (now Erie, Pennsylvania) and Fort Le Boeuf (now Waterford, Pennsylvania) to vacate that region. When Washington subsequently reported that the French refused to abandon their posts, Dinwiddie prepared for war. The expansionist Dinwiddie encouraged other royal governors to join the fight, and he mobilized Virginia's militia and lobbied native leaders for their support. He also authorized construction of Fort Prince George, a small wooden fortification at the confluence of the Monongahela, Ohio, and Allegheny rivers (present-day Pittsburgh). The French heightened tensions by attacking the isolated outpost in April 1754 and constructing Fort Duquesne in its place.

Not one to shy away from a fight, Dinwiddie responded by sending now Colonel Washington and 132 men to the region. During the ensuing campaign of 1754, Washington's army attacked an enemy force led by Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville. The ambush routed the French, killing Jumonville and 9 others. Shortly thereafter, the French counterattacked on July 3, 1754, Washington surrendered the hastily constructed Fort Necessity in Pennsylvania. Although captured, Washington and James Mackay, commander of the South Carolina reinforcements, were allowed to return home after signing the articles of capitulation. These events brought on the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

Convinced that the French encroachment must be stopped, Dinwiddie responded to Washington's defeat by helping newly arrived

British major general Edward Braddock plan an invasion of the Ohio Valley. Following Braddock's bungled 1755 campaign, Dinwiddie worried about Virginia's exposed frontier settlements.

His persistent lobbying eventually persuaded the assembly to fund military campaigns, but for defensive purposes only. As a result, Dinwiddie encouraged other colonial governors to launch offensive thrusts against the French while he tried to halt the Shawnee raids that ravaged Virginia's western communities. Dinwiddie also solicited the aid of Cherokee and Catawba allies in an effort to defend the colony.

Despite Dinwiddie's efforts, the raids continued unabated until 1756. Soon the stress became too much for Dinwiddie to bear. In January 1758, he left Virginia before the tide of war had turned in England's favor. The chronically ill Dinwiddie died at the Hot Baths of Clifton in Bristol, England, on July 27, 1770.

JON L. BRUDVIG

See also

Braddock's Campaign; Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville, Joseph; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Necessity (Pennsylvania), and Battle of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Ohio Company; Ohio Country; Ohio Expedition (1754); Ohio Expedition (1755); Ohio River Valley; Virginia; Washington, George

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Discipline, Army

In 18th-century Europe, officers were almost always members of the upper class. The rank-and-file, however, were from the lower classes, and they were recruited, often by force or deception and for long terms of service. All European armies used mercenaries, so there was little to keep the armed forces motivated other than discipline, which was usually harsh. Such discipline included up to 1,000 lashes, hanging, or death by firing squad. Militaries instilled discipline (as well as morale) by continuous drill during training, but semiprofessional militias fit the needs of colonies dominated by farmers. The regular military was a full-time occupation, whereas the militia was part-time on an as-needed basis. The Dutch in New Netherland relied on a militia, as did the French, Spanish, and English from the earliest settlements in North America until the American Revolution.

Armies relied on greater discipline to increase efficiency in the loading and firing of firearms in prescribed sequences. From the time of Maurice of Nassau during the Dutch Revolt and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), the Dutch led the way in infantry drill. The system was expensive in time and junior officers' attention, but it was necessary to convert

the dregs of society into a fighting machine capable of withstanding the horrendous experience of 17th-century warfare.

The Dutch also provided the English with the underpinnings of the court-martial. The court-martial of the 17th century was based on the English courts of chivalry as well as the military laws of Adolphus and the Dutch military code. The English version became the Mutiny Act of 1689, which—with modifications—lasted until 1879.

For the military of New France, drill was supposed to occur daily, but it was often inappropriate to the type of war fought in the colonies, so enforcement was lax. Crime was another matter. Soldiers committed a large number of rapes, assaults, duels, thefts, frauds, and other crimes in the colonies. Punishments were to be exemplary, so they were harsh, as they were for civilians. Trials for serious crimes were held in a joint military-civilian court where torture-induced testimony was permissible. Punishments ranged from public flogging, service in the galleys, and branding all the way to the death penalty. Military courts dealt with minor offenses such as indiscipline, drunkenness, and morals/manners violations. Punishment for theft, the most serious petty crime, was generally running through two lines of one's comrades who struck the convicted man's back with ramrods or musket butts. The offender had to renew his oath after running the gauntlet before serving a month in prison.

British punishments were harsher. The British used the cat o'nine tails, a whip with nine pieces of knotted cord. The whip would be lashed across a prisoner's back perhaps several hundred times. The maximum punishment in the British Army for the lash was 1,000 times. It did not take many lashings for a man's back to be completely cut open, and few men could withstand the maximum punishment.

Desertion was less common in the New World than in Europe, as there were fewer places to go. During 1635–1684, the penalty in the French Army for desertion was death, thereafter life in the galleys, with a revival of the death penalty in 1717 (those sentenced to the galleys drew lots to see which one in four would be shot instead). Mutiny, a capital crime, occurred infrequently.

In New France, militia enrollment was mandatory for all men between the ages of 16 and 60 or 65, excluding the clergy and certain public officials. The colony provided each militiaman with a musket. Local militias saw duty frequently during the 17th and 18th centuries. During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), New France instituted the *levée en masse*, a draft of all male inhabitants.

In Spanish territories, discipline was lax. Although Spanish forces had used disciplined and coordinated infantry in conquering the Aztec and Incan empires, once the major conquests were complete, Spanish colonial authorities authorized merchants to finance expeditions to expand their territory and provide use for the surplus population. The members were rarely experienced soldiers, but there was no need for discipline or sophisticated tactics against the indigenous populations. Throughout the conquest, from the days of Cortés and Pizarro, the Spanish chose to capture or co-opt indigenous leaders and rule through them. For these expeditionary forces, rank was largely irrelevant, and arms such as pikes, crossbows, and swords were familiar to all. As long as the men remained in a com-

pact group, superior firepower would prevail. Men often had to provision and otherwise finance themselves, and payment was in the form of shares of booty gained. Because there was little military discipline or regulation, expeditionary leaders had a hard time maintaining morale and loyalty within a group with diverse interests and allegiances. As such, friends, neighbors, and relatives were preferable to strangers as members of the expeditionary forces.

In the 18th century, the authorities of New Spain established a line of forts from Texas to California. The main defense force was the militia, which enrolled all men between the ages of 16 and 40 for a 10-year term of service and called them up in time of emergency. Militiamen supplied their own arms and horses. Training was sporadic, and the militia was generally poorly trained and undisciplined.

The Spanish colonial army was a volunteer force, but army life was not attractive. Wages were minimal and duty long at isolated forts. Advancement was slow, with the officer corps reserved for Spanish-born *peninsulares* and sometimes Spanish-blood creoles. With poor discipline and morale, the army was ineffective and plagued by desertion, which normally went unpunished. Soldiers routinely brought their families with them or married local women. Otherwise, their conduct toward indigenous people was aggressive and problematic. The Marqués de Rubí toured the northern frontier in 1766–1768 and found soldiers untrained in the use of firearms, heavily indebted to profiteering officers because their salaries were in arrears, and employing deteriorated equipment and arms. Rubí recommended various reforms, including issuance of proper equipment, regular pay, and suitable training. Nevertheless, colonial Spanish discipline remained lax.

In the English colonies, militia service was much the same. The English colonists, however, inherited from the mother country the traditional fear of a strong standing army as an instrument of tyranny, and thus preferred to rely on militia service in most instances, save pitched warfare when professional soldiers would be called in. Regulations varied from colony to colony but there was general agreement that service was compulsory, save for civil servants. All able-bodied males between certain specified ages would owe service to the colony and had to enroll in the local militia. Every colony had a compulsory training law, except Quaker-influenced Pennsylvania, which nevertheless had a voluntary militia.

English colonial governments expected the men to provide their own arms. As colonies developed elite groups, the elites would often form artillery and other units with higher expenses and thus higher status than the regular foot soldiers of the militias. Colonies stockpiled arms and powder for emergencies and had the power to draft or impress under martial law conditions in emergencies.

Early settlements had militia drill once a week, usually after Sunday church services, but over time and with receding threats, units trained once a month, with some training only once a year. Each militiaman had to appear at his town or county seat on prescribed training days, armed and equipped for duty. Generals and colonels were appointed by the governor or assembly, but militia companies normally elected their officers.

Militia organization was by county or township, but expeditions rarely required more than a quota from each unit. Militia leaders usually selected their youngest members for service: volunteers or draftees who had the option of providing substitutes. The expeditionary force usually had no cohesion. Service was short-term, and the men returned to their farms and businesses as quickly as they could, often before the expedition had ended.

As the frontier moved west, the Native American threat did too. Eastern militias became more lax, their training more and more sporadic. Training day became often a day of festivities rather than drill exercises. Even on the frontier, training was European-style openfield maneuvers rather than proto-guerrilla-style forest maneuvers. To complicate matters, militiamen were not paid for drills, which did not sit well with most soldiers. To encourage attendance, the colonials used taverns as drill sites. Thus drill day became a break from the hard work of farming and a social event. Drill exercises were often sloppy until officials began reserving beer for drill's end.

Understandably, militia discipline was less harsh than that of the professional European forces. Commanders took the time to explain why something was wrong, how it could harm a unit made up of neighbors, and why it should stop. Men who elected their officers and came from a stock of independent farmers and townsmen were less in need of harsh discipline and floggings than were mercenaries and draftees held by fear or force. Generally, this system worked well.

JOHN H. BARNHILL

See also

Desertion, Army; Discipline, Navy; Infantry Tactics; Militias

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Discipline, Navy

Until midway through the 17th century, European navies were reflective of their societies, with rank dependent largely on social class. The first professional navy arose during England's Commonwealth in the mid-17th century, and thereafter the better trained, better supplied, better disciplined British Navy dominated the seas.

The Spanish Navy, however, dominated the 16th century. A preprofessional force, it was a less-rigid reflection of the structure of Spanish society. The ships of Spain were private vessels driven by profit motive rather than patriotism. The seafaring life gave enterprising men an opportunity to rise from one class to another through intelligence and hard work. Rarely, a skilled sailor rose to ownership, but the owner was merely a craftsman, too. Generals and admirals came from the nobility, and noble passengers on merchant vessels thrust into combat sometimes took command from the captains.

The routine operation of the ship fell to a master and the stations below him: pilot, disciplinary officer, surgeon, and on down to boatswain, and of course, the common sailor, classed as either experienced men or apprentices. The crews were illiterate, tough, cynical, and kept in line largely through fear of authority.

Sailors of all navies of the time lived with tedium, lack of privacy, rats, and bad food. Conditions were often brutal, with a high mortality rate. Discipline was rigid, flogging liberal, and sailors who reached their limits often deserted, mutinied, or joined pirates.

In the pre-professional era, Spain had the superior navy, but Spain suffered from domestic inflation, the decrepitude of its fleet, and the rebellious Dutch. Indeed, Spain essentially lacked the naval values and tradition that England and the Netherlands enjoyed.

The Dutch maintained naval supremacy by relying on armed merchant vessels manned by civilian sailors capable of fighting when necessary. The civilian nature of the Dutch Navy did earn it great support among the people, as was not the case with the Dutch Army. The army was professional and mercenary, with few blood ties to the Dutch people. The navy, on the other hand, was home to officers from the Dutch canals and sailors from the back streets. The admirals were almost pirates, full of heroic adventures. Reputedly, the Dutch had less trouble recruiting a thousand sailors than a hundred soldiers. In 1670, in fact, 10 percent of Dutch men were sailors.

The Dutch originated "keelhauling," an extreme form of punishment copied by other navies during the 15th and 16th centuries. A rope rigged from yardarm to yardarm was stretched under the ship. The offender was attached to the rope, sometimes with lead or iron weights, and was hoisted up one yardarm, dropped into the sea, hauled beneath the ship, where his body rubbed against sharp barnacles, and raised up by the other yardarm. When he recovered his breath, he was keelhauled again.

Dutch discipline could be harsh, with fines levied for blasphemy, drunkenness, and spilling food overboard. Solitary confinement was one punishment for fighting or gambling. Another option for a brawler was to have his hand pinned to the mast with his knife; the sailor had to figure out how to free himself without damage. Insulting an officer brought keelhauling, and mutiny, murder, and sodomy were capital crimes. Discipline was controlled by a system of councils: officers, sailors, and a broad general council. As in all navies, the captain had final authority.

In the mid-17th century the Anglo-Dutch Wars proved the undoing of the Dutch merchant warriors at the hands of England's professional, full-time navy. The Dutch simply lacked the manpower to go toe-to-toe with the English. Their sailors were merchants and only reluctant warriors. The Dutch government had to pay men bonuses in order to get them to join the fleet, which was small and deteriorating. The reputed lack of discipline and morale in the Dutch navy led the English to define Dutch courage as arising from a bottle of schnapps.

The French Navy, like its Spanish counterpart, was officered by aristocrats, who had no status at stake in victory or defeat. Promotion determined by social standing often produced poor leadership. The major contribution of the French to naval discipline was the institution of marines. Originally army units assigned to ships, the marines were exempt from ship's discipline until they were reassigned to the navy.

Minister of Marine Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1669–1672), who is credited with creating the French Navy and the marines, built a navy equal to any other in Europe. Colbert expanded the navy tenfold during his tenure, but it was second on the sea to the French mercantile companies and second in the war ministry to the army. By the outbreak of the French and Indian War, it had only 60 ships of the line manned by poorly trained and disciplined crews. French deserters crewed many pirate ships.

England enjoyed all the advantages of excellent and highly motivated officers, a political focus on the navy, but also perhaps the harshest discipline of any European navy. Until the mid-17th century, the only restraint on ships' captains was the guidance of the lord high admiral.

The Long Parliament of 1645 required written court-martial records and enlisted membership on courts-martial of sailors, and courts-martial became regularized after 1661. Even so, English captains at sea retained the right of summary punishment. Courts-martial allowed corporal punishment including fines, up to 48 lashes, penal servitude, and death. Mutiny earned hanging at the yardarm, which meant slow strangulation, not a quick snapping of the neck. As late as the early 17th century, the English Navy authorized a maximum of 1,000 lashes, usually fatal, for mutiny and other serious offenses. Flogging among the fleet was practiced until 1735 for attempted escape or striking an officer. Under this punishment, the offender was fastened to an upright timber on a ship's boat then rowed about the fleet, giving each boatswain's mate an opportunity to lash the prisoner.

Sleeping on watch drew a first-offense punishment of having a bucket of sea water poured over the offender's head. But because sleeping on watch might place the ship and its crew in jeopardy, punishments for second and third offenses were more severe and punishment for the fourth offense was fatal. The prisoner was slung in a basket below the bowsprit with a knife, bread, and ale. The options were to starve to death or cut the basket loose and eventually drown.

From the 18th century, the British Royal Navy relied on impressment, the forcible conscription of sailors, to crew many of its warships. The British impressed Britons as well as sailors from other nations between the ages of 18 and 55. Because service in the navy was far from attractive for the sailors, impressment was often carried out by force or kidnapping.

During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the British Navy instituted a divisional system whereby each officer had personal responsibility for a section of sailors, reducing the arbitrary regime of the boatswains' mates. In general, British sailors were better cared for than either their French or Spanish counterparts. They were bet-

ter officered, as well. English captains knew that victories meant prize money and social status, maybe even a comfortable retirement. Thus, leadership skills were paramount to personal success. Not until 1866, however, was the British code softened, and even then the captains reserved the power of summary execution of sentences.

Officers and sailors alike understood that discipline allowed officers to control crews, which often included the worst brigands of society. In combat, roughly 80 percent of a ship's crew serviced its guns; only a small percentage actually sailed the vessel. Busywork and discipline kept hundreds of men from becoming bored or sullen. Failure to follow orders could cause the loss of the ship to heavy weather or enemy action. The sailors understood that discipline was necessary. And as long as it was predictable and fair, even flogging was accepted. Sailors slow to their tasks could receive a blow from the end of a rope. By the late 18th century, captains generally allowed no more than 12 lashes at a time so the ship would not lose the services of a seaman.

Punishment was always public and dramatic, so as to maximize its deterrent effect. The crew formed on deck, with marines between officers and sailors. The crew performed some of the punishments themselves. Participation in the punishment of those who betrayed the communal trust helped to bond the men. Lesser offenses such as thievery earned a run through the gauntlet. The crew lined up in two rows, face to face, holding their knittles (knotted rope). The offender walked bare-backed and slowly through the lines while the crew beat him with the knittles. Flogging was actually considered to be more humane than the other punishments because it was more easily controlled. There was no risk of excessive bruising that might come from the gauntlet, or of accidental drowning, which could occur with dunking or keelhauling. To keep sailors working, a wise commander recognized that denial of a sailor's rum ration was preferable to incarceration for a minor misdeed. A good officer did not need to rely on punishments—a stern look or word usually sufficed. Overly harsh officers generally were dismissed. Indeed, sailors were too scarce and too valuable an asset to be abused and thrown away. Good discipline meant more than punishment. A ship in good repair and order and a crew capable of meeting its tasks were the ultimate goals. Discipline included dietary and cleanliness guidelines to reduce deaths. Sometimes captains had to force the men to eat the food they provided. The men, even those impressed, were generally well fed. Dutch sailors of the 17th century had a 4,800-calorie daily diet. Both ship and clothes had to be kept clean to reduce the chance of dysentery, typhus, and other communicable diseases. Indeed, navies fixated on cleanliness as a matter of survival.

JOHN H. BARNHILL

See also

Discipline, Army; France, Navy; Great Britain, Navy; Impressment, Navy; Marines; Mutiny, Navy; Naval Warfare; Privateering; Sailors; Spain, Navy

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Dominion of New England

Start Date: 1686 End Date: 1689

A governmental body established in 1686 by England's King James II to reassert royal control over the New England colonies in America. The colonies remained under its control until 1689, when the news of the Glorious Revolution reached Boston and New York and the government was promptly overthrown.

In 1676, the Lords of Trade called for an investigation into reports that Massachusetts Bay and other New England colonies were refusing to comply with the Navigation Acts. The report, authored by Edward Randolph, confirmed these violations, and the Massachusetts charter was revoked in 1684. It thus became a royal colony. Other New England colonies followed suit, and in 1686 James II formed them into the Dominion of New England, appointing Sir Edmund Andros as governor. The colonies under this government included Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.

As royal governor, Andros was given sweeping power and authority. All legislative assemblies were abolished and replaced by an appointed council. James II did not authorize the establishment of a representative assembly in his instructions to Andros, and as a result the only assemblies permitted were the annual town meetings for the purpose of electing local officials. Andros levied new taxes and enforced observance of the existing tax laws including the Navigation Acts and the collection of assessments from landowners who received land grants from the Crown. Andros instituted a policy of religious tolerance in the colonies and required that Anglican Church services be conducted in Puritan colonies where they were previously banned. He also oversaw military preparation in the colonies by ordering the construction of forts and the training of militia.

By 1688, Andros's actions as governor had offended many colonists. His enforcement of the Navigation Acts enraged many merchants who had previously ignored the law. Puritans who previously withheld voting rights and religious worship to Anglicans disagreed with his policy on religious tolerance. Landowners both feared the loss of their land titles and objected to the rents paid to the Crown. And throughout the dominion, colonists objected to their lack of representation in the Andros government.

In 1688, James II was forced to flee England when his pro-Catholic policies drew the ire of Parliament and the Church of England. In April 1689, his daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange became the rulers of England. When news of the Glorious Revolution reached the colonies in March 1689, the citizens of Boston rebelled. They captured Andros, Edward Randolph, and members of the Andros council and imprisoned them. By late April 1689, the dominion government had unraveled, and in 1690, Andros returned to England at the request of King William. When the dominion ended, the colonies reverted back to their prior forms of colonial government.

THERESA L. STOREY

See also

Andros, Edmund; Glorious Revolution in America; Leisler's Rebellion; Nicholson, Sir Francis

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Dongan, Thomas, Second Earl Limerick

Born: 1634

Died: December 14, 1715

British Army officer and governor of New York (1682–1688). Thomas Dongan was born in 1634 to a prominent Irish Catholic family and joined King Charles I's army in 1647. He served the Duke of York while in exile in France during the 1650s after the English Civil War, and after the restoration of King Charles II he held different offices in Ireland and the North African colony of Tangier. In 1682, Dongan's years of service to the duke paid off when the latter appointed him governor of his North American colony, New York.

Dongan served in New York during an age of imperial consolidation. The Duke of York, who became king as James II in 1685, endeavored to create a streamlined, efficient imperial structure, and Dongan did his part to accomplish these goals. Dongan consolidated offices among his allies, curtailed the rights of towns, and imposed English legal institutions in the Dutch-majority colony. He achieved modest success, although his policies exacerbated ethnic and political tensions that remained for decades.

Perhaps Dongan's most lasting influence was in relations with the French and Native Americans. His predecessor, Sir Edmund Andros, had formalized the Covenant Chain alliance with the Iroquois Confederation, and Dongan attempted to use this to strengthen England's hold on the North American interior. He referred to the natives not as allies but as subjects, and he claimed that all Iroquois lands rightfully belonged to the English Crown.

Indeed, Dongan proved willing to use force to defend these claims. In 1687, the French governor of Canada, Jacques-René de Brisay de Denonville, led a military assault against the Senecas, the



Thomas Dongan, Second Earl Limerick, British Army officer and governor of New York during 1682–1688. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

westernmost tribe of the Five Nations. Dongan responded by claiming that the French had encroached on English territory and gathering in Albany a force from the colony's militia to intimidate the French. Although the troops never saw action, their recruitment represented Dongan's most lasting legacy, as future governors followed his lead both in claiming Iroquois lands for the king and backing up those claims, if need be, with force.

Dongan's fortunes changed after the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689 removed James II from power, as his Catholicism and ties to the old monarch made him a target of considerable suspicion. He left New York under duress in 1690, fleeing first to Boston and then eventually to London. Although he subsequently inherited several family titles, he never regained the prominent position he enjoyed under the Stuarts. Dongan died in London on December 14, 1715.

Owen Stanwood

See also

Andros, Edmund; Covenant Chain; Denonville, Jacques-René de Brisay de; Glorious Revolution in America; Leisler's Rebellion; New York; Seneca, French Attack on

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Dover, New Hampshire, Attack on

Start Date: June 27, 1689 End Date: June 28, 1689

Pennacook Native American attack on the English settlement of Dover, New Hampshire, on June 27–28, 1689. Relations between New Hampshire colonists and their Native American neighbors had been generally satisfactory in the 17th century; indeed, peace had been maintained until the final stages of King Philip's War.

In the autumn of 1676, many New Hampshire natives had accepted Major Richard Waldron's invitation to a meeting at his home in Dover. Waldron had been conducting considerable trade with the Native Americans, all the while earning a reputation as an unsavory and unscrupulous businessman. The natives were accompanied by several tribal leaders who had fought alongside King Philip (Metacom). A detachment of Massachusetts soldiers, who had stopped in Dover on their way to Maine to subdue some of King Philip's supporters there, quickly recognized King Philip's entourage. At Waldron's suggestion, the natives agreed to participate in a mock battle with the colonists, during the course of which the Massachusetts troops captured most of the native warriors. King Philip's supporters were kept as prisoners and the New Hampshire warriors were released.

The natives considered Waldron's role in the affair a serious breach of trust, and they retaliated with attacks on New Hampshire settlements. Hostilities ended with the signing of a peace treaty in 1678, but the Native Americans remained distrustful of the colonists. Indeed, their belief that Waldron was cheating them in the fur trade by using false weights further strained relations, especially since they had to sell land to pay their debts to the traders. Furthermore, the Native Americans suspected the New England governments of trying to incite the Mohawks to attack them.

Despite these strains, Pennacook sachem (chief) Passaconaway and his successor Wonalancet urged a policy of accommodation, and the smaller tribes followed their lead. By 1685, however, Kancamagus had succeeded his aged uncle Wonalancet as sachem of the Pennacooks. Unlike his predecessors, Kancamagus refused to tolerate further abuses from the colonists. He therefore urged the Ossipees and other tribes to unite with the Pennacooks to strike back at the English.

Kancamagus finally made his attack on the night of June 27, 1689, targeting the settlement at Dover (or Cocheco, as the natives knew it), home of the despised Waldron. Although friendly natives warned colonial officials of the impending attack, a message dispatched to Dover did not arrive in time. That evening, several Native American women arrived at the town and announced that others were on their way to trade. The women secured lodging in four of

the town's five palisaded garrison houses. After the colonists were asleep, the women opened the doors and gates of three houses, enabling the warriors, who had gathered outside, to enter. At the fourth garrison, a young man awoke and managed to bar the door.

Kancamagus's men killed Waldron, his trading partner Richard Otis, and several other occupants of Waldron's and Otis's garrisons. Altogether, 23 colonists were slain and 29 others carried off as prisoners. Because the natives apparently held no animosity toward most of the colonists, they allowed many of their captives to escape. The raiding party burned a total of six houses and a mill before withdrawing in the early morning of June 28.

A party of colonists pursued the raiders but failed to catch them. During the next several years, however, troops from New Hampshire and Massachusetts hunted down the Pennacooks and their allies, until the surviving natives finally took refuge with the French in Canada.

Јім Ріесисн

See also

King Philip's War; Mohawks; New Hampshire; Pennacooks; Waldron, Richard

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Drake, Sir Francis

Born: ca. 1540

Died: January 28, 1596

English admiral, privateer, navigator, and politician. Drake was also the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe. Born sometime around 1540 in Tavistock, Devon, in England, Francis Drake went to sea at age 13 and became a ship master at age 20. At about 23, Drake entered the service of his cousin, Sir John Hawkins, who was involved in purchasing slaves in Africa for English trade goods and then selling the slaves in the New World. Drake soon developed a great dislike for the Spanish because of their Catholicism and mistrust of foreigners, but also for a supposed surprise attack made by the Spanish on San Juan de Ulúa following an agreed-upon truce. The attack nearly cost Drake his life. From that point on, he actively preyed on Spanish ships on the high seas. The Spanish counted him a pirate; the English considered him a privateer.

In March 1573, Drake and a force of Englishmen, French adventurers, and escaped Spanish African slaves sailed to Panama in two ships and there captured the Spanish treasure train at Nombre de Dios. Drake made off with a fortune in precious metals. While in Panama, Drake climbed a high tree, becoming the first Englishman to see the Pacific Ocean. Drake and the Englishmen with him returned to England rich men and heroes; he had already won the favor of Queen Elizabeth I. Drake then served the Crown, fighting in Ireland during 1573–1576.



English politician, privateersman, and explorer Sir Francis Drake, who circumnavigated the globe during 1577–1580. (Library of Congress)

In December 1577, Drake set sail from Portsmouth with five ships on orders from Queen Elizabeth to undertake a voyage against the Spanish along the Pacific Coast of the Americas. After crossing the Atlantic, Drake subdued a plot against him and abandoned two of the vessels. The remaining three ships sailed into the Strait of Magellan in August 1578 and then into the Pacific Ocean. The passage through the Strait of Magellan was difficult. Violent storms destroyed one of his ships, and the third returned to England. Drake continued on alone in his flagship, the *Golden Hind*.

Drake then proceeded north, securing vital charts from captured Spanish ships and plundering such Pacific Spanish ports as Valparaiso. Off Callao, the port of Lima, Drake took the Spanish ship *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* bound to Panama with the annual shipment of precious metals. Continuing north, he wintered in the area of San Francisco Bay and may have reached as far north as present-day Washington State. Unable to locate the fabled Northwest Passage, he decided to strike west across the Pacific. In the process of his circumnavigation of the globe, he stopped in Manila, Ternate, and Java, arriving back in Plymouth in September 1580 with the Spanish treasure and spices. The queen's share of half the proceeds doubled the annual revenue to the Crown for that year. Elizabeth knighted Drake, at the same time insisting that all information about the voyage remain a state secret on pain of death.

Drake's great wealth allowed him to buy an estate and to become mayor of Plymouth in 1581. Recalled to the Crown's service, Drake in 1585 commanded a large fleet that sailed to the West Indies, then sacked Santo Domingo and Cartagena. Drake then captured San Augustin (St. Augustine) in Spanish Florida. He collected

tobacco and destitute Roanoke Colony survivors before returning to England.

Drake played a vital role in preventing a Spanish invasion of England. With King Philip II of Spain assembling a large force, Drake led an English force to Cádiz and occupied that Spanish port for three days, destroying 31 Spanish ships and capturing 7. He also destroyed vital stores, including a large stockpile of seasoned barrel staves to make casks to hold provisions, thus condemning the Spanish expeditionary force to rotting food supplies. His raid also set back the Spanish invasion by a year.

Drake was vice admiral of the English fleet (under Lord Howard of Effingham) in the battle with the Spanish Armada in the English Channel in July 1588. He then undertook expeditions to Portugal and the Caribbean. During an unsuccessful voyage to the Caribbean in which he tried but failed to take San Juan Puerto Rico, he succumbed to dysentery and died on January 28, 1596. Drake was buried at sea, off Portobello.

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See also

Florida; St. Augustine

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Dry Docks

Watertight basins in which ships can be docked for repair, examination, or cleaning below the ship's waterline. The two varieties of dry docks are the "graving dock" and the "floating dry dock." A graving dock is built into the ground. After a ship enters the basin, a gate or caisson (floating gate) is sealed and the water within the basin is drained or pumped away. In early dry docks, the ship would enter during high tide and the water would drain as the tide receded. The gate would then be sealed. A floating dry dock is a shiplike structure that can be sunk and then raised under a ship. Dry docks were critically important to both merchant and naval interests. Wooden ships, especially, require constant maintenance, including the removal of barnacles and wood-boring marine mollusks known as shipworms.

The earliest dry docks date from antiquity. Renaissance-era Europe introduced the open masonry basin erected below water level with the aid of cofferdams. The first such dry dock in England was constructed in Portsmouth in 1496 on the orders of King Henry VII. It was a wood and stone structure enclosed by walls of wood, stone, and earth. Subsequent dry docks were often made of stone, although heavy timber framing was also an option. The first floating dry dock dates from 1785 or earlier and may have been constructed from parts of large ship hulls.

Dry docks were not prevalent in colonial America, however. In fact, there were no dry docks in the United States before 1815. Rather, careening was the normal process for routine cleaning and other maintenance below the waterline. In careening, a ship would be pulled over with ropes ("careened") at low tide to expose one side at a time. All the major colonial ports kept careening wharves for the use of merchantmen and Royal Navy vessels. The Royal Navy also had them in Jamaica and Antigua in the Caribbean.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Great Britain, Navy; Warships

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Dudley, Joseph

Born: September 23, 1647 Died: April 2, 1720

British colonial government official, military officer, and governor of Massachusetts (1702–1715) during Queen Anne's War. The son of Massachusetts governor Thomas Dudley and Catherine Hackburn, Joseph Dudley was born in Roxbury, Massachusetts, on September 23, 1647. He graduated from Harvard College in 1665, represented Roxbury in the Massachusetts General Court during 1673–1676, and served with provincial forces in King Philip's War (1675–1676). Afterward, he held various provincial offices until 1685, when King James II appointed him president of the council created to govern Massachusetts and New Hampshire. In 1686, Sir Edmund Andros succeeded him as council president, although Dudley continued to serve as a councilor.

The New Englanders ousted Andros in 1689 amid the turmoil associated with the Glorious Revolution in America, and Dudley spent 10 months in prison for his support of Andros. On his release, Dudley went to England, rehabilitated his political career, then returned to North America and served briefly as chief justice of New York. He was appointed governor of Massachusetts in April 1702.

As governor, Dudley almost immediately had to face the crisis brought on by the outbreak of Queen Anne's War (1702–1713). French and Native American raiding parties from Canada and Acadia attacked the province's western frontier as well as settlements



Joseph Dudley, governor of Massachusetts (1702–1715) during Queen Anne's War. Dudley was much criticized for his inability to halt French and Abenaki frontier raids. (Library of Congress)

in what is now Maine; the most devastating raid was made against Deerfield on the night of February 29, 1704. Dudley responded by sending provincial militia to strike the French at Minas and Beaubassin in Acadia during the following summer. The success of this expedition helped to secure the frontier, and in 1706 Dudley secured the release of the remaining Deerfield captives. However, he failed in two efforts to capture Port Royal, from which French privateers harassed colonial shipping. The town finally fell to a combined British and colonial assault in October 1710.

Dudley's political patrons lost power when Queen Anne died in 1714, resulting in Samuel Shute replacing him as governor in 1715. Dudley died in Roxbury, Massachusetts, on April 2, 1720.

IIM PIECUCH

See also

Andros, Edmund; Deerfield, Massachusetts, Attack on; Glorious Revolution in America; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns

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Dumas, Jean-Daniel

Born: February 24, 1721 Died: August 2, 1794

French officer in the colonial regular troops (troupes de la marine) of Canada. Born on February 24, 1721, at Montauban (Tarn-et-Garonne), France, Jean-Daniel Dumas had a successful career in the French Army during the War of the Austrian Succession before immigrating to Canada in 1750. Rather surprising for a recent arrival from metropolitan France, Dumas proved to be a natural leader of irregular troops, both Native Americans and Canadian militiamen. This became evident at the time of his first assignment in Canada, to Acadia (present-day Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island), where his ability to forge alliances with the native peoples (the Abenakis) attracted official attention. This may explain his subsequent posting to Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh) in the Ohio River Valley in 1754. Expecting a British attack on the strategically placed fort, its commander, Captain Daniel Liénard de Beaujeu, was scrambling feverishly to round up support among local tribes.

Dumas's great moment in the New World came on July 9, 1755, during the Battle of the Monongahela, when he found himself in command of the greatly outnumbered French and Native American force following the death of its leader, Captain Beaujeu. His role in the subsequent victory over Major General Edward Braddock's Anglo-American army earned him command of Fort Duquesne and, the next year, a knighthood in the Order of Saint Louis.

Promoted to major, Dumas served as adjutant in the army of Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, at the siege of Fort William Henry, where he distinguished himself as commander of the Canadian militia. Made adjutant general and inspector of the troupes de la marine on January 1, 1759, Dumas went on to command a brigade under Montcalm at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham on September 13 of that year and again under Brigadier General François Gaston de Lévis at the Battle of Sainte Foy on April 28, 1760. When plans to recapture Quebec after the French victory at Sainte Foy fell through, Dumas was placed in charge of a last gasp effort to block the advance of British Brigadier General James Murray's army on Montreal. Dumas returned to France after the fall of Canada to the British.

Back in France and promoted to colonel, Dumas was made governor of the Île de France (Mauritius) and the Île de Bourbon (Réunion) in the Indian Ocean in 1766. Returning to France once again in 1768, he retired with the rank of brigadier general. In 1773, Dumas published a highly regarded study titled *Traité de la Défense et de la Conservation des Colonies* (Treatise on the Defense and Preservation of the Colonies). He died a major general of the French Army at Albias (Tarn-et-Garonne), France, on August 2, 1794.

BRUCE VANDERVORT

See also

Abenakis; Beaujeu, Daniel-Hyacinthe Marie Liénard de; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort William Henry, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Lévis, François Gaston de, Duc de Lévis; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Murray, James; Quebec, Battle of; Quebec, French Attempt to Recapture; Troupes de la Marine

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Dummer's Treaty

Event Date: 1727

Peace treaty formally ending hostilities in the five-year Dummer's War (1722-1727). The treaty was signed between Massachusetts officials and local Native Americans and was named for Massachusetts acting governor William Dummer. Armed conflict began in 1722 with Native American (mainly Abenaki) raids on English settlements in Maine (then part of Massachusetts Bay Colony). In 1723, the English struck back, beginning in Casco Bay. As in many other areas of North America, relations between English colonists and Native Americans had steadily deteriorated as a result of increasing land encroachments by white settlers. In 1723, a group of Penobscots murdered five white settlers including a military captain. When news of the massacre reached Boston, the colonial government decided to retaliate. In 1724, in a series of raids, the local militia destroyed numerous indigenous villages. The natives responded in equally violent fashion. In late 1724, after suffering heavy losses, the two sides agreed to begin discussions for a peace treaty.

Although active negotiations began in 1725, Dummer's Treaty was not signed until 1727, as Governor Dummer had sought an agreement mainly on his terms, which greatly complicated the negotiating process. It was probably the most important treaty between Native Americans of Maine and the Maritime Provinces with the colony of Massachusetts. The chief representative for the Native Americans was Chief Sauguaaram (also known as Loron). The treaty ended all hostilities but also affirmed the existence of the Abenakis' original land titles. The natives also received promise of a Catholic priest missionary as well as fishing, hunting, and land-use rights in perpetuity. Dummer's Treaty became a model for subsequent treaties between the English and Native Americans.

JAIME RAMÓN OLIVARES

See also

Abenakis; Dummer's War; Moulton, Jeremiah; Râle, Sébastien

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Dummer's War

Start Date: July 25, 1722

End Date: 1727

War between English colonists and various Native American groups, primarily the Abenakis, in New England. The 1713 Treaty of Utrecht ending the War of Spanish Succession, known in America as Queen Anne's War (1702-1713) and the Treaty of Portsmouth (1713) ending its North American component, had put a halt to most violence in northern New England; however, the roots of further conflict continued to grow during 1713-1722. No longer threatened by native attacks, New England settlers and traders once again expanded into the northern and eastern frontiers of the region, intruding on Abenaki lands and disrupting their lives. Religion furthered the divide between natives and the English as Jesuit priests such as Sébastien Râle at Norridgewock continued to proselytize among the Abenakis. Largely dependent on English trade goods, the natives restrained their anger until Massachusetts attempted to arrest Râle in the winter of 1722 and plunder his church.

The Abenakis responded to English encroachments with open insolence and property destruction, causing many English families to flee exposed areas. Hoping to coerce the natives into a settlement, the Massachusetts legislature halted all trade with the Abenakis in September 1721. Instead, the next summer the Abenakis raided the lower settlements of the Kennebec River near Brunswick, where they burned homes and took more than 60 captives (most of whom they later released), but avoided indiscriminate bloodshed. On July 25, 1722, Gov. Samuel Shute of Massachusetts denounced the eastern natives as rebels, essentially declaring war. Shute soon left for England, leaving the conduct of the war to Lt. Gov. William Dummer, who served as acting governor and for whom the conflict was named.

Native American raiding parties struck all across northern New England, engulfing Maine, New Hampshire, and western Massachusetts in war once more. New England went on the offensive in 1723, burning the Penobscot village of Panawanske (Old Town) in February. Convinced that Râle was inciting the natives to violence, New England determined to stamp out his influence for good. After unsuccessful winter expeditions in 1723 and 1724, captains Johnson Harmon and Jeremiah Moulton led forces up the Kennebec River in August 1724. Undetected, the New England forces attacked Norridgewock, killing Râle and several Abenaki leaders and burning the village. The Abenakis were less aggressive following this defeat.

In addition to organized expeditions, British colonial governments encouraged private actions against hostile natives by offering an extraordinarily high bounty of £100 for each scalp of male Abenakis over 12 years of age. Private citizens organized and equipped armed companies, essentially business ventures, to range

against the natives in hopes of gathering scalps and sharing the profits. Captain John Lovewell led one such company toward Pigwacket, where on May 8, 1725, his party was mauled by native warriors. The company lost nearly a third of its men, including Lovewell.

Peace negotiations eventually followed, but Governor Dummer wanted peace on his terms, and had difficulty obtaining agreement among the various Abenaki bands. Androscoggins, Kennebecs, and Canadian mission Native Americans continued sporadic raids on eastern frontier settlements into 1726. A formal peace was declared with Dummer's Treaty in 1727.

Fighting continued, however, in western New England in 1727, where the war was known as Grey Lock's War. Grey Lock, a Western Abenaki leader and possible refugee from King Philip's War (1675–1676), led numerous raids against English settlements in the Connecticut River Valley. He ignored repeated efforts by New York, the Iroquois, and the Penobscots to end the war. However, once the Eastern Abenakis had come to terms with the English, Grey Lock ended his war, but without signing a peace agreement.

Peace was followed by another spurt of English expansion, as the Massachusetts government approved the creation of a series of new townships across northern New England to create a buffer against northern and eastern natives, satisfy the land demands of veterans of King Philip's and King William's wars, and strengthen its claims to the region.

Following Dummer's War, the Massachusetts government took greater control of the Indian trade, establishing three truck houses in frontier regions as the only sanctioned locations for trade with the natives. Also as a result of aggressive English actions against Abenaki villages, the Abenakis dispersed north and eastward in small groups, many moving to Canada.

DAVID M. CORLETT

See also

Abenakis; Dummer's Treaty; Harmon, Johnson; Indian Presents; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Lovewell, John; Lovewell's Fight; Massachusetts; Moulton, Jeremiah; Norridgewock, Battle of; Portsmouth, Treaty of; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Râle, Sébastien; Utrecht, Treaty of

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Dunmore's War

See Lord Dunmore's War

Duquesne de Menneville, Ange, Marquis de Duquesne

Born: 1702

Died: September 17, 1778

French naval officer and governor-general of New France (1752–1755). Born into a distinguished maritime family in Toulon, France, in 1702, Ange Duquesne de Menneville, Marquis de Duquesne, was a grand nephew of the celebrated French mariner Abraham Duquesne. He entered the Royal Marines at a young age and rose through the ranks of the French Navy, ultimately attaining the rank of rear admiral. He also served as commandant of his hometown port.

In 1752, Duquesne arrived in Canada as an unexpected choice to direct colonial policy in New France. Imperious and largely devoid of subtlety and introspection, he soon alienated Canadians and Native American allies alike. Duquesne immediately confronted the challenge of consolidating the French presence in the Ohio River Valley while preventing British encroachment in this lucrative territory.

Duquesne subjected the Canadian militia to a grueling training regimen that reflected his dim view of colonial military capabilities. He then launched missions to construct four forts in the Ohio Country regardless of what proved to be a daunting expense in money and lives. The site of the final post, Fort Duquesne, coincided with the spot selected by the Ohio Company for a British trading post at the junction of the Allegheny River and Monongahela River.

In 1754, a British expedition commanded by Lieutenant Colonel George Washington surrendered to the French at Washington's hastily erected Fort Necessity, following hostilities that had precipitated the beginning of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Aware that his administration had raised grave doubts about the financial solvency and defensibility of New France, Duquesne deemed this a prudent time to return to naval service. His haughty dealings with native allies in the Great Lakes region (known as the Pays d'en Haut) had rendered the Ohio Country forts dangerously overextended without effective indigenous support. Although the French and Indian War opened with serious setbacks for the British, Duquesne's performance would be progressively discredited as the conflict unfolded. In 1755, he requested his own recall and sailed for France.

Duquesne's subsequent naval service was unspectacular. Given command of five ships of the line and a frigate and ordered to join French ships blockaded at Cartagena and help them break free, he succeeded in getting into that port only two of his ships of the line. On February 28, off Cape de Gata, British ships under Admiral Henry Osborn sighted the other French ships and gave chase. Only the French frigate escaped. The three remaining ships of the line, including Duquesne's flagship, the 84-gun *Foudroyant*, were forced to surrender and another ship was driven ashore. Duquesne was among the French taken prisoner. He returned home in disrepute

and did not serve at sea again. Nevertheless, King Louis XV pardoned this most obedient lieutenant and provided him with stipends and honorary titles until Duquesne's death on September 17, 1778, in Antony, France.

JEFFREY D. BASS

See also

Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Ohio Country

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Duston, Hannah

Born: December 1657

Died: 1730

Settler of Haverhill, Massachusetts, captured by Native Americans during King William's War (1689–1897), and celebrated for her killing of nine of her captors. Born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, in December 1657, Hannah Emerson married Thomas Duston, a farmer from Dover, New Hampshire, in 1677, with whom she had eight children. The family resided in Haverhill.

When Haverhill was raided by natives on March 15, 1697, Duston had just given birth to her eighth surviving child. Thomas Duston and their other children were away from the house when the attack began and found shelter in a nearby garrison. However, Hannah and her nurse, Mary Neff, were quickly captured and the infant killed.

The natives marched their captives to a small island settlement near the confluence of the Contoocook River and Merrimack River, just upriver from present-day Concord, New Hampshire. Duston, Neff, and Samuel Lennardson, a young English boy captured at Worcester eight months previously, were held by an extended native family of two men, three women, and seven children.

Informed of the long march to Canada and the gauntlet they would face at its conclusion, the 3 captives contrived to escape. Lennardson convinced 1 warrior to explain how to kill and scalp a person. On the night of March 30, 1697, as the natives slept, Duston and Lennardson killed and scalped 10 of their captors and returned to Haverhill. On April 21, Duston and her husband presented the scalps to the Massachusetts General Court, petitioning for the appropriate scalp bounty. Thomas Duston received £25 on behalf of his wife. Neff and Lennardson received half that amount, although Duston reportedly killed 9 of the 10 natives herself. Duston's deeds were celebrated throughout New England, most notably by Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia Christi Americana*, and she thus

became a frontier legend. Duston survived her husband and died sometime in 1730.

DAVID M. CORLETT

See also

Captivity Narratives; Captivity of Europeans by Indians; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Scalp Bounty

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History of New-England from Its First Planting in the Year 1620, unto
the Year of Our Lord, 1698: In Seven Books. London: n.p., 1702.
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Dutch-Indian Wars

Start Date: September 1, 1641 End Date: May 16, 1664

Persistent animosity resulted in a series of conflicts between European settlers in New Netherland and neighboring Algonquian tribes. Tensions flared into four periods of open warfare: Kieft's War (1639–1645), the Peach War (1655), the First Esopus War (1659–1660), and the Second Esopus War (1663–1664).

Residents of New Netherland carried on a profitable fur trade with the Iroquoian Mohawk people of the upper Hudson River Valley. But they increasingly viewed the Algonquian people—the Hackensacks, Raritans, and Wecquaesgeeks, among others—of the lower Hudson as an obstacle to the colony's expansion. Director General Willem Kieft had purchased from the Algonquins several large tracts of land around New Amsterdam. The Dutch population quickly moved onto the tracts and established farms. The European practice of fencing fields and letting livestock roam clashed, however, with the natives' open-field agriculture. When European hogs and cattle damaged native crops, the Native Americans retaliated by killing and eating the livestock.

Kieft aggravated the growing native hostility by ordering the tribes to pay a tribute to the colonial government. Indeed, Kieft sent a boat to collect the tribute from the riverside native villages. At one village, in early 1640, the crew began loading furs without permission and sparked an armed skirmish. Shortly thereafter, Kieft received word of Raritans killing hogs belonging to a Dutch planter on Staten Island, although in fact Dutch seamen were the culprits. On July 16, 1640, Kieft sent a punitive expedition of some 70 soldiers and sailors against a band of Raritans near Staten Island. Their orders were to demand satisfaction and, if that was not forthcoming, to destroy the Raritans' corn crop and take prisoners. During the expedition, Dutch commander Cornelis Van Tienhoven walked away rather than restrain his men, and the troops immediately began to kill Raritans.

Kieft mistakenly believed that his attack would subdue the Raritans, but it only enraged them. Although conflicting reports

obscure whether a particular incident triggered Kieft's War, a picture emerges of a cycle of murder and revenge, some of it fueled by alcohol, the colonists' main stock in trade. On September 1, 1641, the Raritans retaliated for the July 1640 expedition, killing four Dutch men and burning several houses on Staten Island. Kieft then called for the other tribes to turn on the Raritans. Enough of them did so that the Raritans sued for peace by the end of the year.

In the meantime, in August 1641 a Wecquaesgeek man had robbed and murdered a Dutch craftsman, claiming that he was avenging the long-ago murder of his uncle by Dutch traders. Kieft demanded, without result, that the killer be turned over to him for punishment. The end of hostilities with the Raritans freed Kieft to seek redress from the Wecquaesgeeks. He mounted an expedition against them in March 1642, but the soldiers failed to find the native encampment.

Frightened by how near they had come to being attacked, the Wecquaesgeeks sued for peace. They promised to turn over the fugitive, but never did. In the summer of 1642, the son of a Hackensack sachem, while drunk, shot and killed a Dutch man at work on a Staten Island farm, then fled the area. Again Kieft demanded custody of the fugitive, to no avail.

In February 1643, Kieft decided that the time had come to mount an attack so brutal that it would end all native resistance. He chose two targets: an encampment at Pavonia where several hundred Tappan and Wecquaesgeek people had taken refuge after an attack by the Mohawks, and an encampment of Hackensacks on Manhattan Island. On the night of February 25, 1643, Kieft ordered his militia to massacre the refugees. Eighty Dutch soldiers torched the Pavonia encampment as their victims slept and killed some 80 defenseless men, women, and children. Some 50 volunteers attacked the refugees on Manhattan, killing another 40 of them.

Kieft's massacre ignited a general Indian uprising against colonial settlements—both Dutch and English—throughout New Netherland. Eleven tribes mounted ambushes on the colony's farms and settlements, and the colonists fled to the New Amsterdam fortifications. Many Dutch families desperately sought passage back to the Netherlands. In late April 1643, the tribes accepted the terms of a peace treaty. However, Kieft insulted the sachems by giving them only the bare minimum of the expected gifts.

The young men of the tribes agitated for a return to war, and violent incidents proliferated. In August 1643, the Wappinger tribe began attacking trading vessels on the Hudson. The violence quickly escalated, and within a month 1,500 warriors from seven tribes attacked and occupied much of Manhattan.

Kieft then hired John Underhill, the New England officer who had taken part in the 1637 massacre of the Pequots, to lead a militia force of some 40 English volunteers. Underhill's troops joined with Dutch militia and swept through the countryside, killing more than 100 Native Americans and mutilating several prisoners. A third of the war's native casualties occurred on one night in February 1644. In an action similar to that of the Pequot massacre, Underhill led a 130-man force in the slaughter of more than 500



Illustration showing New Netherland governor Willem Kieft leading a massacre of Mohawk Native Americans during the 1640s. Warfare in the region was in large part caused by the harsh Dutch treatment of the natives. (North Wind Picture Archives)

Wecquaesgeeks and Wappingers in present-day Westchester County, New York, setting fire to their village and killing them as they fled.

Some of the Algonquian tribes sued for peace in April 1645, and by August all parties had signed a treaty. Kieft's War ended with more than 1,500 Algonquians killed, and the countryside virtually emptied of Dutch settlers. The thinning of both populations reduced the opportunities for conflict. However, colonists complained bitterly about Kieft's incompetence, some calling him too bellicose and others saying he failed to prosecute the war with sufficient vigor. Their complaints spurred the West India Company to replace him with Petrus Stuyvesant, who arrived in May 1647. Euro-

pean immigration surged, and once again natives and colonists struggled for control of the land. Isolated killings occurred, but unlike his predecessor, Stuyvesant showed restraint.

The so-called Peach War began in 1655 with the murder of a native woman as she picked peaches from a colonist's trees. Nearly 2,000 Mahican, Esopus, and Hackensack people had come down the river to invade an enemy people, the Canarsies of Long Island. Camped on Manhattan, they foraged for food, and a hot-tempered Dutch land owner shot the woman in his orchard. To avenge her death, on September 15 hundreds of warriors invaded Manhattan Island, Staten Island, and Long Island. During a three-day rampage they burned farms and orchards and captured nearly 100 women

and children. The attack took place while Stuyvesant was absent in Delaware, subjugating the Swedish. On Stuyvesant's hurried return, colonial forces retaliated against native villages and farms, although peace negotiations began in October. Although the combatants did not bring the war to a formal conclusion, hostilities ceased and the Native Americans began ransoming their prisoners. The episode caused the deaths of some 50 colonists and 60 Native Americans, the loss of some 500 cattle, and the destruction of 28 farms.

Stuyvesant began instructing his colonists to live together in defensible villages rather than on their scattered farms. The settlers, however, preferred to live independently and thus remained isolated and vulnerable to attack. They also gave the natives brandy in exchange for furs. Young men of the Esopus tribe, fueled by brandy, harassed colonists around the village of Esopus, a Dutch settlement between New Amsterdam and Fort Orange. Stuyvesant visited Esopus in 1657 and sternly admonished both settlers and natives to refrain from liquor trafficking. He insisted on the fortification of Esopus and stayed long enough to see it accomplished. The situation returned to a semblance of tranquility, but resentment simmered on both sides.

On September 20, 1659, a colonist gave 8 Native Americans brandy in payment for harvesting his corn. They proceeded to have a loud party just outside of Esopus. Several settlers then attacked them after they had fallen asleep and killed 10f the men. The next day, some 500 Native Americans avenged the murder by destroying the settlers' crops, killing livestock, and burning barns. The Esopus and Wappinger peoples attacked colonists' farms and villages along the Hudson River and lay siege to Esopus for 23 days. Stuyvesant raised an army of some 300 men and came to its aid on October 10, but the natives had already abandoned the siege. After a quiet winter, Stuyvesant and his force again sailed north in March 1660 to finish the war. After a series of skirmishes and the killing of the eldest Esopus chief, the combatants signed a treaty in July 1660.

Still resentful that Stuyvesant had deported 11 captives to slavery in the West Indies during the previous war, the Esopus began a new series of attacks on June 7, 1663. They massacred the inhabitants of Wiltwyck (formerly Esopus), including women and children, leaving more than 20 dead and taking nearly 50 prisoners. Calling for volunteers among the panic-stricken populace, Stuyvesant was able to assemble only 150 men, 80 of whom were mercenaries. Their capable leader, Martin Cregier, received a description of the terrain from a woman who had escaped from her captors. On September 3, Cregier led a successful expedition from Wiltwyck, killed some 30 of the Native Americans, and recovered a number of prisoners.

The remnants of the Esopus continued to harass the settlers until a second expedition in October destroyed what was left of their crops. The surviving Esopus took refuge with the Wappingers, and the two tribes planned a joint attack but lacked the resources to carry it out. Instead, they sued for peace near the end of 1663. Distracted by the growing English threat, Stuyvesant accepted their

offer. A treaty concluded on May 16, 1664, divested the Esopus of all their land near Wiltwyck.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Esopus; Esopus Wars; Kieft, Willem; Kieft's War; New Netherland; Stuyvesant, Petrus

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Dutch-Mohawk Treaty

Event Date: 1643

Treaty of alliance between the Mohawks and the Dutch colonists of New Netherland. Both the Mohawks and Dutch settlers in New Netherland came under increasing pressure in the early 1640s from their Native American neighbors and other European colonial powers. France was expanding its settlements in Canada, and the French, together with their Algonquin and Huron allies, posed a significant military threat to the Mohawks. But the more immediate danger came from the French-allied natives' challenge to Mohawk dominance of the regional fur trade.

Dutch claims to the territory along the Connecticut River were jeopardized by the growing number of New Englanders settling in the area. At the same time, tensions with New Netherland's neighbors had led to a series of conflicts called Kieft's War (1639–1645), named after the colony's governor, Willem Kieft.

In these circumstances, the Dutch and the Mohawks recognized the benefits of an alliance. Building on earlier treaties of friendship that Dutch traders at Fort Orange (now Albany) and the Mohawks had made, Kieft entered into negotiations to formalize the relationship between the Mohawks and the colonial government. The actual treaty has not been found, although references to it elsewhere give some information regarding its terms.

The treaty was apparently an economic agreement as well as a political alliance. The Dutch affirmed the Mohawks' position as intermediaries in the fur trade with New Netherland, and provided firearms with which the Mohawks could oppose the efforts of the pro-French tribes to gain a larger share of the trade and direct it to New France. The Mohawks agreed in turn to serve as intermediaries for the Dutch in the colonists' disputes with other natives in

180 Dutch-Mohawk Treaty

the area; they later played a crucial role in bringing the Esopus tribe to negotiate with the Dutch during the Esopus Wars (1659–1660 and 1663–1664). The Dutch-Mohawk Treaty remained in effect to the benefit of both parties until the English capture of New Netherland in 1664. The English then followed in he footsteps of the Dutch and formed their own alliance with the Mohawks.

Јім Ріесисн

See also

Esopus Wars; Kieft, Willem; Kieft's War; Mohawks; New Netherland

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East Fort (New York)

See Fort Ontario (New York)

Easton Conference and Treaty

Event Date: October 26, 1758

Meeting of various Native American groups, Pennsylvania representatives, and British royal officials held at Easton, Pennsylvania, from October 11 to 26, 1758, sometimes referred to as the Easton Congress. The Easton Conference was the largest meeting of its kind in the colony's history. The congress and resulting treaty came about at the height of the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and thus must be viewed within the context of that conflict. The 1758 meeting was actually the culmination of a series of conferences held at the same location beginning in 1756. The negotiations involved a variety of groups, often with competing interests.

For the British, the key issue at the time was their desire to assure the support of the Iroquois and Ohio-area tribes, or at least to guarantee their neutrality in the British war effort against the French. The outcome of the negotiations at Easton held special importance for Brigadier General John Forbes, whose campaign against the French at Fort Duquesne hung in the balance. George Croghan was the chief representative of the British government. In addition, several groups represented various Pennsylvania interests at the congress. On the Native American side, the Iroquois Confederacy, the Delawares, the Shawnees, and others were represented. Altogether, there were some 500 Native American representatives from 13 nations present at Easton.

The various indigenous groups sought a redress of grievances stemming from previous land agreements, most notably the Walk-

ing Purchase. Likewise, there existed internal divisions among the natives as the Iroquois sought to reimpose their hegemony over various tribes they considered dependent, such as the Delawares. Teedyuscung, the Delaware chief, who played a significant role in the two previous Easton conferences, thus had his prestige undercut by the representatives of the Iroquois Confederacy.

The atmosphere at the conference was tense and confused from the start, with Teedyuscung frequently drunk and then ignored by the other tribal leaders in their private councils. The meeting ended on October 26 with the promise by British officials to look into the various native claims of mistreatment in land dealings. Further, the British promised to keep land beyond the Appalachian Mountains free from white settlement. This pronouncement was key in that it allowed the Iroquois to use their considerable influence with the Ohio tribes to keep them neutral.

The British pledge cleared the way for Forbes to advance on Fort Duquesne and the subsequent French abandonment of that post. On the Native American side, the Iroquois succeeded in reasserting their hegemony at the cost of Teedyuscung's reputation. Likewise, they believed they had achieved a clear guarantee of protection from the British crown for the lands beyond the Appalachians.

James R. McIntyre

See also

Croghan, George; Delaware; Forbes, John; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Shawnees; Teedyuscung; Walking Purchase

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Ecuyer, Simeon

Born: Unknown Died: Unknown

Swiss-born soldier in the Royal Americans and commander of Fort Pitt (1761–1763), best known for employing a crude form of germ warfare against the Delawares during Pontiac's Rebellion. No reliable birth information is available for Ecuyer, and his early years are shrouded in obscurity.

Ecuyer entered the historical record at the end of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Beginning in 1761, Ecuyer, a captain, took command of Fort Pitt (present-day Pittsburgh). The Fort had sustained repeated attacks and siege attempts before the British finally defeated the French and peace was declared in 1763. As soon as the French and Indian War ended, another conflict flared, this one between the British and Native American tribes in the Ohio Valley, Great Lakes, and frontier areas of the established colonies.

The renewed warfare was instigated by the Ottawa chief Pontiac. He and other native leaders believed they had just cause for rebellion, including new policies instituted by the British commander in chief in North America, Major General Jeffery Amherst, which included an end to the French practices of gift giving, a staple of Native American diplomacy. In the spring of 1763, in what became known as Pontiac's Rebellion or Pontiac's War, local natives laid siege to Fort Pitt, burning homes as they advanced. The attacks forced dozens of frightened, homeless colonists into the confines of the fort. Realizing that the post was now terribly overcrowded, the warriors laid siege to it, allowing no one to enter or exit. In May or June 1763, Captain Ecuyer informed Colonel Henry Bouquet that he feared an outbreak of disease because of the conditions. Indeed, right after the letter was sent, smallpox broke out within the fort. Ecuyer quarantined those affected and stubbornly refused to capitulate to the besiegers.

On June 24, 1763, according to the journal of the trader William Trent, two native chiefs entered Fort Pitt to convince Ecuyer to give up the fight. He refused, but he did present them with two blankets and a handkerchief. All three articles had come from the smallpox victims.

Historians are still in disagreement over who actually hatched the plan to infect the natives with contaminated articles. But Trent's journal leaves little doubt that it was Ecuyer who carried out the deed. In a July 1763 letter, Amherst had mentioned that the natives should be infected with smallpox, though it is unlikely that he had heard about Ecuyer's action. Whether he had mentioned this previously to Ecuyer cannot be determined, but it is obvious that he would have approved of it in any case. In a matter of several months, a smallpox epidemic swept through the native populations of the Ohio River Valley. Whether it was a result—direct or indirect—of Ecuyer's deed at Fort Pitt cannot be definitively proven.

In July 1763, a group of Shawnee and Delaware warriors assaulted Fort Pitt. Sometime during the fight and ensuing siege, Ecuyer was wounded. The garrison nevertheless fended off the attackers until Bouquet arrived with some 400 reinforcements. Bouquet took command of Fort Pitt in August 1763. Little is known of Ecuyer's remaining years, and the circumstances of his death remain obscure.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; Bouquet, Henry; Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania); Fort Pitt, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Pontiac's Rebellion; Trent, William

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Edged Weapons

In Colonial America, edged weapons appeared in both great variety and design. Traditionally, edged weapons provided a relatively inexpensive means of conducting combat. The most common types of edged weapons in North America during the colonial period were swords, pikes, hatchets, knives, and bayonets.

In the Spanish empire, the common *espadon* (two-handed sword) of Medieval Europe eventually gave way to the lighter and more flexible rapier. The rapier possessed distinctive *quillons* (protective metal rings about the handle) and a long, thin double-edged blade. Elsewhere, rancheros and soldiers alike carried less fanciful *espadas anchas* (common swords). Although the Spanish government formally adopted a cavalry, light infantry, and dragoon sword in the 18th century, the conservative nature of Spain's bureaucracy and the need for economy required the heavy reuse and refurbishment of old swords. Most Spanish colonial swords proved ruggedly simple in design and were worn either in the belt or over the shoulder.

In Britain, the English Army relied essentially on two types of slightly curved, single-edged swords that saw widespread use in America, unofficially known as the Model 1742 and the Model 1751, respectively. However, the English were not known for their cutlery; as a consequence, many army and navy officers frequently purchased their swords from abroad. At the time, Solingen, Toledo, Valencia, and Milan produced some of the finest blades in Europe. Furthermore, neither the British Army nor the Royal Navy standardized their sword designs until after the American Revolutionary War. Consequently, the actual design and acquisition of swords often fell on individual regimental commanders and ship captains. Despite the popularity of the weapon, the French and Indian War (1754–1763) proved the relative uselessness of the sword. Although edged weapons remained the weapon of choice among cavalry,

elsewhere such pieces were fast becoming strictly ceremonial because of the growing lethality of artillery and muskets.

As with the British, the French also realized the sword's impracticality during the French and Indian War. After 1764, French infantry no longer employed swords as combat weapons, although the cavalry did retain them, as did noncommissioned officers, musicians, and grenadiers. The French did not standardize their sword design until 1767.

Colonial American swords revealed tremendous variety in both style and design. American militiamen not only used swords made in Europe and by local smiths but also made use of family heirlooms and captured pieces. In the end, no truly innovative sword designs or patterns emerged in America. As a rule, American-made swords tended to be of poorer quality than their European counterparts. However, beginning in the 18th century, the immigration of German swordsmiths—with their patterns, molds, and tools—slowly but steadily increased the viability of the craft in the British colonies.

On both sides of the Atlantic, other types of swords also existed. For example, "hunting swords" and "small swords" remained popular among the civilian population, whereas fanciful and often bejeweled "town" or "walking" swords continued to be used within diplomatic and court circles.

Another broad class of swords, the cutlass (also known as a "hanger") was a short, single-edged weapon. In the military, swords generally fell into one of two categories: foot (as a back-up weapon for infantry) and mounted (as a primary weapon for cavalry). Generally, officers' swords possessed such fineries as engraving, silver inlay, and handles made of bone or ivory.

Another popular edged weapon was the pike. A weapon ancient in design, it consisted of an iron or brass blade attached to the end of a long, thin, wooden pole. The pike went by various names, including bill, gisarme, lance, partisan, poleaxe, spontoon, halberd, and even half-pike. Although similar in design, each name suggested a slight variation in pattern. For example, a full pike measured 14-16 feet in length, whereas a half-pike came to 6-8 feet; a fauchard was a pike with spikes protruding from the dull side of the blade, and a halberd flaunted a head with a long spear point and a crescent-shaped blade. Originally introduced to the Americas by the Spanish, the pike normally served as a weapon against cavalry, to protect infantry made temporarily vulnerable when reloading their muskets. Although pikes proved effective against cavalry, they too became obsolete with the emergence of improved firearms and artillery. Also, the sheer length of pikes (up to 22 feet) rendered them impractical in North America's heavily wooded terrain. Consequently, by the end of the 17th century, Europeans and Americans alike abandoned the use of pikes as formal weapons. They were, however, retained as ceremonial pieces employed by officers and court officials.

The most commonly used polearm, however, was the hatchet. In the colonial period, the hatchet resembled the European half-axe or American felling axe. Simple in design, hatchets entailed the same fundamental construction: a short wood or iron handle with a forged iron head. The blade edge normally flared out slightly so that it was

approximately twice the width of the base of the blade. Easily repaired by camp blacksmiths, hatchets were generally preferred over bayonets because of their ruggedness and utility. The hatchet consisted of a handle (or "helve") that fit into the "eye" of the head. The blunt end of the hatchet head was the "poll," and the sharp-edged end was referred to as the "bit." One curious innovation—the pipe tomahawk—appeared in the early 1700s. It incorporated a smoking pipe into the body of the handle; a cast brass version appeared around 1750. Another (but less common) innovation was the so-called spontoon hatchet, an unwieldy weapon that used the head design of a traditional long polearm. Other designs entailed a "hammer" poll (which was just as the name suggests) and the less common (and decidedly unwieldy) "spiked" poll, which brandished a picklike extension opposite the blade. Militia laws long required soldiers to carry both a sword and a hatchet, but by the time of the American Revolutionary War, most colonies had resorted to the hatchet alone because of the latter's versatility and low cost. Eventually, both the French and British made the hatchet a standard piece of soldiers' equipment.

As with the hatchet, the knife dates to ancient antiquity (in fact, the word "knife" dates to the Anglo-Saxon *cnif*). The value of the knife traditionally lay in its simple design, ease of manufacture, and its practical use as a weapon—and a tool—for the soldier. Colonials employed a wide variety of knives. For example, soldiers used a rifle knife—with a short blade of about 3–4 inches in length—during combat to trim the excess cloth from musket-ball patches.

Daggers were more fanciful and a bit less common. Such weapons were normally finely made, double-edged knives with blades approximately six inches long and a small hand guard. They usually possessed such adornments as silver hilts and ivory grips. Generally, daggers were carried by officers.

The most common blade of all, however, was the formidable-looking "hunting" knife. Also known as the "fighting" or "scalping" knife, this particular weapon brandished a cutting edge up to 12 inches in length. Handles on knives tended to be either antler, cow horn, or wood. Like many edged weapons, however, knives lost their primacy as combat weapons with the advent of advanced muskets and artillery.

The bayonet also came into prominence during the colonial Period. The exact origins of the weapon remain unclear (the Old French word for arrow was *bayon*, and in the 17th century, "bayonet" referred to a dagger; another theory holds that the weapon was developed in the French town of Bayonne). In any case, the bayonet—a blade approximately 16 inches long attached to the muzzle of a musket—emerged in France as early as the 1640s.

Bayonets allowed a soldier protection against enemy cavalry during the dangerous lull required to reload a musket. In short, the bayonet crudely merged the pike with the musket. The original prototype of the bayonet, the plug, consisted of a blade attached to a tapered wooden handle, the latter part fitting snugly into the muzzle of the musket. Unfortunately, plug bayonets usually proved a nuisance to soldiers; not only could its handle break off inside the musket barrel, but it could be rendered useless because of the buildup of hard gunpowder residue inside the muzzle. Moreover,

184 Edwards, Jonathan

the plug bayonet also required the soldier to remove completely the entire blade each time to fire and reload.

A solution to such problems, the so-called socket bayonet, emerged in Sweden in the 1680s. By attaching the bayonet to the exterior surface of the muzzle using a hollow metal cylinder, a soldier could load and fire a musket while the bayonet was attached. By the early 18th century, the socket bayonet became standard throughout European and American armies. It would remain essentially unchanged for the next 150 years.

FRANK HARPER

See also

Artillery, Land; Artillery, Naval; Muskets

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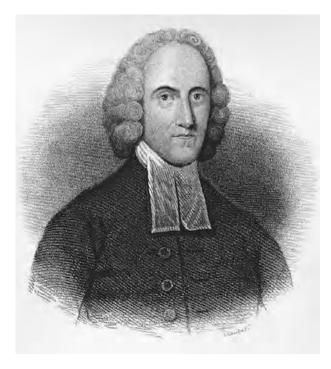
Born: October 5, 1703 Died: March 22, 1758

Leading American theologian and revivalist of the 18th century, largely responsible for spurring the Great Awakening. Jonathan Edwards was born in East Windsor, Connecticut, on October 5, 1703. He was educated in his father's church with other boys preparing for college, and from an early age he was exposed to contemporary philosophy and ideas from Europe.

When he was 12, Edwards entered Yale College and graduated at the top of his class in 1720. Before receiving his master's degree from Yale in 1723, Edwards briefly preached at a poor New York City Presbyterian church. He returned to Yale as a tutor in 1724 but left two years later to serve with his grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, the pastor of Northampton, Massachusetts.

Stoddard was a successful but domineering pastor whose preaching had accomplished several small revivals in the Connecticut River Valley. Revivals at the time referred to an outpouring of God's grace on the congregation of a church, reflected in exceptionally large numbers of new members and evidenced by improved moral conduct among the people. Stoddard died in 1729, and Edwards assumed his position. At first, Edwards's sermons were conventional, but he soon developed a distinctive style. He compared the depravity of human life with the joy of salvation by faith. He concentrated first on the young people of Northampton, whom he saw as licentious and morally challenged. Beginning in 1734, observers saw changes in the conduct of these young people, then their elders, in response to Edwards's teaching.

Visitors spread Edwards's message to neighboring communities, giving rise to the "Little Awakening." Edwards's success had



Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) was a theologian and evangelical Congregational minister who exerted an enormous influence on the course of religion in America. (Library of Congress)

drawbacks, however. Many young people failed to resume their deferential relationship toward their parents, and other members of the congregation fell into despair at scrutinizing the faults of their souls. When Edwards's own uncle committed suicide in 1735, the movement faltered.

Edwards described his work in Faithful Narrative to the Surprising Work of God in 1737. His teachings began to concentrate more on God's wrath and justice toward sinful men. His best-known sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," in which he said that man earns his own damnation but a merciful God sustains him for a time, dates from this period.

In 1740, Edwards invited George Whitefield, an itinerant preacher known for sparking revivals in England and America, to visit Northampton. The resulting wave of revivals became known as the "Great Awakening." Edwards became the best known of the preachers and theologians in this movement.

Many have interpreted the movement as a response to the growing secularization of society and social tensions. For some converts, receiving the Holy Spirit's grace meant trusting in their own consciences and gaining approval for surviving in a less harmonious and more competitive society. The excitement caused by the revivalists soon caused disorder in many of the towns in which they were active. Some followers turned away from established churches and formed their own. Divisions over religious issues were common. Edwards emerged as the chief spokesman for the revivalists. His works included *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion* (1742) and *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (1746).

Edwards was disappointed by the impermanent nature of the revivals during the Great Awakening. He demanded that no new members be admitted to his congregation who did not display outward signs of God's saving grace. He alone would judge whether someone was worthy of admission. His congregation rebelled, and Edwards was removed in 1750. He moved to Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where he ministered to Christianized Native Americans. While there, Edwards wrote *A Careful and Strict Enquiry into the Modern Prevailing Notions of Freedom of the Will* (1754). His discussion of how to define freedom marks Edwards's place in the history of ideas. In 1758, Edwards became president of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University). He served only a month before dying there on March 22, 1758, of complications from a smallpox vaccination.

TIM WATTS

See also

Connecticut

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Emistisiguo

Born: ca. 1718 Died: 1782

Prominent chief of the Upper Creeks from approximately 1763 until his death in 1782. Born in what is now western Georgia about 1718, Emestisiguo rose to a prominent leadership position in the Creek Confederacy. He participated in the war against the neighboring Choctaws during 1763–1776 and took the leading diplomatic role in the Creeks' territorial dispute with Georgia in 1773–1774.

After the Creeks ceded a large amount of land to that colony in 1773, several disgruntled warriors launched attacks against colonists in these "Ceded Lands" at the beginning of 1774. The Georgians retaliated, and officials halted all trade with the Creeks. These actions threatened to spark all-out war. To resolve the dispute, Emistisiguo traveled to Savannah in October, where, with representatives of the Lower Creeks, the native leaders reached agreement with Gov. Sir James Wright and Indian Superintendent John Stuart to halt their attacks in exchange for a resumption of trade.

At the start of the American Revolutionary War, Stuart understood that Britain could rely on the support of the Creeks, the Chero-

kees, the Choctaws, and the Chickasaws, all of whom considered the westward expansion of the colonies a significant threat. These tribes believed that if the British prevailed in the war, they would protect native land rights from further encroachment. However, divisions prevailed among the Creeks, as many leaders hesitated to join the war against the colonists without assurances of British support. Emistisiguo disagreed and led his followers against the rebels, often cooperating closely with Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown's Loyalist Florida Rangers.

Other Creeks, influenced by American agent George Galphin, attempted to kill Emistisiguo and some British agents in 1777 but failed. Stuart eventually secured the allegiance of these dissidents, but Emistisiguo, undaunted, continued to harass the Americans on the frontier.

After British forces had been confined to Savannah in 1782, Emistisiguo led several hundred Creeks in an attempt to reach the town. Finding his way blocked by American troops under Brigadier General Anthony Wayne, Emistisiguo launched a surprise night attack on the American camp near Gibbons's Plantation. Wayne's troops repulsed the natives after a fierce struggle in which Emistisiguo was killed.

Jaime Ramón Olivares and Jim Piecuch

See also

Augusta, Congress of; Creeks

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Encomienda

A feudal-like arrangement that involved land allotments—but not grants—as well as a tributary system of labor for Spanish conquistadors. The word "encomienda" comes from the Spanish word *encomendar*, meaning "to entrust." Spanish conquistadors employed the encomienda throughout the Spanish empire in return for services to the Crown. The encomendero, or holder of the encomienda, received a revocable grant from the Crown that included the native peoples occupying the land. The encomendero did not actually possess native lands, although his absolute power made him the de facto local ruler.

First used in Spain against the Moors, then established by the Castilian Crown for the empire in May 1493, the encomienda was designed to spread Catholicism and Spanish civilization to the natives as well as to protect them against outside attack. For such services, natives were bound to provide labor to the encomendero. By the Law of Burgos, any encomendero with 50 people or more

under his care was required to instruct one young male who could teach the others the tenets of Catholicism and other "civilizing" lessons. The crown also encouraged intermarriage as a means of civilizing the natives.

The encomienda was not inheritable, and the natives retained ownership of their lands as well as independence from encomendero legal or political control. In practice, however, they were often subjected to significant and arbitrary exploitation at the hands of the encomienda holder. Far from official oversight and control, the conquistadors indulged their voracious appetites for wealth. Unwilling to perform manual labor themselves, ambitious encomenderos acquired lands of their own and established a plantation-like economy based on free labor performed by the natives. The encomenderos eventually became a landed gentry, living off the backs of indigenous peoples, many of whom became virtual slaves. Empowered to set the amounts of tribute (tax) that could be collected from the natives, encomenderos used that power to exact huge concessions from them. Very soon, abuses of the system in the Caribbean contributed to major population losses. The Caribbean encomienda was all but defunct within a generation.

The New Laws of 1542 and the establishment of the Council of the Indies set limits on the amount of tribute and established local government in the form of the Audienca. However, the encomenderos quickly took control of local governments and the encomienda continued, although it evolved ultimately into the repartimiento, finally becoming debt peonage.

John H. Barnhill

See also

Council of the Indies; Spain

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Endicott, John

Born: ca. 1588

Died: March 15, 1665

Governor of Massachusetts (1628–1630, 1644–1645, 1649–1650, 1652–1654, 1655–1665) and colonial military leader best known for his exploits during the Pequot War. John Endicott (also spelled Endecott) was born in Devon, England, about 1588. It is believed that he had some military service before joining the New England Company and leading a group of colonists to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1628.

Endicott served as governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony until the arrival of John Winthrop in 1630. A staunch Puritan, Endicott



John Endicott, colonial magistrate and governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Endicott is best known for his military exploits leading up to and during the Pequot War. (Library of Congress)

is often associated with his strict reproach of religious dissenters, such as the tearing down of Thomas Morton's maypole and the hanging of Quakers.

In 1636, Endicott led a group of 90 colonial volunteers on a preemptive strike against the natives of Block Island and the Pequots. This action precipitated the Pequot War. Outraged by the assault, the Pequots retaliated against the English at Fort Saybrook. The war culminated in the 1637 Mystic Fort Fight, which killed 700 Pequots and virtually extinguished the tribe.

Considered an upstanding citizen of Salem and Massachusetts Bay, Endicott held several high offices, including the governorship, for multiple terms. After the death of John Winthrop in 1649, Endicott served as either governor or deputy governor of the colony until his death on March 15, 1665, in Boston.

SARAH E. MILLER

See also

Endicott Expedition; Fort Saybrook (Connecticut); Mystic Fort Fight; Pequot War; Pequots

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Endicott Expedition

Event Date: August 1636

Military expedition mounted by Massachusetts Bay Colony against Native Americans on Block Island (now part of Rhode Island) that precipitated the Pequot War. In July 1636, a ship captained by John Gallop came on John Oldham's pinnace near Block Island. Seeing a number of Block Island Native Americans on board, Gallop investigated. A fight ensued in which Gallop and his men killed 10 or 11 of the natives before discovering Oldham's body below deck.

The Block Islanders paid tribute to the Narragansetts, and Massachusetts then sent a delegation to the Narragansetts to investigate Oldham's murder and whether that tribe was hostile to the English. The investigators returned with a report that the leading Narragansett sachems (chiefs) were loyal and willing to punish those responsible. Nonetheless, Gov. Henry Vane of Massachusetts ordered John Endicott (also spelled Endecott) to lead a force of volunteers from the colony against Block Island.

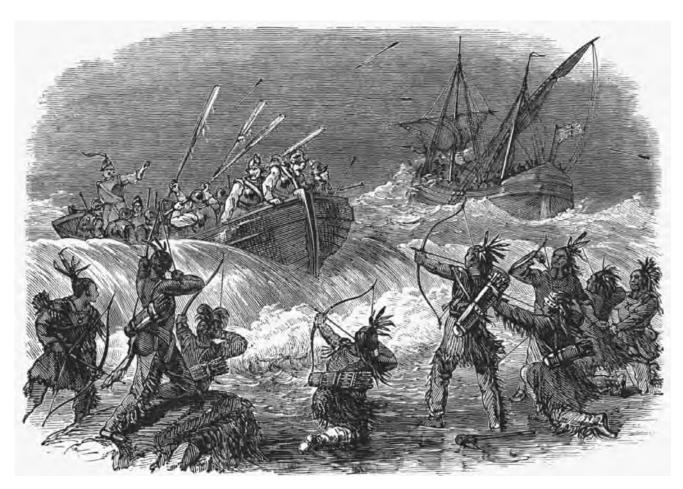
Vane's instructions to Endicott were to take possession of the island, killing all the native adult males there and capturing the

women and children (who would then be sold as slaves). Immediately thereafter, Endicott was to sail to Pequot territory and there demand the surrender of those natives responsible for the 1633 murder of colonist John Stone. The Pequots were to pay damages in wampum and to turn over several Pequot children as hostages to ensure the tribe's future good behavior.

Endicott's force of some 90 men set sail in five ships on August 24. Endicott had the assistance of captains John Underwood, Nathaniel Turner, William Jenningston, and an Ensign Davenport, as well as two native guides. High waves and wind at Block Island prevented their ships from effecting a landing, and the men had to disembark off shore and wade in, whereupon they promptly came under native attack. Musket fire soon brought a native retreat, however.

Over a two-day period Endicott and his men attempted to do battle with natives, who had sought refuge in the swamps on the island. The colonists burned two abandoned villages and set fire to much of the island, including its corn fields. After having killed perhaps as many as a dozen natives and unable to locate the remainder, Endicott ordered his men to return to their ships in order to fulfill the second part of his orders.

Endicott first sailed to Fort Saybrook at the mouth of the Connecticut River on Long Island Sound. His men remained there for



Woodcut depicting the colonial attack on Native Americans inhabiting Block Island, 1636. John Endicott led some 90 Massachusetts Bay volunteers to Block Island, touching off the Pequot War. (North Wind Picture Archives)

four days because of bad weather. The commander of the fort, Lieutenant Lion Gardiner, was a strong critic of the expedition, fearing native retribution on Saybrook, wondering why Massachusetts leaders would be mounting a military expedition to avenge the murder of a Virginian, and warning Endicott of the likely repercussions.

When Endicott's ships finally sailed up the Pequot River, the Pequots inquired as to the reason for the English presence. Endicott remained on his ship and did not answer. The next day the Pequots sent an emissary to meet with Endicott, who then revealed the purpose of his expeditionary force, saying that he had come to avenge the killing of Virginian John Stone. The envoy replied that the sachem Sassacus and others had killed Stone in retaliation for the murder of the sachem Tatobem. The Dutch had captured and killed the grand sachem, and the Pequots had taken revenge on Stone, not recognizing that he was English. In their defense, the Pequots believed that it had been an honest misunderstanding and that the murder had been justified. They refused, therefore, to surrender those involved in the attack.

The envoy departed and asked the English to wait for a response. Fearing a trick, the English went ashore, ready to do battle. The Pequots asked for time, claiming their principal sachems were away. Endicott took this as a ruse by which the Pequots would gain time to prepare for battle, and he ordered an attack.

Here, as on Block Island, the Pequots refused to fight; they simply fled. Endicott repeated the tactics of Block Island, torching and destroying the Pequot settlements and crops. Endicott's force then returned to Massachusetts Bay, having failed to accomplish any of the mission's objectives.

As Gardiner predicted, Endicott's actions led to war. Despite defense of the action by new governor John Winthrop (1637–1640) as necessary to avenge the deaths of two Englishmen, colonial settlements and trading posts on the Connecticut River soon came under attack by angry Pequots. This fighting soon expanded into the destructive Pequot War.

SARAH E. MILLER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Endicott, John; Fort Saybrook (Connecticut); Gardiner, Lion; Pequot War; Pequots; Sassacus; Winthrop, John

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English Bend (Louisiana)

Heavily reinforced French stronghold located some 15 miles southeast of New Orleans along the Mississippi River. Now known as

Shingle Point or English Turn Bend, this point on the river was originally called Detour de l'Anglois (English Bend). Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, who eventually became Louisiana's first governor, gave the point its name in 1699. That year, Bienville took charge of the 70-man garrison at Fort Maurepas on Biloxi Bay while his brother Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville returned to France with news of the new colony. While exploring the lower Mississippi in 1699, Bienville encountered an English corvette bringing French Huguenots to found a colony on the Mississippi. Bienville managed to convince its captain that the river was already in French possession, and the corvette departed. Henceforth, the spot came to be called English Bend. The incident is noted in d'Iberville's Second Voyage to the Mississippi, The Journal of the Renommée.

The French considered English Bend as a potential site for the capital of Louisiana, but they instead chose New Orleans in part because of ocean access. Still, it remained an area of strategic importance, particularly during King George's War (1744–1748).

Following the British capture of Louisbourg in 1745, Louisiana governor Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial developed plans for creating fortifications on either side of the Mississippi at English Bend. These plans came into fruition a few years later with the construction of earthworks to hold batteries of 18-pounder guns. Although Vaudreuil had wanted stone fortifications, they were deemed too expensive and were never built.

The battery on the right side of the river was named Fort St. Leon, and the battery on the left was called Fort St. Marie. The 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle temporarily ended hostilities in the New World, which meant that the French removed the cannon from English Bend and placed them in storage. They likewise withdrew garrisons at Fort St. Leon and Fort St. Marie.

By 1751, however, the international situation had deteriorated and Vaudreuil reestablished garrisons and built officers' quarters at both forts. By 1753, there were a total of 42 guns at English Bend: 30 18-pounders, 48-pounders, 46-pounders, and 44-pounders. By the middle of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), each fort had a garrison of 3 officers, 2 noncommissioned officers, and 20 to 25 soldiers. The British, however, never attempted an invasion of Louisiana.

In 1762, France ceded this portion of Louisiana to Spain, and English Bend was abandoned again. The French shipped their cannon back to France, and the forts fell into disrepair. It was not until 1807 that the U.S. government, after purchasing the Louisiana territory from France, built its own fortifications on the site. Although these fortifications were not involved in any action during the War of 1812, their garrisons did help to defend New Orleans in 1815.

STEVEN DIETER

See also

Fort Maurepas (Mississippi); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Le Moyne de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste; Louisbourg Expedition; Louisiana; Mississippi River; New Orleans (Louisiana); Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Pierre de, Marquis de Vaudreuil

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English Bill of Rights

Event Date: February 13, 1689

Declaration of certain civil and governmental rights promulgated by Parliament during the Glorious Revolution and made a condition for William III and Mary II to ascend the throne. The English Bill of Rights was one of the most important documents in the legal history of Great Britain and its colonies. Along with the Magna Carta (1215) and the Habeas Corpus Act (1679), it is a fundamental document in the development of liberty and the "rights of Englishmen." The bill in fact marks the beginning of the supremacy of Parliament over the king in England.

On February 1, 1689, a convention of Parliament declared that King James II had abdicated his throne by his flight to France. It also issued a Declaration of Rights, which was reissued by Parliament on February 13, 1689, as the English Bill of Rights. The declaration provided that James II had endeavored to subvert and destroy the Protestant religion as well as the laws and liberties of England. It also held that he had assumed power to dismiss or block the execution of laws without the consent of Parliament. In addition, it charged that he had promoted "unacceptable" religious practices, maintained a private army, and levied taxes without Parliament's consent.

In addition to stating grievances against James II, the Declaration of Rights established important principles of England's



Etching of William III and Mary II ascending the English throne in 1689. (Brown Brothers)

constitutional monarchy and, by extension, its colonies. It guaranteed members of Parliament freedom of speech and immunity of prosecution for statements made in parliamentary debate. It prohibited the king from levying taxes without Parliament's consent and forbade a standing army in peacetime without parliamentary approval. In addition to guaranteeing the right to trial by jury, it forbade the king from interfering with jurors. Finally, it required frequent meetings of Parliament (subsequently spelled out by the Triennial Act) and forbade the king from interfering in parliamentary elections.

The Glorious Revolution and the English Bill of Rights firmly established Parliament as the dominant force in English politics and codified accepted practices of constitutional governance. The latter formed the foundation of rights for British colonists in the New World.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Glorious Revolution in America

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Start Date: 1642 End Date: 1660

English Civil War, Impact on America

The period of the English Civil War (1642-1649) and Interregnum (between reigns) that followed had a profound impact on the English North American colonies. During this time frame, the colonies enjoyed considerable autonomy and underwent significant change in their political institutions.

Discontent in England between Parliament and King Charles I (1625-1649) led to civil war in 1642. The struggle was essentially between royal absolutism and parliamentary rule. Religion was also an important factor, as the Puritan-dominated Parliamentary side rejected the High Church Anglicanism of Charles I, the religious authority associated with the monarch, and the open Catholicism of some members of the king's circle.

On the victory of Parliamentary forces and the execution of Charles in 1649, Puritan leader Oliver Cromwell assumed control of the English government. This period, referred to as the Interregnum, lasted until 1660, when the monarchy was restored under King Charles II. The new government did little regarding the colonies until the Council of State was formed in 1649. During the English Civil War, the mid-Atlantic colonies of Virginia and Maryland experienced some population expansion from English immigrants who arrived soon after the Puritans assumed power.

Many were supporters of Charles I who chose to emigrate to avoid persecution.

Events in England also had political repercussions in the colonies. When Cromwell's Council of State attempted to secure recognition from Virginia, that colonial government refused. Emissaries from London sent in 1651 achieved that recognition in 1652 by granting Virginia's assembly the power to legislate and authority to choose a governor and councilors.

Maryland experienced rebellion during the English Civil War, by which time the majority of the colony's population was Protestant. In 1645, the Protestants rebelled against their Catholic governor, Leonard Calvert, forcing him into exile in Virginia. Protestants governed Maryland until the spring of 1647, when Calvert regained control of the colony. Before his sudden death in June, Calvert appointed a staunch royalist, Thomas Greene, as governor. In 1648, Lord Baltimore demoted Greene to the council and replaced him with William Stone, a Protestant. In 1649, the colony's government passed the Toleration Act to protect the Catholic minority and promote religious tolerance. In 1654, this act was challenged by the Protestants with the support of the commissioners. The next year saw an armed clash between the Protestants and Lord Baltimore's forces. The Protestants won the contest and retained control until the restoration of Lord Baltimore's proprietary rights by Charles II.

Cromwell's government in England largely ignored the New England colonies, the leaders of which soon came to the conclusion that they would need to address problems on the local level themselves rather than count on the government in England. The English Civil War brought both a decline in immigration to the region and an economic depression. In 1643, New Englanders established the New England Confederation to oversee the internal affairs of the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven colonies. This body dealt with the economic depression, intercolonial boundary and commercial disputes, and the military threat posed by the French, the Dutch, and the Native Americans in the region until the mid-1660s.

The English Civil War had unforeseen long-term effects on the North American colonies. The brief period of self-government at this time resulted in important political reforms in the colonies and in a sense permanently altered their relationship with Britain and the Crown.

THERESA L. STOREY

See also

Maryland; New England Confederation; Virginia

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Esopus

Native American group that occupied the Hudson River Valley and Delaware River Valley as the Dutch and English began to colonize the region. The Esopus were a classic colonial tribe in the sense that they organized during the colonial period in response to changing colonial power relations among native tribes and between natives and Europeans. Indications point to Lenni Lenape ancestral roots. The Esopus, along with the Dutch, controlled much of the vital Hudson River trade from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic in the early 1600s. As with most native groups of the region, the Esopus relied on agriculture, hunting, fishing, and trapping to power their economy. As the colonial period progressed, fur trapping became especially important for trade with the Europeans.

In the pre-Columbian period, Algonquin legends suggest that the Lenape, the Nanticoke, the Powhatan, and the Shawnee peoples all came from an Algonquian-speaking, Lenape homeland, probably associated with mound-building cultures. The Lenapes (or "true ancestor people") slowly migrated and were transformed into the Delaware peoples that occupied much of the New York area by 1600. The northern Lenapes occupied the region from the headwaters of the Delaware River to the Catskills and the western shore of the Hudson River. By the mid-17th century, these Munsee-speaking peoples or "people of the stoney country" were known as the Esopus, who were subdivided into four principal tribal groups: Catskills, Memekotings, Waranawonkongs, and Warasinks.

As the Dutch settled the Hudson Valley during 1610–1664, they established a relationship with the Esopus that was alternatively cooperative and antagonistic. By 1660, the Dutch numbered 10,000 people; the Esopus numbered perhaps 15,000. The Esopus, as with many other native groups, were not really a tribe or even a nation. Rather, they were a set of linguistically and territorially related clans and bands that defined relationships of power with one another and with Europeans on that level. The so-called wolf and turkey clans were the most prominent. They also had the most dealings with the Dutch.

With the French in Canada, the English in New England, and the Dutch and the Swedes along the Hudson and Delaware Rivers, power relationships in the 1600s changed radically for the Esopus. Conflicts with the Dutch, the Mohawks, the Senecas, and the Iroquois left the Esopus with little population and even less land. Indeed, the Esopus Wars (1659–1660, 1663–1664) with the Dutch decimated the tribe. A smallpox epidemic in the mid-17th century further taxed the tribe and forced them into refugee status with the Iroquois after 1664. They now became wards of the Iroquois, supplying some manpower and foodstuffs in return for protection. The English takeover of Dutch New Netherland in 1664 cemented their fate by cutting off further trade through the Dutch. Eventually, the surviving Esopus, who had lost all of their land holdings to the

Dutch and the English, migrated west and south to settle in central Pennsylvania, where other Lenni Lenape tribes already resided.

CHRISTOPHER HOWELL

See also

Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Dutch-Indian Wars; Esopus Wars; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; New Netherland; New York

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Esopus Wars

Start Date: 1659 End Date: 1664

Armed conflict between the Dutch and their native allies and the Esopus Nation, centered in the Hudson River Valley. The Esopus Wars were part of a long history of conflict between European settlers and natives in the northeast region of North America. Between 1614 and 1640, some 2,000 Dutch colonists settled on Esopus (Waranawonk) lands along the Hudson, from Long Island to Kingston, New York. They did so under the auspices of the Dutch West Indies Company. By 1640, a series of Dutch-native conflicts had developed stemming from land issues and revenge killings. The last of these conflicts were the First and Second Esopus Wars. Ironically, those wars ended with the Dutch destruction of much of the Esopus tribe by 1664, the same year in which the English invaded New Amsterdam and put an end to Dutch colonization in North America. After 1664, the Iroquois Confederation replaced the Esopus as the major native power broker in the Hudson River Valley.

In the early 1600s, French, English, and Dutch colonists flowed into a region already experiencing complicated political affairs between indigenous tribes. The river valleys were key strategic transport corridors, both for trade and for maintaining maritime power. In New York, the Hudson River and its mouth at Long Island was a vital corridor for both Native Americans and Europeans. The natives wanted to be involved in trade markets to receive goods such as firearms and liquor, whereas the Europeans desired native lands along the Hudson River and those lands' resources, such as beaver pelts. A classic colonial confrontation soon ensued with both natives and colonists using the other to reconfigure power relationships in the valley.

At the time of the first Dutch settlement in 1614, the Susquehannocks controlled the east bank of the Hudson, the Esopus the west bank, and the Mohawks the upper reaches around the Catskill Mountains. The Dutch then established Fort Orange (Albany, New York) on the Hudson River in 1614, Fort Good Hope (Hartford, Connecticut) on the Connecticut River in 1624, and Fort Amsterdam (New York City) on western Long Island in 1626. Although claimed by England, which was often preoccupied by war with France and Spain, the region was actually controlled by Native Americans such as the Esopus. The Esopus and other natives tolerated the Dutch presence because they offered an additional outlet for trade, especially for guns that were vital to native diplomatic negotiations and political affairs. With the French in Canada, the English in New England, and the Dutch on Long Island, the Hudson River became the strategic center of trade, with New Amsterdam as the key port.

Dutch expansion upriver, the devastation wrought by Old World diseases, and increasing conflict between native tribes all took their toll on indigenous peoples along the Hudson River. News of the 1636–1638 Pequot War in New England and the virtual extermination of a once-powerful Pequot Nation also heightened tensions and increased the flow of native refugees into the region. This powder keg ignited over a series of revenge killings that led to Kieft's War (1639–1645) with the Raritans around Long Island. That was followed by wars involving the Iroquois (1642–1655), the Anglo-Dutch Wars (1652–1654, 1654–1657) centered on New Amsterdam, the capture of New Sweden by the Dutch in 1655, and a final conflict with the Raritans known as the Peach War (1655–1657). Both the Dutch and the Esopus found themselves increasingly drawn into these conflicts on opposing sides. Inevitably, they were bound to face each other directly over the control of the Hudson River.

During 1652–1655, the Dutch settlement of Kingston, New York, established the Dutch at both ends of the valley. By 1660, the Dutch population was at 10,000. Centered on a small settlement known today as Esopus, Dutch-native land conflicts developed into full-scale war all along the river. The Mohawks entered it on the side of the Dutch and turned the tide against the Esopus. The Mahicans then intervened as peacekeepers and ended the first conflict in 1660. But because the natives were mobile seasonally, the European-style treaty proved inadequate as Mohawk, Mahican, and Dutch interests were advanced at the expense of the Esopus.

Mahicans settled on Esopus lands to act as a buffer against future conflict. Eventually, they left the lands to the Mohawks. Many Esopus refugees fled to Mahican buffer lands only to find that they could not reacquire their homelands when the conflict ended. Return of captives also worked against the Esopus, as many of the Esopus returned from captivity with diseases that spread rapidly.

The Esopus fared even worse in the second phase of the Esopus Wars from 1663–1664. They and the Susquehannocks had dominated the Hudson Valley up to the Dutch arrival. Now both groups found their gunpowder and weapon supplies severely limited. Also, their access to European trade goods had almost been cut off. This was largely the result of Dutch success in halting Swedish and English shipments in 1655 by capturing New Sweden and by a peace treaty with England ending the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654). By 1663, the trade guns remaining to the Esopus were at best old and unreliable, and deadly to the user at worst. Mohawks, supplied by the English and granted access by the Dutch, now poured into Esopus territory. Most Esopus fled as refugees to Mahican lands in the Catskills, never to return to their former home.

In 1664, a British fleet captured New Amsterdam, and the role of the Dutch and the Esopus as major power brokers in the Hudson River Valley ended. The British and the Iroquois now replaced them. The Esopus sold the last of their lands in 1677 to newly arrived French Huguenots and moved west with the permission of their Iroquois landlords to Pennsylvania's Wyoming Valley.

CHRISTOPHER HOWELL

See also

Dutch-Indian Wars; Esopus; Hudson River; Native American Trade; New Netherland; New York

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Falls Fight

Event Date: May 19, 1676

Massacre of Native Americans by New Englanders during King Philip's War (1675–1676). The assault took place on May 19, 1676, and helped cripple native resistance and allowed for a venting of colonial frustrations over the guerrilla tactics used against their communities. Settlers learned from engagements such as this to fight counterinsurgencies by relying on native allies, stealth, and the merciless treatment of captives.

Although most natives of southern New England had answered the call of the Wampanoag sachem Metacom (King Philip) to attack European settlements, the momentum in the conflict began to shift in favor of the English by the spring of 1676. Intelligence arrived at Hatfield, Massachusetts, regarding an encampment of Pocumtucks 20 miles away, near the falls of the Connecticut River at a site known as Peskeompscut. An assortment of warriors, women, children, and the elderly had gathered at this popular fishing spot to resupply.

Captain William Turner commanded a small garrison at Hatfield and he recruited men and boys from surrounding towns to mount an assault on Peskeompscut. A Baptist imprisoned several times in Puritan New England for his religious beliefs, Turner owed his billet to the widespread damage suffered in Massachusetts that overrode concerns over spiritual compatibility. Weakened by illness during his latest incarceration, he led a force of roughly 150 troops. They thoroughly lacked discipline, experience, and expertise. Little more than a rabble, Turner's force reached Peskeompscut at dawn on May 19, intent on providing no quarter to a foe whose assaults had threatened every New England colony.

Surprising the unguarded native position, the prearranged signal for the attack entailed firing directly into the wigwams. The

ensuing bloodbath left several hundred natives dead, including women and children. Not a single prisoner was taken. Turner's men rejoiced at suffering merely one fatality.

But the engagement was far from over. The sounds of battle had roused other natives along the Connecticut River, who prepared an ambush. Negligent in planning for his retreat, Turner divided his forces only to face a withering onslaught. Thirty-nine colonists, including Turner, died in the ensuing melee. Although technically the campaign was a triumph for colonists, the high casualty rate of the ambush rendered the earlier victory bittersweet. As word spread of the slaughter, there was no public outcry to reassess the conduct of the war. Attitudes were now hardening among New Englanders as the conflict grew dangerously close to genocide. Indeed, wracked with guilt and uncertainty over the maintenance of what they believed was their unique covenant with God, Puritans embraced a spirit of vengeance that manifested itself on the battlefields and in the courtrooms of their land during and after King Philip's War.

Falls Fight was notable as the first clear-cut English victory in the war (more specifically, in the western theater). It also decimated a still-powerful native force, which adversely affected morale among the native combatants. The battle also served to propel the bulk of Metacom's forces out of the Connecticut River Valley and toward the south and east, into Rhode Island and the eastern reaches of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Finally, Falls Fight can be seen as a sort of unintended pincer movement against Metacom's forces. The chief had to make the decision whether to retreat west or east. He chose the east because he greatly feared conflict with tribes to his west, in particular the Mohawks. But the east would prove to be no more hospitable, as it was the center of colonial power. In effect, Metacom's forces were



Contemporary illustration of Falls Fight, an English attack on an Abenaki village on the Connecticut River on May 19, 1676, during King Philip's War. Also known as the Peskeompskut Massacre, it brought the deaths of many Native American noncombatants. (North Wind Picture Archives)

stuck between threats on either side. It would thus only be a matter of time before they would meet the brunt of colonial strength, which would bring about the downfall of Metacom.

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See also

King Philip's War; Metacom; Wampanoags

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Falmouth, Battle of

Start Date: May 16, 1690 End Date: May 20, 1690

Battle in which French and allied Native American forces captured Fort Loyal and Falmouth (now Portland, Maine, then part of Massachusetts) as part of a three-pronged attack against English settlements during King William's War (1689–1697). In early 1690, three raiding parties comprised of Native Americans and Frenchmen departed Canada to attack New England's northern and eastern frontiers. One party of 60 Abenakis and 50 French troops under

René Robineau, Sieur de Portneuf, targeted Falmouth and Fort Loyal on the shores of Casco Bay, Maine. By the time Portneuf reached Falmouth in May, his party had grown to 400 or 500 men, having been strengthened by local Abenakis and a French raiding party that had struck Salmon Falls in March.

Falmouth was protected by four garrison houses and Fort Loyal, a picketed stockade along the bluff of the bay, which mounted a few light cannon to command water and land approaches to the town. A large portion of the garrison had left on a scouting expedition on May 10, however, leaving Captain Sylvanus Davis and perhaps 100 men in the garrison.

Portneuf intended to surprise the garrison, but his eager Native American allies gave away their presence by ambushing a solitary settler early on May 16. Davis then dispatched a scouting party of 30 men to investigate the shots, but they too fell into an ambush, and only a handful escaped back to the fort. Falmouth's soldiers and settlers defended the four garrison houses until nightfall and then withdrew into Fort Loyal.

On the morning of May 17, the Abenakis and Frenchmen plundered and burned the deserted village and then turned on Fort Loyal. For three days Portneuf's forces maintained a withering volley of fire on the English fort, wounding many of Davis's men. At the same time, French soldiers crept toward the fort, eventually placing incendiaries against the palisade's base.

Badly outnumbered and threatened by a fiery end, Davis negotiated a surrender with Portneuf on May 20. The French granted quarter to the garrison and promised safe passage to the nearest English town. When the English gave up the fort, however, the French declared them traitors and rebels for supporting the claims of William of Orange against their rightful king, James II. Bargains with rebels being void, the Frenchmen and Abenakis killed or wounded numerous English soldiers and inhabitants and took as prisoners more than 70 men, women, and children, most of whom remained in Abenaki hands.

Combined with attacks on Schenectady, New York, and Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, the destruction of Falmouth caused considerable panic along the New England and New York borders. The New England frontier contracted as soldiers and settlers west of Wells, Maine, abandoned posts and homes. The Abenakis were encouraged by their successes and French participation, and they continued their attacks on English settlements even after Portneuf and his French soldiers had returned to Ouebec.

DAVID M. CORLETT

See also

Abenakis; Acadia, New England Attack on; Fort Loyal (Maine); King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Salmon Falls, Battle of; Schenectady, Battle of

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Firearms Trade

Firearms played an important, perhaps vital, role in the European settlement of North America. Conflicts between settlers and Native Americans were waged with firearms, and European superiority in these weapons gave them an advantage that the Native Americans could never overcome. Naturally, firearms were prized possessions and became one of the most important trade items for the various cultures involved.

The earliest recorded use of firearms in North American warfare was at the Battle of Lake Champlain in 1609. Samuel de Champlain's intervention against the Iroquois to help his Algonquin friends created a conflict between the French and the Iroquois that continued for 150 years. The incident taught the Iroquois that they needed firearms to defend their territory against the newcomers. Fortunately, the Dutch soon opened trading posts with the natives in New Amsterdam (later New York).

Beginning in 1624, Native Americans were able to obtain firearms in exchange for highly prized beaver pelts. By 1630, the Iroquois had driven the Algonquins from their territory. To protect their native allies and to obtain furs, the French began to arm Native Americans allied with them. The English also supplied weapons to natives in their spheres of influence. An average exchange rate of the 18th century

was 1 pelt for a pound of shot or three flints, 4 pelts for a pound of powder, 10 pelts for a pistol, and 20 pelts for a trade gun.

As the demand for furs continued, the number of firearms manufactured for trade to the Native Americans soared. Most European countries followed a policy of mercantilism with their colonies. According to this theory, only the motherland would produce manufactured goods, and the colonies would supply raw materials. Manufacturing was actively discouraged in the colonies. As a result, the vast majority of the firearms produced during the colonial period came from Europe.

Gradually, a specific type of weapon, the trade musket, was developed for trade with Native Americans. It was the most commonly exchanged weapon during the 17th and 18th centuries in North America. European gun makers during this time created weapons for trade that shared certain characteristics, no matter which country produced them. Trade muskets were all smoothbore weapons. Native Americans wanted a firearm that could be used for hunting or warfare. The trade musket could fire either small shot or a ball. Its bore was much smaller than that of European weapons. Eventually, the 24-bore was accepted as standard. This meant that a pound of lead would produce 24 balls for a trade musket. In contrast, the English Brown Bess musket was a 12-bore, meaning only half as many balls could be produced from the same amount of lead. The smaller ball also meant that trade muskets required smaller amounts of gunpowder. These considerations were important to Native Americans, as they could only secure lead and powder from the colonists. In addition, the smaller-bore weapons meant that more ammunition could be carried for less weight than that for the weapons generally carried by the colonists.

Trade muskets also had shorter barrels than those of their European counterparts. In dense forests, shorter barrels were handier and less likely to catch in brush. A 30-inch barrel was most popular, although other lengths were common. The accompanying loss in accuracy with a shorter barrel was acceptable because most targets were relatively close. The trade musket normally was about 4 feet long overall, compared to a long rifle that might be up to 6 feet in length. The trade musket was also plain, without decorations. Many natives preferred to decorate their own weapons with brass tacks, feathers, or paint. Trade weapons were designed to be rugged and stand up to frontier conditions. Trigger guards were also larger than normal, to allow firing while wearing mittens.

Gun makers did all they could to reduce the cost of the trade muskets. This fact and the lack of decorations led many to believe that trade muskets were inferior to European weapons. Stories circulated about trade muskets bursting or breaking, and although some were obviously true, the Native Americans who used the muskets were not fools, and they soon accumulated sufficient experience to recognize an inferior weapon. Keeping trade muskets in working order became such an important issue that most treaties in the 18th century required colonial governments to make gunsmiths available at trading posts to repair Native American weapons.

See also

Muskets; Native American Trade; Rifle

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Florida

The Florida Peninsula, known as La Florida to the Spanish, has long coastlines bordering the Atlantic Ocean to the east and the Gulf of Mexico to the west. Because of its commanding maritime presence and proximity to the Caribbean, Florida has always held an important strategic significance. The Florida Peninsula was initially home to dozens of Native American tribal groups. The first Europeans to undertake significant exploration of Florida were led by Juan Ponce de León, whose expedition mapped the coastline of most of southern Florida beginning in 1513. In the ensuing decade, Francisco Hernández de Córdoba led three expeditions to expand Spanish knowledge of the topography and resources of the region and initiate contact with the native tribes in the region. In 1521, Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón revealed the perils of the slave trade for natives in the region. He invited 60 natives aboard his ship then promptly transported them to the slave markets of the West Indies. By the time of Ayllón's visit, European diseases had already begun to decimate the local populations, opening them to Spanish conquest.

In 1528, Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca mapped the remainder of the Florida Gulf Coast. Yet with the exception of a brief visit during Hernando de Soto's ill-fated plundering expedition, the Spanish largely lost interest in Florida until 1565. In that year, French explorers constructed a fort at the mouth of the St. Johns River (near St. Augustine and modern-day Jacksonville), directly challenging Spanish authority in the region. In response, the Spanish attacked and destroyed the fort, subsequently founding St. Augustine, which has been continuously inhabited since that time. St. Augustine was intended as both a military fortification and a focal point for Spanish missionary efforts in the region. Eventually, the Spanish would build the huge and imposing masonry presidio at St. Augustine known as Castillo de San Marcos.

The lack of any obvious desirable resources in Florida, such as the gold and silver found in other regions of the New World, kept the development of Florida as a fairly low priority for the Spanish authorities. Nevertheless, Spanish influence in Florida steadily grew with the establishment of trading posts and missionary settlements. The missionaries, led initially by members of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) and later the Franciscan Order, viewed conversion of the local populace as a divine mission.

At times, local tribes rebelled against missionary influence, but the Spanish missionaries consistently established control through the region. Although the Spanish were certainly willing to use military force to subdue the native populations, religion proved most effective. By the 1640s, most Florida Native Americans had converted to Christianity. Catholic priests, meanwhile, remained remarkably flexible in adapting Catholic doctrine to local customs, even allowing the practices of polygamy and matrilineal succession. The conversions were not entirely harmonious, however. Although the Apalachee and Timucua populations entirely converted, each revolted against Spanish control in the mid-17th century. Indeed, the Timucuan Revolt of 1656 was particularly violent. Both revolts were brutally suppressed by Spanish military might, and by 1700, Spanish control of the region was largely unchallenged.

Spanish holdings in Florida remained safe from overthrow or conquest until the establishment of English colonies along the Atlantic Coast of North America. The foundation of Carolina in 1664 and the establishment of Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) in 1670 brought English colonists close to territory claimed by Spain. Charles Town lay less than two days by sail from St. Augustine. As English settlers poured into the region and expanded their territory, conflict with Spanish Florida became increasingly likely.

During the colonial period, Spanish Florida and English Carolina fought a series of frontier engagements. In Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), Carolina colonists launched an ill-fated assault on St. Augustine. After the attack had failed, the Spanish retaliated with an equally futile attack on Charles Town. Carolinians also sought to capture Pensacola, in the Florida panhandle, but this effort proved entirely unsuccessful. As in other colonial regions, the war deteriorated into a series of cross-border raids, using native allies to augment the strength of colonial forces. In 1732, the British colony of Georgia was founded; it was designed in part to serve as a buffer zone between Florida and the lucrative Carolina colony.

In King George's War (1744–1748), English colonists again encouraged the British government to attack Spanish colonial possessions, including Florida. Once again, an offensive to capture St. Augustine proved disastrous, as did a joint provincial-regular expedition to Cartagena. Spanish counteroffensives also proved futile, and yet another series of punitive raids characterized the last years of the war.

During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Spain remained neutral until 1761. When Spain did join the war as an ally of the French, it was too late to turn the tide of battle in the colonies. By becoming a co-belligerent, Spain invited attacks in Florida as well as other locales. At the peace negotiations in 1763, Spain agreed to surrender all of its territorial claims east of the Mississippi River, including Florida. In exchange, Spain received all French North American territory west of the Mississippi River. The king of Spain offered free transportation out of Florida, and most Spaniards sold their possessions to English speculators and departed for Cuba or Mexico.

English control of Florida solidified the safety of the two Carolinas and Georgia. The British government divided its new acquisi-



Depiction of Native Americans attacking the Spanish in Florida in the early 1600s. A 1606 engraving by Theodor de Bry. (Library of Congress)

tion into the provinces of East and West Florida. The latter province attracted some settlers eager to farm the fertile lands along the Mississippi River but was recaptured by Spanish forces from New Orleans in a series of campaigns from 1771 to 1781. Florida remained under nominal English control until 1783, when it reverted to Spanish control as a part of the Treaty of Paris ending the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783). In 1819, Spain agreed to cede Florida to the United States after the U.S. government agreed to assume all private American claims against the Spanish government. Florida became a state in 1845, formally ending the colonial period in the region.

PAUL J. SPRINGER

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1718–1721); Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Apalachees; Ayllón, Lucas Vásquez de; Castillo de San Marcos (Florida); Córdova (Córdoba), Francisco Hernández (Fernández) de; Florida, Franco-Spanish Conflict over; Franciscan Order; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Georgia; Jesuits; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; North Carolina; Ponce de León, Juan; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Soto, Hernando de; South Carolina; Spain; Spanish Mission System, Southeast; St. Augustine; Timucuan Revolt

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Florida, British Invasion of

Start Date: January 1740 End Date: June 1740

Primary campaign of the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744), occurring during January–June 1740. In an attempt to remove Spaniards from their North American outpost at St. Augustine, Florida, British forces under the command of Major General James Oglethorpe attacked St. Augustine in June 1740. Although the invasion came in response to a larger border dispute between English and Spanish officials in North America, Oglethorpe's invasion reflected a final rupture between the two governments in Europe.

Prior to the declaration of war, Oglethorpe had conducted raids along Florida's northern border. In particular, the English sought retribution for Spain's policy toward runaway slaves. Since the early 1730s, the Spanish government in Florida provided refuge to any British runaway slave who was able to reach Florida. These slaves were armed and allowed to live with the African militia at Fort Mosé. In the fall of 1739, South Carolina was plunged into turmoil as a result of the Stono Rebellion, in which slaves killed several whites, and British officials pointed to Spanish policy toward fugitive slaves as its cause. Indeed, participants in the uprising admitted their intentions to travel to Florida in search of freedom.

When Oglethorpe began his invasion in 1740, the Stono Rebellion seemed a legitimate excuse for the attack. In late December 1739, a British declaration of war against Spain arrived in the British colonies. Only weeks later, Oglethorpe began his march toward St. Augustine. After first failing to take Spanish outposts on the St. Johns River, British forces captured Fort Picolata and Fort Pupo on January 7. Oglethorpe was confident that he could conquer Florida. After the quick and decisive victories, his army returned to Georgia to prepare for a final push to St. Augustine. By May 1740, the English had several thousand troops and six warships ready to move against the Spaniards.

As the English traveled southward in late May, Oglethorpe destroyed Fort Diego, a small blockhouse north of St. Augustine. On June 2, English forces closed in on St. Augustine itself. Reconnaissance scouts came up on Fort Mosé, and Oglethorpe prepared to attack this outpost only two miles north of St. Augustine. A violent rainstorm postponed Oglethorpe's plans, but at first light on June 3, British soldiers arrived at the fort only to find the Spaniards had already abandoned it.

Fort Mosé provided Oglethorpe and his men an excellent site from which they could mount their final advance on the Castillo de San Marcos. Directly across the inlet, Oglethorpe stationed another contingent on Anastasia Island, a barrier island directly across from the Castillo. Once the English captured the Castillo, all Florida would fall.

For days, fighting between the two sides raged as the Spanish garrison and most residents of St. Augustine found cover inside the

walls of the stone fort. On June 25, 300 Spanish soldiers marched to Fort Mosé and there defeated the British. This battle marked the turning point in the struggle for Florida.

Shocked at this setback, the English soldiers on Anastasia Island nonetheless continued their bombardment of the fort and city. The impenetrable walls of the Castillo de San Marcos protected the Spanish militia and residents of St. Augustine. While the English shelled the fort to no avail, Florida governor Manuel Montiano waited for reinforcements to arrive from Cuba. Montiano had confidence in the fort's ability to withstand the English attack, but he worried that the residents inside the fort might run out of provisions before the battle ended.

For the English, time also played an important role in the outcome of the battle. Gradually, English morale fell. On June 14, an English soldier defected to the Spaniards, providing them with a complete report of English strength and strategy. The confidence of the English soldiers suffered another reverse on June 26, when Oglethorpe and his men happened upon the decaying bodies of the English killed by the Spaniards at Fort Mosé.

Oglethorpe's last attempt to take St. Augustine involved a bold plan to blockade the city from the Matanzas River, Atlantic Ocean, and St. Johns River. In preventing any water access to or from St. Augustine, Oglethorpe believed he could starve the city into submission. It was, however, too late. Spanish galleys from Cuba slipped through the blockade to bring supplies, and in a matter of days Spanish warships would arrive. With few options and many of his soldiers sick with dysentery, on July 4 Oglethorpe ordered a retreat from Florida. The high hopes of the English of conquering Florida had given way to defeat.

Skirmishes between British and Spanish forces in Florida continued during the remainder of July as the remaining British soldiers found their way home, but the threat to Spanish control had ended. In Georgia and South Carolina, residents could not comprehend how Oglethorpe failed to take St. Augustine. Most expected the Spaniards to retaliate, and Oglethorpe prepared Georgia for an expected Spanish incursion. Finally Spanish troops invaded in 1742, but they met defeat in the Battle of Bloody Marsh on July 7. Although this Spanish reverse did not erase the memory of Oglethorpe's loss two years earlier, it ended a decades-long struggle between England and Spain over the southeastern borderlands.

Shane Runyon

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Castillo de San Marcos (Florida); Florida; Fort Mosé (Florida); Fort Picolata (Florida); Georgia; Montiano, Manuel de; Oglethorpe, James Edward; South Carolina; St. Augustine, Battle of; Stono Rebellion

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Florida, Franco-Spanish Conflict over

Start Date: September 20, 1565

End Date: April 1568

Struggle between France and Spain over control of Florida. Although Spanish explorers had visited the coast of Florida and Spaniards had occasionally visited that peninsula to capture Native Americans to work as slaves in their Caribbean colonies, Spain made no effort to establish a permanent settlement there until 1521. In that year, Juan Ponce de León, who had led an earlier expedition to Florida in 1513, tried to establish a colony on the peninsula but was stopped by food and water shortages and Native American resistance. Pánfilo de Narváez led another expedition to Florida in 1528, which suffered disaster in a storm on its return after failing to find gold. Another attempt to establish a colony in Florida, led by Hernando de Soto in 1539, was abandoned when de Soto set out across the American Southeast in search of riches.

Frequent warfare between France and Spain from 1521 to 1559 led French king François I to consider challenging Spanish control in America by establishing a French presence there. However, these intentions produced no results except the harassment of Spanish shipping in the area by French privateers. Finally, in 1562, Charles IX and his chief minister, Gaspard de Coligny, revived the plan.

Coligny, who was a Huguenot Protestant, hoped to simultaneously strengthen France in relation to Spain and provide a refuge for his co-religionists by sending them to colonize North America. In May of that year, 50 Huguenots led by Captain Jean Ribault landed at Port Royal, near modern Beaufort, South Carolina, and built a fort there. Ribault returned to France for supplies and reinforcements, but when he did not come back, the colonists built a ship and also returned to France. Learning of the French presence, the Spaniards dispatched a military force there that destroyed the abandoned fort. A year later, the Spanish established the settlement of St. Elena on the site of the wrecked fort, which they considered part of Florida.

The French made a second attempt to colonize Florida in 1564, sending René de Laudonnière along with 300 Huguenots to secure France's claim to the region. Laudonnière landed at the mouth of the St. Johns River, where the French built Fort Caroline (also known as Charlesfort). After a promising start, the French explored the area and established a good relationship with the local Timucuan tribe; however, food shortages caused dissent among the colonists. Some left, and others blamed Laudonnière for the problems and staged an unsuccessful mutiny.

Spanish officials became aware of the threat to their position in Florida and dispatched Pedro Menéndez de Avilés with 1,000 men and four ships to oust the French. Menéndez landed at the site of present-day St. Augustine, 40 miles south of the French colony, in 1565. The Spaniards immediately erected a fort to protect their position. Indeed, Menéndez had arrived just in time to prevent the landing of 600 French reinforcements led by Ribault.

With his ships blocking Ribault's access to the St. Johns River, Menéndez set out to destroy Fort Caroline. On September 20, 1565, 500 Spanish soldiers stormed and captured the French fort after a brief struggle. Laudonnière and some 50 people managed to escape and eventually returned to France. Menéndez, after learning that his prisoners were Protestants, executed about 130 men but spared 60 women and children. He then marched back to St. Augustine to deal with Ribault.

While Menéndez attacked Fort Caroline, Ribault sailed along the coast seeking access to the St. Johns River. During his journey, a storm wrecked the French ships and fewer than 400 survivors managed to reach shore. Learning of their location from his Native American allies, Menéndez marched south to find the French. On his way, he encountered and annihilated several small groups of Huguenots before encountering Ribault and his defenseless followers at Matanzas Bay. After fruitless negotiations between the two commanders, Menéndez ordered the execution of the approximately 350 remaining French on October 12.

The capture of Fort Caroline and the destruction of Ribault's expedition put an end to French efforts to colonize Florida. The Spanish established a settlement at St. Augustine and occupied Fort Caroline, which they renamed Fort San Mateo. In April 1568, the French avenged Menéndez's massacre when Dominique de Gourgues attacked Florida with more than 150 men, capturing two small Spanish posts and then seizing Fort San Mateo. Gourgues then executed all of his Spanish prisoners and claimed that the Spanish loss equaled the number of French killed three years earlier by Menéndez. Despite this success, the Spanish hold on Florida remained secure.

JIM PIECUCH

See also

Castillo de San Marcos (Florida); Florida; Fort Caroline (Florida); Fort San Mateo (Florida); Laudonnière, René Goulaine de; Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro; Ribault, Jean

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Forbes Campaign

Start Date: April 1758 End Date: November 1758

Successful British military campaign in the summer and fall of 1758 against Fort Duquesne during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). In 1758, Prime Minister William Pitt reorganized British military strategy in the French and Indian War. Determined to break French power in the Western Hemisphere, Pitt outlined plans for a major offensive in North America while deemphasizing British efforts in other theaters of the conflict. Pitt's strategy hinged

on a two-prong assault against French positions in Canada. His goal was the capture of New France's two principal settlements of Quebec and Montreal, which Pitt believed would force French capitulation in the North American theater.

In order to achieve his objective, Pitt hoped to seize control of the upper Ohio River region from the French so that British armies could simultaneously pressure Canada from access corridors in the Great Lakes and along the St. Lawrence River. The key to French control of the upper Ohio River Valley was Fort Duquesne, located at the Forks of the Ohio River (present-day Pittsburgh). Following the dismal failure of Major General Edward Braddock's campaign to capture the fort in 1755, the French had used it as a supply depot and organizational center in support of far-ranging Native American raids against the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers. These raids devastated the backcountry regions of Pennsylvania and Virginia, preventing either colony from supporting the British war effort to London's satisfaction. Recognizing the potential benefit of bringing the two largest American colonies more fully into line with British military needs, Pitt made the capture of Fort Duquesne a primary military objective for 1758.

To command the campaign, Pitt chose Brigadier General John Forbes, a Scottish surgeon turned soldier whose prior experience included service in the War of the Austrian Succession and the suppression of the Scottish Highland uprising in 1745. Determined not to repeat Braddock's mistakes, Forbes carefully planned his campaign. He spent several months in Philadelphia organizing an army of some 7,000 men, the majority of whom were colonials raised in Pennsylvania and Virginia. Among Forbes's colonial staffers were several future prominent American military leaders, including George Washington.

Forbes developed a plan of advance through the southern Pennsylvania countryside that mandated that the British Army stop and secure each segment of territory along the march before moving forward. Thus, during the summer of 1758, Forbes's army advanced cautiously, hacking a road out of the rugged wilderness and stopping often to construct forts and blockhouses where provisions and reserve garrisons were located. The crux of these responsibilities fell to Forbes's chief assistant, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Bouquet, who executed them with great competency. As a result, Forbes secured a lasting British presence in the region, one that would be difficult to dislodge even if the British failed to conquer Fort Duquesne.

As he marched his army west, Forbes decided to employ diplomacy in an effort to deprive the French of their native allies. Forbes sent a diplomatic mission under the leadership of Moravian missionary Christian Frederick Post inviting native representatives to a peace conference with the British at Easton, Pennsylvania. When native leaders accepted, Forbes ordered colonial officials to address Native American land grievances. After lengthy negotiations, the Easton Conference produced a tenuous peace agreement by which the natives of the upper Ohio Valley agreed not to participate in the fighting when Forbes's army reached Fort Duquesne.

All that remained was for Forbes to complete his mission and drive the French from the Forks of the Ohio. The final events of the

campaign proved anticlimactic, however. Following an ill-fated assault against Fort Duquesne by advance units of Forbes's army under Major James Grant, Forbes reigned in his troops and debated whether to delay an all-out assault until the spring of 1759. Fortune, however, favored Forbes. Impressed by the size of the British force and distressed by the inability of the French to provide them with adequate supplies and provisions, in November the few Great Lakes tribes still supporting the French at Fort Duquesne melted away into the forests. Recognizing their inability to hold the fort without Native American assistance, on November 24 the small French garrison demolished the main structures and retreated down the Ohio River. Attracted by the noise of the exploding powder magazine, Forbes ordered his advance units forward, and they took possession of the smoldering ruins the following day. Forbes dubbed the site Pittsburgh in honor of his patron, William Pitt, and authorized the construction of a significantly larger garrison to be known as Fort Pitt.

Forbes had triumphed where Braddock had failed. His success was surely the result of careful planning and skillful diplomacy, and his campaign proved successful on all fronts. It opened a route for British military units to threaten French positions in Canada from the west, relieved the pressure on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and induced those colonial governments to be more forthcoming with economic and logistical aid for the war effort. Forbes, however, did not live long enough to reap his just rewards. Ill for much of the campaign, he returned to Philadelphia in January 1759, where shortly thereafter he succumbed to his aliments.

DANIEL P. BARR

See also

Bouquet, Henry; Braddock, Edward; Braddock's Campaign; Easton Conference and Treaty; Forbes, John; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Bedford (Pennsylvania); Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Pennsylvania; Pitt, William, the Elder, First Earl of Chatham

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Forbes, John

Born: September 5, 1707 Died: March 11, 1759

British general who led an expedition to destroy Fort Duquesne in 1758 during the French and Indian War. John Forbes was born on September 5, 1707, in Edinburgh, Scotland. After training in medicine, Forbes purchased a coronet's commission in the Scots Greys cavalry regiment in 1735. Serving in Flanders during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) as an aide-de-camp and quarter-master general, he was present at the Battle of Fontenoy and the Battle of Laffeldt. Forbes also served in the 1745 Jacobite Rising, seeing action at Culloden. Appointed colonel of the 17th Foot in early 1757, he went to North America to serve as adjutant general to the commander in chief, John Campbell, Lord Loudoun.

Promoted to brigadier general by Prime Minister William Pitt on December 28, 1757, Forbes was assigned to lead a campaign against Fort Duquesne, which Major General Edward Braddock had failed to capture three years earlier. Rather than repeat Braddock's failed advance on Fort Duquesne through Virginia, Forbes, much to George Washington's dismay, chose a route through Pennsylvania. Although shorter in distance, this course of advance required the opening of a new 200-mile road over the rugged Allegheny Mountains.

Arriving in Philadelphia in mid-April 1758 to take command of his expedition, Forbes spent several weeks organizing his troops, supplies, and financial backing as well as resolving difficulties with colonial leaders and his Native American allies. By the time he reached Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in July to begin the offensive, a force comprised of 5,000 provincial troops, 1,400 Montgomery Highlanders, 400 Royal Americans, and 40 artillerymen had been assembled.

Assigning command of the expedition's forward elements to the capable Lieutenant Colonel Henry Bouquet, Forbes devoted his attention to the construction of Forbes Road, which included the building of a series of forts at intervals along the route. He also ensured the maintenance of adequate supplies and negotiated with the Shawnees, the Delawares, and other tribes to deny allies to the French. Throughout the expedition Forbes was ill with dysentery and in severe pain, which limited his travel to a litter borne by horses.

On September 14, 1758, an advance force of 800 men, led by Major James Grant, engaged the French at Duquesne without authorization from Forbes or Bouquet. Despite suffering a severe reverse and losing 300 men, Forbes's expedition, unlike that of Braddock, was not forced to retreat but, instead, was in a strong position to continue its advance.

Abandoned by their native allies and cut off from Canada by John Bradstreet's destruction of Fort Frontenac, the French quit their position at Fort Duquesne in November 1758. With Forbes less than a day's march from the fort, the French abandoned and burned Duquesne. The British occupied the remains of the fort on November 25. Plagued by illness, Forbes remained at Fort Duquesne for only a week, long enough to rename it after Pitt, before he returned to Philadelphia, where he died on March 11, 1759.

BRADLEY P. TOLPPANEN

See also

Bouquet, Henry; Braddock's Campaign; Forbes Campaign; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns

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Forks of the Ohio

The strategically vital confluence of the Monongahela River and Allegheny River that forms the Ohio River at the site of present-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Considered the key to control of the Ohio Country, the Forks of the Ohio became the target of French, British, native, and colonial ambitions and thus served as the flash point for the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

The Forks of the Ohio dominated trade along the river routes up the Ohio north to French Canada and down the river south to British Virginia. Although valuable, the forks also presented strategic challenges. For the French, supplying a post at the forks relied on a chain of forts from the St. Lawrence River through the Great Lakes and down the Allegheny River. Loss of any one fort in the chain would isolate those farther along it. For the British, there was no direct water route to the forks, requiring the construction of roads to support any major effort aimed at the forks, either from Virginia (Major General Edward Braddock's route) or across Pennsylvania (Brigadier General John Forbes's route).

The French, the British, and the Iroquois Confederation (along with other native nations) disputed ownership of the Ohio Country and its strategic heart. The Ohio Company, a group of Virginia and London land speculators, attempted to build a fort at the forks, but was driven out by the French. The Virginia colonial government's effort to support the company with armed forces led by company member George Washington resulted in open warfare between the Virginians and the French, supported by their native allies. French victory allowed the construction of Fort Duquesne at the forks and opened the French and Indian War.

In response to the Virginians' defeat, the British dispatched regular troops under Braddock, who also failed to dislodge the French. A later British effort under Forbes in 1758 proved successful. The French destroyed Fort Duquesne and retreated, allowing the British to construct Fort Pitt to control the forks.

Fort Pitt rapidly attracted British settlers, both to trade with the natives and to farm the fertile lands of western Pennsylvania. The natives welcomed the traders but not the farmers, leading to increased tension. Changes in British policy regarding gifts and trade regulation also contributed to the outbreak of Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763, which included an unsuccessful siege of Fort Pitt, the final effort to wrest control of the Forks of the Ohio from the British.

GRANT WELLER

See also

Braddock's Campaign; Forbes Campaign; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania); Fort Pitt, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Iroquois Confederation; Ohio Company; Ohio Country; Pennsylvania; Pontiac's Rebellion; Proclamation of 1763

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Fort

A site or structure that was fortified so as to provide protection and defense. Because of the threats posed by hostile Native Americans and rival colonists, fortifications were crucial in many areas during the colonial period. European settlers built most of the forts, although natives also fortified some of their towns and villages. Forts ranged in size from a single wooden blockhouse or palisade to a virtual city surrounded by stone walls. Although the primary purpose of a fort was protection, some forts, especially those on the frontier, also served as storehouses or trading posts.

The first forts in North America were built by the continent's first inhabitants—the Native Americans. These were the simplest of fortifications, usually consisting of a palisade of upright logs. Offering only minimal protection, they were susceptible to fire and relatively weak against gunpowder weapons. The battles against the Pequots at Mystic Fort and the Narragansetts at the Great Swamp Fortress showed the ineffectiveness of native fortifications, especially against European weapons.

The earliest structures fortified by the colonists were in two forms: blockhouses and simple forts. These posts protected local populations from raids by hostile natives or enemy soldiers, provided temporary shelter to nearby settlers when facing such threats, and housed the munitions and provisions necessary to guard the town's inhabitants for a limited time. These structures were not intended to house the citizenry for extended periods; rather, they provided protection until either assistance arrived from other towns or the assailants left or were repelled by the town's militia. Many settlements relied on blockhouses, which were often surrounded by a simple wooden palisade, for protection. Offering rudimentary protection, these palisades were constructed of logs placed in the ground vertically and sharpened at the top to discourage scaling attempts. Land outside the palisade was cleared of brush to create a firing zone clear of obstacles and to deny the enemy places for cover.

Fortifications Used during the Colonial Period in North America

Name	Description
Abatis	Obstruction made of trees placed in front of a field fortification
Blockhouse	One- or two-story structure used by militias, usually made of logs
Breastworks	Temporary, chest-high defensive structures made of earth or timber
Fort	Permanent structure used for protection or defense
Garrison house	Private dwellings used for local defense
Presidio	Permanent Spanish fort, often made of adobe and used for defense against Indians
Redoubt	Unsophisticated, temporary, fully enclosed field fortification, often made of earth

Some early settlements possessed larger dedicated forts. The earliest were triangular in shape, such as France's Fort Caroline, near present-day Jacksonville, Florida, and James Fort, built to protect the English inhabitants of Jamestown, Virginia. Both of these garrisons contained a few cannon mounted on earthen bastions, or outward-projecting fortifications that provided flanking fire along the fort's walls and created overlapping firing zones outside the fort. They also featured simple wooden palisades. Early forts could also be square or rectangular, although many, especially those near smaller settlements, lacked artillery.

Frontier forts often defended a nation's territorial claims, protected goods that fostered and preserved trade with Native Americans, and served as safe houses in which frontier-dwelling colonists could seek shelter in case of attack. Because they served many of the same purposes, frontier forts bore strong resemblances to early fortifications. They were almost always made of timber, rather than stone. Although they were generally more significant structures than the early forts, frontier posts were usually not designed to withstand artillery bombardment. Most took the form of a dedicated blockhouse surrounded by a simple wooden palisade. They contained few, if any, artillery pieces.

Forts built along the primary routes between supply centers and frontier forts served as way stations that protected the men and goods making the journeys. The British posts at Fort Bull and Fort Brewerton guarded goods en route from Albany to Oswego. France's Fort Machault offered safety to merchants and soldiers ferrying supplies to Fort Duquesne. These posts often guarded major portages as well. Britain's Fort Stanwix protected the so-called Great Carrying Place, the portage that connected the Mohawk River and Wood Creek in upstate New York. The French strongholds like Fort Ticonderoga and Fort Niagara each contained small forts or blockhouses that defended nearby portages, and Fort de la Presque Isle and Fort Le Boeuf each guarded the two ends of the portage between Lake Erie and French Creek. Britain's Fort Venango consisted of a large central blockhouse with some outworks. Forts built along major thoroughfares were also natural links in a colony's

communications system and could be used to extend supply lines in times of war.

By the beginning of the 18th century, stouter forts began appearing. With growing populations and territorial expansion, tensions among the French, the British, and the Spanish colonies began to escalate. In addition to native attacks, officials thus began to fear full-scale invasions of their most strategic areas by the military forces of rival colonial powers. Fortifications designed to withstand artillery bombardment and prolonged sieges were now built with more frequency. The strongest forts were made of stone, but most in North America were still constructed of timber. The decision to build with wood was primarily attributed to haste, as Europeans put up outposts very quickly to counter an immediate threat. But speed compromised quality, resulting in a weaker structure. In some cases, proper construction materials were not readily available, or if available, difficult to access. The use of stone meant either expensive transportation of necessary materials, or if supplies existed nearby, quarrying, which required significant time and intensive labor. Fort Duquesne and Fort William Henry each had facings of logs instead of stone. Fort Carillon was built of timber, with the intention of later adding a stone facing. Fort St. Frédéric was a stone structure, but its condition had nevertheless deteriorated by the onset of the French and Indian War (1754-1763). France's most significant stone stronghold was Fort Niagara.

The larger forts in North America defended strategically significant areas. Forts such as Ticonderoga and William Henry on the Lake George-Lake Champlain corridor guarded potential invasion routes. They served to delay, if not block, enemy incursions. Other strongholds like Fort Niagara stood watch over important positions. All of the supplies destined for France's Ohio Valley posts passed through Fort Niagara, and it also guarded the western approach to Canada. These defensive structures were usually built on the model of a European artillery fort, though they generally did not completely conform to the teachings of renowned military engineers like Sébastien Le Prestre, Marquis de Vauban. Vauban called for polygonal or star-shaped forts, but those in North America both French and British—were usually square in shape. The points of the star, called bastions, projected outward and created overlapping fields of fire, thus allowing defenders to batter attackers from several angles. The more bastions the fort had, the more obtuse the fort's angles became. Wider angles allowed multiple bastions to better cover any single point beyond the fort's walls. Connecting the bastions was the main wall, or curtain. Outside the fort were usually ditches, moats, palisades, outworks, or fortifications not attached to the fort's primary defenses. Some examples of this included Fort Duquesne, Fort Carillon, and Fort Frontenac (French), and Fort William Henry and Fort Edward (British). France's Fort St. Frédéric was roughly square, but with a tall citadel at one bastion. The British frontier garrison Fort Frederick was square but built of stone instead of timber.

Although most forts in North America were square, some were star-shaped or pentagonal as Vauban had suggested. The British posts Fort Ontario, Fort Pitt, and the fort at Crown Point were each star-shaped with five points. The British frontier base Fort Bedford was roughly pentagonal, with five bastions and some small outworks.

Some posts took irregular shapes that more closely followed the local terrain. The French island fort at Île-aux-Noix sat in the middle of the Richelieu River, just north of Lake Champlain. Its walls encompassed the island's perimeter, as well as a triangular fort near the southern end of the island. Chain booms stretched across the water to the opposite shores, blocking the passage of enemy vessels. Similarly, Fort Lévis was positioned in the St. Lawrence River to the southwest of Montreal. It too contained walls that surrounded the island, as well as an inner citadel. France built Fort Niagara on a triangular piece of land formed by the juncture of Lake Ontario and the Niagara River. Its landward side included a hornwork, which consisted of two demibastions, or half-bastions, connected by a curtain. In front of the hornwork were a ravelin, or triangular outwork, and V-shaped fortifications called redans. Within Niagara's outer wall was a wooden palisade that enclosed the main citadel.

Fortresses, which were the largest fortified places in North America, defended major population centers and strategic positions. A fortress was a fortified settlement that contained significant civilian as well as military structures. Although they existed primarily for defense, fortresses could serve other purposes. The Castillo de San Marcos, the Spanish garrison at St. Augustine, defended Spain's claim to Florida and protected a harbor in which friendly merchant and naval vessels sailing between Europe and the Caribbean could weather storms, refit, or take on new stores. Louisbourg had its own harbor as well. But it also protected French claims to the highly profitable fisheries off the coast in the North Atlantic, guarded the mouth of the St. Lawrence River from British vessels, and housed dwellings of the colony's governor and engineer. Although Louisbourg was the largest fortified place in colonial North America, it was still considered just medium-sized compared to its European counterparts. Quebec had two sections, Upper Town and Lower Town. Upper Town harbored the wealthier residents and the majority of the city's administrative and military structures, whereas Lower Town held mostly civilians' houses, taverns, and shops.

Every fortress in North America possessed stone walls with multiple bastions, but each also had some unique qualities. French engineers sought to make Louisbourg a solid stone fortress, but the moist, salty air prevented mortar from drying properly. These conditions helped to create walls that constantly required maintenance; engineers covered most of them with wooden planks. Quebec's west-facing wall contained four bastions, and terminated in a demibastion at its southern edge, which also contained a small citadel. Quebec's design left the city's Upper Town dominated by higher ground outside the walls from which enemy forces could fire down into the majority of the city. Where they existed at all, the fortifications outside the walls consisted only of shallow ditches, and the walls were not designed to allow cannon emplaced on them to fire out toward the plains beyond—they could only strafe attackers attempting to scale the walls. The Castillo de San Marcos, the

most significant Spanish fortification in colonial North America, had walls built of coquina. This soft sedimentary rock featured the peculiar but effective quality of absorbing solid shot fired against it.

Matthew J. Wayman

See also

Artillery, Land; Artillery Projectiles; Blockhouses; Garrison Houses; Presidio; Redoubt

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Fort Algernon (Virginia)

Colonial Virginia fortification constructed in 1609 at Point Comfort (now known as Old Point Comfort), located at the bottom end of the peninsula between the York River and James River. Fort Algernon was described by a Spaniard in 1613 as a weak structure 10 hands high garrisoned by 25 soldiers and armed with four iron cannon.

Fort Algernon was constructed by John Ratcliffe, one of John Smith's rivals for power in the Jamestown Colony. Ratcliffe wrote to Lord Salisbury on October 4, 1609, explaining that 100 men were stationed at the falls of the James River and others were at Jamestown. He also informed Lord Salisbury that he was building a fort at Point Comfort. It was clear from the very early history of Virginia that Point Comfort was a key to the defense of the colony. Before his departure for Virginia in 1609, Thomas Gates, who became the colony's governor in 1611, received instructions to build a fort there to prevent attacks from hostile European powers.

The fort burned to the ground in 1612, and was halfheartedly rebuilt; however, after several years it fell into disrepair.

In 1630 the colonial government commissioned a new fort at Point Comfort, which was abandoned in the 1660s. The location was fortified again in the 18th century, when Fort George was built, and again in the 19th century, when Fort Monroe was constructed. Old Point Comfort is currently the location of the U.S. Army's Fort Monroe.

Fort Algernon illustrates two key themes in early American history. First, the English colonists viewed other Europeans as the biggest threat, not the native inhabitants. That would change in Virginia, however, with the native attacks of 1622. Second, attention and money were given to defense only when there was a perceived threat.

CHRISTOPHER L. McDaid

See also

Fort George (Virginia); Jamestown; Virginia

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Fort Allen (Pennsylvania)

British fort erected in 1756 during the French and Indian War (1754–1763) under the direct supervision of Benjamin Franklin and situated at the present-day site of Weissport, Pennsylvania. Fort Allen was on the banks of the Lehigh River, immediately across the river from the Moravian mission of Gnadenhutten, which had been established as early as 1742.

The fort was a rectangular stockade 12 feet high, 125 feet long, and 50 feet wide. It was located 70 yards from the river. The post had a bastion on each of its long walls and two half-bastions on opposite corners, and was armed with two swivel guns. Within the walls were a 19-foot well (the Franklin Well), two barracks, and an officers' quarters. All the structures were made of logs.

After the construction of France's Fort Duquesne and the defeat of Major General Edward Braddock in his British expedition against that post in 1755, the Pennsylvania frontier was left vulnerable to the French and their Native American allies. In the autumn of 1755, numerous small Delaware war parties harassed the colony's northern frontier settlements in an effort to regain land they had lost 20 years earlier. On November 24, 1755, 12 warriors destroyed the Gnadenhutten mission.

Hoping to stop the Delaware raids and fearing that the French might also attack, on November 26 the Pennsylvania Assembly at the instigation of Franklin established its first colonial militia. It also appropriated £60,000 for the construction of forts along the Appalachian Mountains. This vote split the Quaker bloc, divided the Germans and the Quakers, and marked the end of the Quaker hold on Pennsylvania politics. Stockades were to be built at 20-mile intervals with blockhouses at five-mile intervals between them. Forty militiamen were dispatched to the Gnadenhutten site in December to protect the property and grain stores, but they too were routed by the Delawares.

On January 5, 1756, Gov. Robert Hunter Morris appointed Franklin the military and civil commander of the frontier. Commissioned a colonel, Franklin departed Philadelphia with 500 troops in February. Construction of Fort Allen was completed in about a week, although Franklin later questioned whether the name "fort" should be given to "so miserable a stockade."

Low on supplies and fearing retribution, the Delaware leader Teedyuscung arrived at Fort Allen in July 1756 to engage in peace negotiations with Governor Morris. The presence of the Delaware delegation, however, was unsettling to the civilian population, and the talks were relocated to Easton before Morris's arrival.

War tensions contributed to interethnic disputes at the post. Differences between German and Irish troops led to a mutiny at Fort Allen in August 1756. Isolation and heavy drinking were also problems. In 1758 the Pennsylvania Assembly established a provincial monopoly on Native American trade. Fort Allen was one of three sites selected as stores. However, the colony's short supplies of food and trade goods made the plan impractical at that time.

Fort Allen was garrisoned regularly until about 1761 and intermittently thereafter. It stood until at least 1780. Colonel Jacob Weiss of Philadelphia purchased the land in 1784. The only remnant of the fort is the Franklin Well.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Braddock's Campaign; Delaware; Franklin, Benjamin; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Teedyuscung

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Fort Among the Apalachicolas (Alabama)

Fortification in the Chattahoochee River Valley (modern-day Alabama), also known as Spanish Fort, built to project Spanish power and deter English trade in that area during the period 1689–1691. In 1689, Don Diego Quiroga y Lossada, governor of Spanish Florida, ordered troops to construct the Fort Among the Apalachicolas near the tribal villages. In doing so, he hoped to discourage English traders who often acquired deerskins from the Apalachicolas, whom

the English called the Lower Creeks. Quiroga also sought to keep the English from expanding into Spanish Florida.

Indeed, the Spanish attempted to secure alliances with the Apalachicolas. In contrast to the English, who used trade as a way to win Native American allies, the Spanish employed religion and military techniques to win over the natives. The Apalachicolas initially rejected peace efforts by missionaries and soldiers, preferring English merchandise to religious conversion. Despite Spanish threats and raids on four villages, some Apalachicolas continued trading with the English.

Desiring to purge the area of English traders once and for all, Governor Quiroga realized that a fort was needed to resist English encroachments. Thus, in 1689, he instructed Captain Enrique Primo de Rivera to direct Spanish workers and Apalachee carpenters from the San Luis mission to construct and man a fortification near the Apalachicolas' villages. Using indigenous supplies, the men fashioned a fort resembling St. Augustine's Castillo de San Marcos. The fort included a stockade, blockhouse, guard posts, and a protective parapet constructed of dirt. It was rectangular and measured approximately 62 feet long by 53 feet wide. It also featured a waterless moat that was reportedly 11 feet across and 5 feet deep. Fully garrisoned, the fort was commanded by a Spanish lieutenant, assisted by a corporal, with about 40 men, including 20 Spanish soldiers and a like number of indigenous warriors.

The fort's commandant, Lieutenant Favian de Angulon, easily interacted with natives, giving them maize, livestock, and supplies. He told them that the Spanish were there to protect them from the English, whom he claimed often enslaved Native Americans. The Apalachicolas briefly allied with the Spanish because they feared retaliation for trading with the English.

The Spaniards' remote fort failed to impress the Spanish Court, and interest in it quickly waned. In 1690, many Apalachicolas, looking to continue trade with the English, left the Chattahoochee Valley, moving farther east, where English trading thrived unimpeded. Because of mounting threats against St. Augustine, Quiroga ordered the Fort Among the Apalachicolas destroyed in 1691. Soldiers demolished the fort, filled in the moat, and removed supplies before returning to San Luis and reinforcing St. Augustine.

ELIZABETH D. SCHAFER

See also

Apalachees; Castillo de San Marcos (Florida); Florida; Georgia; St. Augustine

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Fort Amsterdam (New York)

Fortification located at the southern tip of Manhattan Island built by the Dutch in 1626. When the first Dutch settlers arrived at New Amsterdam, under the direction of Gov. Peter Minuit, they soon began to build a fort on Manhattan Island. This location afforded a wide perspective of the harbor and two rivers (the present-day Hudson and East).

The fort had been designed by the engineer and surveyor Kryn Frederick. One of its functions was to serve as a marketing tool to get more colonists to come to the settlement. Within the fort were located the Dutch Reformed Church (Gov. Willem Kieft had ordered it built within the fort's walls), government buildings, and quarters for soldiers. Outside the fort was a well and pump, the young town's sole water supply.

The first cluster of houses were nestled close to the fort, but the settlement soon grew and expanded northward. The Dutch West India Company had planned an impressive structure, but in reality the fort was rather simple. It was of square shape, with points at the corners. The walls were mostly earthworks, as a stone addition was never completed. Loose livestock were a problem because they often dug holes in the dirt walls, necessitating repairs on several occasions.

During Kieft's War, the fort served as a refuge for settlers from outlying areas fleeing Native American attacks. Under Gov. Petrus Stuyvesant, who took control of New Amsterdam in 1647, attempts were made to keep the fort in better repair. As British colonies were only a few hundred miles to the northeast, Stuyvesant was wary of

British attack. The settlers found that the fort offered little protection from native attack, and by the 1650s decided to erect a wall across the width of the island. However, the wall also soon fell into disrepair.

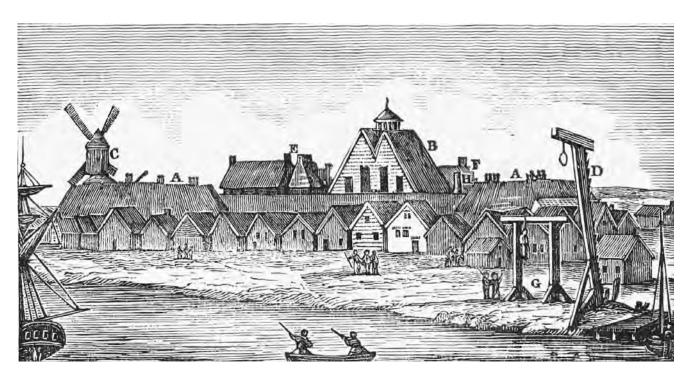
The British finally did sail into the harbor in 1664, and the city's defenses were shoddy at best. The fort was in poor condition, and the 1,500 citizens there (including 150 soldiers) did not believe they would stand a chance against the four well-armed British warships off shore. There were 600 pounds of powder stored within the fort, insufficient to overcome the 92 guns and 450 soldiers on the British ships. After a few days' standoff, the Dutch colonists decided to surrender to the British on September 8, 1664. On the surrender of Fort Amsterdam, the British took all of New Netherland. Not a single shot had been fired. The fort was renamed Fort James on its transfer to the English.

One reason the fort had such a small overall impact was the spread of colonists to Brooklyn, Queens, Staten Island, and the Bronx, as well as farther north on Manhattan Island. It had failed in its main purpose, to protect the settlers against the English, and it had also proven useless in protecting the citizens from marauding Native Americans. As the writer Washington Irving wrote in his satirical *Knickerbocker's History of New York*: "The mighty bulwarks of Fort Amsterdam frowned defiantly to every absent foe; but, like many a whiskered warrior and gallant militia captain, confined their martial deeds to frowns alone."

RICHARD PANCHYK

See also

Anglo-Dutch War, Second; Fort James (New York); Kieft's War; Minuit, Peter; New Netherland; New York; Stuyvesant, Petrus



Woodcut of New Amsterdam (New York) depicting the fort, wall, windmill, church, and pillory in 1659. (North Wind Picture Archives)

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Fort Anne (New York)

The name Fort Anne collectively describes the numerous, distinct fortifications constructed during the late 17th and 18th centuries at the juncture of Wood Creek (which flows into the southern end of Lake Champlain) and Halfway Brook. This site was important as it protected the land route connecting the northern end of the Hudson River and the southern entrance to Lake Champlain. As such, it was key terrain for armies moving between French-held Canada and English New York.

During King William's War (1689–1697), the site of Fort Anne served as a staging area for abortive English attempts to invade Canada. In August 1690, Fitz-John Winthrop of Connecticut and a force of provincials and native allies occupied this area and constructed a fortified camp as they prepared to move on Montreal to support Sir William Phips's attack on Quebec via the St. Lawrence River. Winthrop's advance faltered as a result of disease, a shortage of boats, and inadequate native support. He withdrew to Albany, with the bulk of his army, leaving Captain John Schuyler to launch a raid against the outskirts of Montreal on August 23, 1690. In 1692, Winthrop again temporarily occupied the site and constructed an earthwork fortification.

From June to October 1709, during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), Colonel Francis Nicholson used the site to attempt another invasion of Canada along Lake Champlain. As in 1690, this attack was to support a planned naval thrust up the St. Lawrence River. Nicholson constructed an earth and wood fort with either bastions or blockhouses on each corner and with barracks to protect the men and supplies being marshaled on Wood Creek. This fortification was known as both Queen's Fort and Fort Schuyler (in honor of Indian commissioner Peter Schuyler). When the naval attack on the St. Lawrence failed to materialize, and because he had difficulties keeping his force supplied, Nicholson withdrew, destroying the fort. He built a second fortification, named Fort Anne, on the same site in the fall of 1711 for another push up Lake Champlain. This operation, like the others, never moved beyond Wood Creek.

During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the site was again fortified to include the construction of a stone powder magazine. During the American Revolutionary War, Britain's Lieutenant General John Burgoyne used the Lake Champlain–Wood

Creek–Hudson River route in his attack against Albany. After taking Fort Ticonderoga, approximately 30 miles to the north, an advanced element of his army skirmished with American forces near Fort Anne on July 8, 1777. After the engagement, the Americans retreated, burning the fort in the process. The Americans constructed yet another fort on this site after Burgoyne's surrender. It was destroyed, however, by a British raid in October 1780.

THOMAS A. RIDER II

See also

Fort Ticonderoga (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Hudson River; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Lake Champlain; Phips, Sir William; Quebec, Attack on (1690); Quebec, Attack on (1711); Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Schuyler, Peter (Pieter); Winthrop, John (Fitz-John)

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Fort Argyle (Georgia)

English fort constructed in 1733 on the west bank of the Ogeechee River, southwest of Savannah, Georgia. Fort Argyle was a key position within a network of frontier defenses designed to protect colonial Georgia from raids by Native Americans and the Spanish. In June 1733, soon after he arrived in Georgia, Gov. James Oglethorpe directed Carolina Rangers led by Captain James McPherson to establish a military post southwest of Savannah. The fort was built along a well-established trail used by natives that led from the interior of Georgia.

Named Fort Argyle after Oglethorpe's friend John Campbell, Duke of Argyle, the post served as a base of operations for colonial rangers and as a place of refuge for settlers in the region during two colonial wars. From their Ogeechee River base, the rangers at Fort Argyle patrolled the lawless frontier on horseback, on foot, and by boat.

Archaeologists have determined that there were at least three different structures built at the same site throughout the colonial period. The first, completed by McPherson in December 1733, was a small structure about 75 feet across with 6-inch-thick, 8-foot-high palisades with projecting corner bastions. It contained a two-story central blockhouse supported by wooden posts, a stable for 30 horses, and 12 crude wooden houses. The rangers also dug a 4- or 5-foot-deep moat around the perimeter of the stockade. By 1737, Fort Argyle reportedly was in a state of disrepair. During this period, an unknown number of civilian settlers and rangers endured a drab existence on the isolated frontier, exacerbated by

alcohol abuse, irregular pay, and the dangers of mosquitoes, alligators, and snakes.

Oglethorpe ordered the building of a second Fort Argyle, which was constructed in 1741. The fort's palisades were 11 feet high and formed a square enclosure measuring 110 feet on each side. Larger than the previous fort, it appears to have lacked the corner bastions and central blockhouse of the original. A barracks building with brick chimneys and at least two rooms was located along the eastern wall of the fort near the bank of the Ogeechee River.

Fort Argyle was never a battle site. In July 1742, during the Anglo-Spanish War of 1739–1744, however, it served as a refuge for women and children from the Georgia coast who had evacuated to avoid the fighting near St. Simons Island.

The third incarnation of Fort Argyle was constructed during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). This was the largest of the structures, with two rows of barracks designed to hold a contingent of 35 rangers charged with ensuring peace with the natives. After the peace of 1763, which effectively ended the Spanish threat when Spain ceded Florida to Britain, Fort Argyle lost its importance as a strategic location. The English abandoned it in 1767.

Fort Argyle fell into disrepair and did not play a role in the contest for Georgia during the American Revolutionary War. The military legacy of the fort continues today, however, as the site is located within the U.S. Army's Fort Stewart Military Reservation.

STEVEN J. RAUCH

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Georgia; Oglethorpe, James Edward

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Fort at Number Four (New Hampshire)

Northernmost fort located on the Connecticut River in Charlestown, New Hampshire, which guarded the upper Connecticut River Valley in the mid-18th century. It was the target of numerous attacks by the French and their Native American allies. In 1743, in preparation for King George's War (1744–1748), Massachusetts decided to establish a fort at land grant Number Four (hence the name).

Kinship ties connected not only many people who moved to the fort, but also connected the settlers near the fort with other settlers farther south in the Connecticut River Valley. These connections were important because the fort was in an exposed area. Settlement along a river was desirable because of the fertile land, but the valley was a major invasion route for the French and their Abenaki allies.

As the northernmost fort along the Connecticut River, the fort suffered numerous attacks by the French and Indians from the moment people arrived in the area. A simple trip to work the fields, gather firewood, or fetch water could bring deadly attacks on the settlers. During the spring and early summer of 1746, the fort successfully defended against several large-scale attacks. However, because of the difficulties created by the frequent attacks, it was virtually abandoned over the following winter.

In late March 1747, Captain Phineas Stevens led about 30 men back to the fort. Eleven days later, on April 7, 1747, the defenders were attacked in what was the beginning of a three-day siege by 700 French and native allies led by Ensign Boucher de Niverville. Stevens and his men defended the fort so ably that Admiral Sir Charles Knowles, governor of Nova Scotia, sent his dress sword in honor of Stevens's defense. When the area was chartered as a town by the New Hampshire government in 1753, the inhabitants named it Charlestown in his honor. Despite deadly attacks on various settlers, the fort provided one of the few areas of relative security during the war.

In the period of relative calm between King George's War and the French and Indian War (1754–1763), hostilities did not end, but they were greatly diminished. The population grew, and more people began to settle beyond the boundaries of the enclosed fort. By 1754, there were 30 dwellings and about 180 settlers. Inhabitants also increased their trade with Native Americans. As Susannah Johnson, whose family ran a small trading establishment, wrote in her captivity narrative, "Every appearance of hostility at length vanished—the Indians expressed a wish to traffic, the inhabitants laid by their fears."

This calm was shattered by the start of the French and Indian War in 1754. Although only several people from the fort were killed during the war, this time there were far more settlers taken captive by the Native Americans, especially those in the town of St. Francis, or sold to the French who held them for ransom.

During the war, English soldiers going to or from the front often stayed at the fort. Although Massachusetts had been responsible for manning the fort despite its location in the province of New Hampshire, in 1757 New Hampshire began to take over the costs of supplies and troops for frontier protection. Yet troops from other provinces still provided protection. During the winter of 1758–1759, the fort was garrisoned with about 100 soldiers from New York; in late spring, they were replaced by a company of Massachusetts soldiers. In 1759, Robert Rogers and what remained of his rangers limped into the fort after their destructive attack on the Abenaki village at St. Francis.

In 1759–1760, the British military constructed a road from the fort to Crown Point. The road increased the importance of the Fort, but decreasing military tensions ended the fort's raison d'être. After 1760, it quickly fell into disrepair. Although Charlestown was the gathering point for those who marched to fight at the Battle of Bennington in 1777, it was the town and not what may have remained of the fort that was the focus. The end of the need for a fort meant that the area was now safe for habitation.

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Johnson, Susannah Willard; King George's War, Land Campaigns; New Hampshire; Stevens, Phineas

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Fort Augusta (Georgia)

British military outpost erected in 1737–1738 at the falls of the Savannah River in Georgia and abandoned in 1767. In 1736, the governor of the colony of Georgia, James Oglethorpe, ordered the construction of Fort Augusta with the twin aims of defending Georgia's northern frontiers against French-led native attacks and increasing his colony's oversight of the Anglo-native deerskin trade, then based in New Windsor on the South Carolina side of the Savannah River. Construction began on the fort in 1737 under Captain Roger Lacy but was not completed until 1738, under Lacy's successor, Lieutenant Richard Kent. Although no plan of the fort survives, recent research provides a reasonable approximation of Fort Augusta's appearance. It was apparently a wood palisade fort, measuring 110 feet square, with bastions at the four corners.

From the outset, however, settlement at Augusta expanded to the north and west of the fort, rendering the structure all but obsolete for its original strategic purposes. Its garrison, usually comprised of between 10 and 30 provincial rangers, assisted military campaigns in other parts of the southeast, such as Oglethorpe's Florida campaigns in the 1740s and South Carolina's Cherokee campaigns in 1760–1761. Frequently in disrepair, Fort Augusta provided little in the way of defense, but it did serve as a refuge for outlying settlements when Anglo-Creek relations soured in 1756 and when South Carolina settlers fled Cherokee attacks in 1760.

These two latter events prompted the rise of Augusta's primary defense system of fortified private homes, mostly belonging to leading merchants in the deerskin trade and garrisoned by the local militia. Armed with small cannon and firearms, these houses likewise served as refuges in time of crisis. The defense of Augusta also benefited from a small band of Chickasaws who had resided in Savannah since the late 1710s, and who joined scouting parties during the Cherokee War. In the aftermath of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Britain's Major General Thomas Gage ordered that Fort Augusta be abandoned, which occurred in 1767.

ROBERT PAULETT

See also

Cherokee War; Fort Moore (South Carolina); Gage, Thomas; Georgia; Indian Presents; Oglethorpe, James Edward

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Fort Augusta (Maine)

A fortification built in 1718 and situated at Small Point Harbor (modern-day Phippsburg), Sagadahoc County, Maine (then part of Massachusetts). Following the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) and subsequent agreements with Native Americans of the region, settlers began returning to the large stretches of Maine that had been abandoned during decades of wars with the French and especially with the Abenaki tribe. The colonial government of Massachusetts chartered land companies and encouraged settlement of the northern frontier in order to establish a defensive line as far as possible from Boston. The Abenakis, however, resented the fact that the French had ceded Abenaki territory to the English and especially resented the establishment of English settlements where none had existed before the wars. In this resentment they were encouraged by officials of New France and especially by Sébastien Râle, a Jesuit residing in the Abenaki village of Norridgewock. They questioned whether Maine was part of Acadia, the territory France ceded to Britain in 1713.

In 1716, the Pejepscot Proprietors (a Boston-based land company) established a fishing village known as Augusta (not the present-day city of Augusta) at Small Point Harbor. Oliver Noyes, one of the proprietors, was the principal director and patron of the settlement. In 1718, as tensions mounted, Noyes ordered the construction of Fort Augusta as a defense against possible future native attacks.

The diamond-shaped fort was built of stone on a commanding knoll near the shore. Each of its four walls was 50 feet long. Diamond-shaped flankers, 12 feet on a side, projected from the east and west corners. The wall nearest the water had a gate. According to Captain John Penhallow, it was "ye best in ye province save Castle William."

Following the fort's construction, the General Court of Massachusetts then dispatched a small detachment of soldiers under Penhallow to garrison it. Eventually, however, the troops were redeployed to points farther east. Believing themselves abandoned by the government, the settlers also left after the outbreak of Dummer's War in 1722.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Abenakis; Dummer's War; Maine; Râle, Sébastien; Utrecht, Treaty of

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Fort Augusta (Pennsylvania)

Military post and trade center located on the Susquehanna River at Shamokin (present-day Sunbury), Pennsylvania. The fort was built between 1756 and 1758 and was the largest in eastern Pennsylvania. Gov. Robert Hunter Morris planned Fort Augusta as a mustering point for loyal Native Americans. Once royal commissioners approved the plan and Pennsylvania's legislature appropriated £2,000 to construct the fort, the governor instructed Colonel William Clapham to raise a regiment of 400 soldiers. Clapham's unit began construction in 1756 and had largely completed the fort by July 1757. The next year, 1758, his successor, Colonel James Burd, improved the installation.

Fort Augusta was situated on the Susquehanna River's eastern shore, south of the confluence of its North and West tributaries. Situated in advance of settlements, its cannon commanded the water outlets and river itself, through interdiction of shore and stream approaches downward. Enemy onslaughts west of the Susquehanna River provided argument for a defense of strategic Shamokin.

Fort Augusta was square in shape and furnished housing for up to 400 soldiers. Bastions covered the corners and its sides measured 204 feet. Its armaments consisted of 12 cannon, 7 blunderbusses, and 2 swivel guns. Outside the bastions nearest the river, a staked fence reinforced by blockhouses ran all the way to the riverbank. Governor Morris christened the post in recognition of Princess Augusta, the deceased Prince of Wales's widow and the mother of King George III.

In November 1756, in the Second Treaty of Easton, Gov. William Denny of Pennsylvania guaranteed to Delaware chief Teedyuscung the establishment of a trading post at Fort Augusta, one of three established by the province. This was to placate Teedyuscung for grievances with both New Jersey and Pennsylvania officials over land taken from the Delawares. Appointed by Denny in October 1757 as temporary trade agent, John Carson began selling merchandise at Fort Augusta that December. In June 1758, Nathaniel Holland took over as permanent trade agent. Despite Native Americans' accusations against Holland for price gouging, the post stayed open at the natives' insistence until 1763.

As with other forts on the northeastern Pennsylvania frontier, Fort Augusta experienced little hostile contact. Placed to block the Susquehanna River's passages and to deter Native American movements southward to Lancaster and Berks counties, the garrison suffered few casualties. When Pontiac's Rebellion began in 1763, Fort Augusta regained its military significance and it was garrisoned by Pennsylvania forces until 1765. It also saw some service during the American Revolutionary War.

RODNEY J. Ross

See also

Burd, James; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Pennsylvania; Pontiac's Rebellion; Teedyuscung

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Fort Barnwell (North Carolina)

Military post built in April 1712 during the Tuscarora War (1711–1713), located in eastern North Carolina on the Neuse River, some 20 miles northwest of present-day New Bern, North Carolina. During the Tuscarora War, colonial officials in South Carolina dispatched Colonel John Barnwell to North Carolina. Barnwell departed with a contingent of 500 troops, many of whom were native warriors. Barnwell's mission was to aid the besieged North Carolinians and drive back the Tuscaroras.

Arriving close to New Bern in late January 1712, Barnwell instructed his men to erect a fortification along the Neuse River. It would be used chiefly as a headquarters for local forces. Fort Barnwell was not particularly well fortified, which reflected its role as a headquarters and staging area rather than a full-fledged defensive bulwark.

Probably composed chiefly of earth and small logs, the hastily built structure was triangular in shape with walls roughly 180 feet long. There was probably at least one bastion in one of the corners. It is not known what types of cannon, if any, were employed there.

Barnwell intended on taking the fight directly to the Tuscaroras. His choice of location for Fort Barnwell makes this abundantly clear. Indeed, it was only seven miles from Hancock's Fort, where the Tuscarora chief resided.

Following a series of stunning successes against the Tuscaroras and believing the war to be over, Barnwell returned to South Carolina. Fighting flared up again in the late fall of 1712, however. For the remainder of the war, Fort Barnwell served as a headquarters. It was also likely employed during the Yamasee War (1715–1717).

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Barnwell, John; Tuscarora War; Yamasee War

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Fort Barrington (Georgia)

British fort in Georgia. Constructed in 1760, Fort Barrington was situated on the northeast side of the Altamaha River near the well-traveled Native American trade route between the Carolinas and Florida. The structure was 12 miles northwest of the town of Darien in what is now McIntosh County, Georgia.

Fort Barrington was constructed to secure key trading routes from attacks by natives or rival Europeans. The nearby trails also served the British as a military road for moving troops to strategic areas. Fort Barrington was named in honor of Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Barrington, a prosperous Georgia landowner and a close friend of James Oglethorpe, Georgia's founder.

Fort Barrington was probably designed by the royal surveyor general for the southern colonies, William Gerard De Brahm, whose detailed drawing of the fort clearly identifies its characteristics. It was square in shape with stockaded walls made of puncheons, or split logs, for protection from small-arms fire. There were four corner bastions with elevated and protected sentry boxes for lookouts. In the center was a fully enclosed two-story blockhouse with a cupola-like lookout tower on the roof. The blockhouse served as officers' lodgings, a storehouse, and a magazine. Fort Barrington had sleeping areas for 48 men, a well, a baking oven, and necessary houses.

Lieutenant Robert Baillie built the post and garrisoned it with 25 rangers in 1761.

The rangers at Fort Barrington conducted several operations suited to their organization and mobility, which included enforcement of colonial laws on the frontier. In November 1765, they were ordered to search for a "nest of villains" near the Canoochee River. In December 1765 they left Fort Barrington to pursue and capture three runaway slaves who had killed a Creek native near the Satilla River.

In 1773, well-known naturalist and botanist William Bartram visited the site and noted the remnants of a nearby ancient native village. Fort Barrington played a role in the American Revolutionary War, when it was renamed Fort Howe by the British, though the site changed hands numerous times between Patriot and Loyalist forces. Fort Barrington was abandoned after the war.

STEVEN J. RAUCH

See also

Blockhouses; De Brahm, William Gerard; Georgia

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Fort Beaufort (South Carolina)

English-built fort located south of Beaufort, South Carolina, erected in 1715 during the Yamasee War (1715–1717). On April 15, 1715, the Yamasee tribe launched a broad offensive against South Carolina settlements. Their goal was to drive the English out of the area completely. They were soon joined by other southeastern tribes, including the Creeks. In response to what was near-panic among the settlers in coastal South Carolina, colonial officials ordered the construction of Fort Beaufort (also known as Port Royal Fort).

Construction began sometime in the late spring of 1715. A small militia unit was stationed at Fort Beaufort into early 1716, when two scout boats were added to its defenses. Their mission was to interdict any native attempt to assault Beaufort by water.

The Yamasee War wound down by mid-1716. Nevertheless, colonial officials continued to man Fort Beaufort in an effort to guard against possible attacks by the Spanish and Native Americans. The precise location of the post is still disputed among historians and archaeologists. It was built either at Spanish Point, south of Beaufort (and later the location of Fort Lyttelton), or farther south still in modern-day Port Royal, South Carolina. Fort Beaufort was allowed to deteriorate to such an extent that it was substantially rebuilt in 1724. The second iteration of the post was likely a palisaded structure with either earthen walls or walls made of tabby (a mixture of lime, water, and oyster shells). Between 1721 and 1728, a regular British Army infantry unit—the Independent Company of Foot—occupied the fort on three occasions. Fort Beaufort was torn down in 1733 and was replaced by Fort Prince Frederick the following year.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Port Royal (South Carolina); South Carolina; Yamasee War

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Fort Beauharnois (Minnesota)

French fort, mission, and trading post built in 1727. Fort Beauharnois was situated on the west shore of Lake Pepin (an expansion of the Mississippi River on the Minnesota-Wisconsin border), about two miles from modern-day Frontenac, in Goodhue County, Minnesota. The original fort was probably on Sand Point, a waveformed spit of sand and gravel jutting into the lake. The fort was a square stockade, 100 feet long on each side and 12 feet high, with two bastions. Within the palisade were log structures for the commandant, the mission house, and the chapel. Quarters for the enlisted men were located outside the stockade. The fort was named for Charles de la Boische, Marquis de Beauharnois, governor-general of New France.

The mission to the Sioux peoples, named for Saint Michael the Archangel and led by the Jesuit Michael Guignas, was the first in Minnesota. In June 1727, the Compagnie des Sioux was formed and granted a three-year monopoly on the fur trade with the Sioux in order to finance both the mission and the fort. The purpose of the operation, however, was to attach the Sioux to the French cause and to gain intelligence on possible routes to the Pacific Ocean.

Fort Beauharnois was founded on September 18, 1727, by René Boucher, Sieur de la Perrière. The site proved problematic when the lake level rose and the fort was flooded with three feet of water in

April 1728. The hostility of the Fox tribe, which incited the Sioux to join them, forced the fort's abandonment in October 1728. The fort was rebuilt on a higher spot near the original location in 1732, and trade was conducted there for a number of years. In 1737, however, Sioux hostility again led to its abandonment. The fort was rebuilt yet again in 1750 but then abandoned in 1756, when the garrison was called away for service in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The *coureurs de bois* (French woodsmen) and other fur traders continued to frequent the site, but Fort Beauharnois had failed in the intended goal of winning over the Sioux to New France or helping to find a way to the Pacific.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Black Robes; Coureurs de Bois; Fox; Fox War; Jesuits

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Fort Beauséjour (Nova Scotia)

Garrison built by French troops between 1750 and 1752 to command the western edge of the Chignecto Isthmus on the western bank of the Missaquash River in Canada. Since the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, the Chignecto Isthmus had been contested territory. The British claimed to have received control over the area—which links present-day Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—along with the colony of Acadia, but the French argued that it remained under the sovereignty of New France.

In 1749, French officials in Canada relocated the mission of the Jesuit Jean-Louis Le Loutre to Point Beauséjour, ordering him to gather both his Micmac followers and local Acadians to form a new village. When a British attempt to rout the newcomers was thwarted in April 1750, work began on a fort. With the British building Fort Lawrence to the east, just across the river, French and Acadian workers toiled, according to one officer, "to check the English, who were advancing... more and more on Canadian territory." The result of French labors was a pentagonal stone breastwork encircled by a six-foot-deep fosse. Manned by Canadian regulars and supplied by the Acadians who lived outside its walls, Fort Beauséjour became France's easternmost stronghold on the North American mainland.

In 1754 Britain and France renewed hostilities in North America in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). In 1755, Gov. Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia, who had led the unsuccessful 1750 assault on Chignecto, became privy to British plans to conquer Fort Beauséjour. As the bulk of British forces attacked Crown Point, Niagara, and Fort Duquesne, a joint Anglo-American force was to lay siege to Beauséjour. Led by Colonel John Winslow of Massachusetts and Lieutenant Colonel Robert Monckton, the attack on Fort Beauséjour began in June 1755. Aided by information passed on by the fort's

French commissary, Thomas Pichon, the siege lasted less than two weeks. The French commander capitulated on June 16, after a British mortar shell broke through the roof of a subterranean casement, killing an officer, a prisoner, and 2 other men. Some 300 Acadians were found within the fort's walls, leading to the charge that they had taken up arms against the British. Although the idea of removing the Acadians from Nova Scotia had circulated since the 1720s, their presence at Fort Beauséjour provided justification for Lawrence's stunning decision to carry out the forced expulsion in 1755.

Renamed Fort Cumberland, the installation was used by the British throughout the remainder of the French and Indian War. Led by the French officer Charles des Champs de Boishébert, some Acadians who had escaped to the St. John River during the 1755 expulsion participated in unsuccessful attempts to retake the fort. Following the French and Indian War, Fort Cumberland moldered for a decade, only to be attacked by rebelling colonists and disgruntled Native Americans in 1776. Their ill-considered assault failed, leaving Nova Scotia in British hands for decades to come.

Christopher G. Hodson

See also

Acadia Expulsion; Bay of Fundy Expedition; Chignecto Isthmus; Fort Lawrence (Nova Scotia); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Le Loutre, Jean-Louis; Micmacs; Winslow, John

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Fort Bedford (Pennsylvania)

Pennsylvania frontier fort constructed in 1758 astride a branch of the Juniata River at a gap through southwestern Pennsylvania's Allegheny Mountains. Fort Bedford served as the eastern terminus of the Forbes Road, a 90-mile military road that supported Brigadier General John Forbes's British Army operations against French-held Fort Duquesne. The site was known as Raystown, after John Ray's trading post. In 1755, Pennsylvania colonel James Burd cut a road from Carlisle through Raystown to support Major General Edward Braddock's 1755 offensive against Fort Duquesne. However, construction stopped following Braddock's defeat.

In June 1758, nearly 2,500 British and provincial troops under Colonel Henry Bouquet began construction of the fort, storehouses, a hospital, and a military road westward. Named for the Duke of Bedford, the pentagonal log stockade enclosed roughly one and a half acres. The soldiers also constructed six entrenched camps nearby for the gathering forces. By September, nearly 4,000 troops

were encamped around the post. The fort's storehouses contained sufficient provisions to sustain 6,000 men for at least three months. After the British seized Fort Duquesne that November, Fort Bedford remained an important supply link for maintaining the now-renamed and newly constructed Fort Pitt on that same site.

During Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763, the fort and its token garrison provided refuge for local settlers. They also helped supply Bouquet's successful relief of Fort Pitt and his Ohio expedition the following year.

The British maintained a small presence in the area through the late 1760s, but they could not effectively police the frontier. Pennsylvanian vigilantes, the so-called Black Boys, often harassed garrisons along Forbes Road, faulting them for inadequately regulating Native American trade. Following the arrest of several members of the Black Boys in September 1769, James Smith and 18 followers captured Fort Bedford by overwhelming a sentry as he opened the fort's gate. The attackers then seized the garrison's stacked arms, freed their compatriots, and fled. Despite his numerous illegal activities, Smith routinely escaped punishment thanks to sympathetic juries. In any case, by the early 1770s the British had abandoned the post.

STANLEY J. ADAMIAK

See also

Bouquet, Henry; Braddock's Campaign; Forbes Campaign; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania); Ohio Expedition (1764); Pontiac's Rebellion

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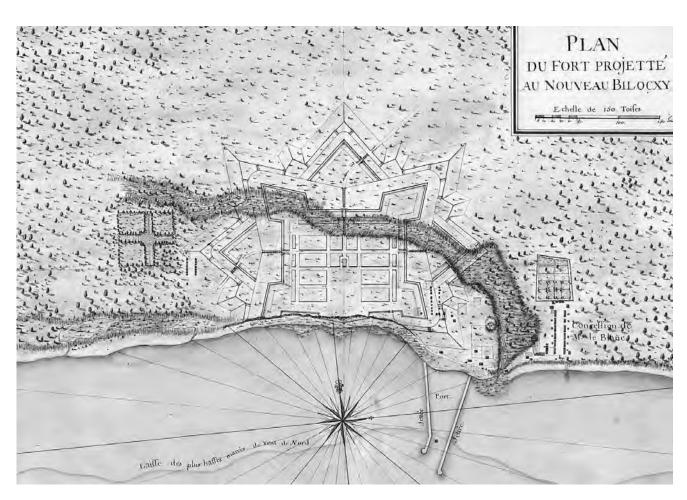
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Fort Biloxi (Mississippi)

French fortification on the Mississippi Gulf Coast, designed to guard the mouth of the Mississippi River from rival traders and claimants and to strengthen alliances with Native Americans. Constructed in



Map of Fort Biloxi, Mississippi, ca. 1721. (Library of Congress)

1699 on Biloxi Bay at the site of present-day Ocean Springs, Mississippi, Fort Biloxi is the commonly used name to refer to Fort Maurepas, named for French minister of colonies Jérôme Phélypeaux de Maurepas, Comte de Pontchartrain. Settlers adopted the name Biloxi from the local Biloxi tribe.

After the death of Fort Biloxi's commander, Antoine Le Moyne de Sauvole de la Villantray, soldiers tore down the fort in 1701 and transferred to Fort Louis in Mobile Bay, which had better facilities for transportation, military maneuvers, and trade with both the natives and Europe than the fort at Biloxi.

In the early 1720s, the French planned to build a new fort and town on the opposite shore from the first fort's site on Biloxi Bay. However, insects and heat tormented builders, stopping the new fort's construction and preventing New Biloxi from becoming the colony's capital at the time, which was established instead at New Orleans. A replica of Fort Biloxi is located in Ocean Springs.

ELIZABETH D. SCHAFER

See also

Fort Maurepas (Mississippi); Louisiana; Mississippi River; New France

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Fort Buade (Michigan)

French redoubt also known as Fort de Buade, located on the north bank of the Straits of Mackinac and built in 1689. The first settlement in the area was St. Ignace, a mission built by Father Jacques Marquette in 1671. Because of its location, St. Ignace was an important gathering point for Ottawas, Chippewas, Hurons, and fur traders in the region.

The first military post was built at St. Ignace about 1680. It had a garrison of 30 soldiers led by Greysolon Dulhut. By 1689, however, this outpost had been replaced with a palisaded fort named Fort de Buade, named for the governor of New France, Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac. The new fort was commanded by Louis de La Porte de Louvigny and garrisoned 150 French Canadian soldiers. The need for new fortifications arose partly because English fur traders had ventured into the area, but also because of the outbreak of King William's War (1689–1697).

In 1695, Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac replaced Louvigny as commandant, but his tenure was short lived. The following year, concerns over an oversupply of furs led King Louis XIV to order a halt to the fur trade in the upper Great Lakes. Cadillac obtained permission to abandon Fort Buade and establish a new post at Detroit,

named Fort Pontchartrain. Cadillac successfully convinced the Native Americans to travel to Fort Pontchartrain, leaving St. Ignace and Fort Buade to languish. The mission was also abandoned in 1705, when the missionaries returned to Quebec. Around 1715, a new fort, Fort Michilimackinac, was built on the south bank, opposite the deteriorating Fort Buade, in order to protect the straits.

STEVEN DIETER

See also

Detroit; Fort Michilimackinac (Michigan); Frontenac, Louis de Buade de, Comte de Frontenac et de Palluau; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Redoubt

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Fort Bull (New York)

Fort in the British colony of New York protecting the portage between the Mohawk River and Oswego River. Built in October 1755, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Fort Bull was located at the west end of the portage road that connected the Mohawk River, which flowed east, and Wood Creek, which flowed west toward Fort Oswego. The road was called the Great Carrying Place by the Oneidas. Any supplies destined for Fort Oswego from the coastal part of the colonies had to use this road to reach Fort Oswego.

In March 1756, a force of 60 French regulars, 166 Canadian militiamen, and 136 natives led by Lieutenant Joseph-Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry snow-shoed to Fort Bull. On March 27, they demanded the surrender of Fort Bull. Its defenders promptly fired a volley to register their refusal. The French force then attacked the fort and within an hour had battered down its main gate. French-led forces stormed into the fort and killed almost everyone in sight.

Of the fort's 60 inhabitants, only a single woman and 2 soldiers were taken prisoner. The remainder was killed. Most of the killing inside the fort was the work of the French and Canadians, as only 6 of the more than 100 natives that accompanied them took part in the massacre. French loses were just 2 dead and 5 wounded.

The attackers destroyed the fort and buildings along with supplies destined for Fort Oswego, including gunpowder, ammunition, and provisions. The French also destroyed the horses, wagons, and boats used to transport the supplies. Loss of the fort made supplying the garrison at Fort Oswego much more difficult because the supply line had lost one of its key forts.

DALLACE W. UNGER JR.

See also

Fort Oswego (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; New York; Oneidas; Oswego, Battle of; Raiding Party

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Fort Burd (Pennsylvania)

Pennsylvania post and supply station located at the fork of the Monongahela River and Nemacolin's Creek (now Dunlap's Creek). Constructed in 1759, the fort figured in military planning during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Fort Burd, a British installation linked to the Forbes Road, was placed on a site once occupied by Captain William Trent of the Ohio Company known as Redstone Fort. It stood on a hill at the entrance of Nemacolin's Creek, about a mile from where Redstone Creek runs into the Monongahela River. As opposed to British major general Edward Braddock's disastrous strategy of moving deep into enemy territory, in 1758 Brigadier General John Forbes mounted a campaign of deliberate advance, safeguarded by fortified positions close to his advancing forces. Braddock's disastrous experience in 1755 had shown the disorder caused by a shortage of forts to which one might retreat following a defeat.

Fort Burd was erected in October 1759 by Pennsylvanian colonels James Burd and Joseph Shippen. The fort served as a fortified store-house and livestock pen and facilitated water passage to nearby Fort Pitt. Fort Burd was a sturdy stockade of square shape with curtain sides measuring 97.5 feet long. Its bastions included 30-foot fronts with 16-foot flanks. Inside the fort's walls, a magazine 39 feet square could accommodate local civilians in the event of an attack. Ringed by a moat and commanded by Virginia sergeant Angus McDonald, Fort Burd often attracted squatters to its environs. For lack of manpower, the British evacuated the garrison at the outbreak of Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763. In 1785 the settlement of Brownsville was situated at the spot of the former installation.

RODNEY J. Ross

See also

Braddock, Edward; Braddock's Campaign; Burd, James; Forbes Campaign; Forbes, John; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Monongahela River; Pennsylvania; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Fort Burke (Massachusetts)

Fort in Falltown (now Bernardston), on the Fall River in modern Franklin County, Massachusetts, built during 1744–1745. Fort Burke consisted of a square palisade, 99 feet long on each side and 12

feet high. There was an elevated watchtower at each corner. Within the palisade were eight buildings used as barracks and a blockhouse with two swivel guns. The intended garrison was 20 men.

The towns (or townships) of western Massachusetts had been settled after the end of Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), and in the case of Falltown in 1738. As tensions with France mounted once more, Gov. William Shirley of Massachusetts considered the settlements vulnerable to attack from Canada by way of Lake Champlain and Wood Creek. Thus, in 1744 and 1745 a series of forts, including Fort Burke, was built across the northern frontier of Massachusetts from Northfield, on the Connecticut River, westward toward the New York line. The garrisons were financed with the £100 that the Massachusetts General Court had granted each town on November 11, 1743, for the purpose of self-fortification. Fort Burke was constructed by Major John Burke, who was wounded during a native attack there in 1747. During the French and Indian War, area residents frequently sought refuge at the fort.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Shirley, William

Reference

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Fort Burlington Island (New Jersey)

Seventeenth-century Dutch and English trading post on the Delaware River. Located on an islet in the Delaware River a few hundred feet from the modern-day city of Burlington, New Jersey, 300-acre Burlington Island was formerly known as Matennecunk Island, Hooghe Island, or High Island. In 1624, the Dutch West India Company built a fortified trading post on the island and named it Fort Wilhelmus. Also called Verhulsten Island Fort, it was the first attempted European settlement in present-day New Jersey. It was also occupied by several Walloon families who had fled religious persecution in Belgium.

The director general of the settlement, Peter Minuit, established a successful fur trade with the local Delaware (Lenni Lenape) tribe. However, Minuit soon determined that Manhattan, along the Hudson River, would better serve Dutch trading operations and made it the capital of New Netherland in 1626. As such, nearly all of the families on Burlington Island were relocated by 1628.

Meanwhile, fur trading along the Delaware River moved to nearby Fort Nassau (modern-day Gloucester City, New Jersey), where the Dutch competed with the Swedish who had also settled along the river. Swedes displaced the few Dutch who remained on Burlington Island in 1656 and were replaced by the English in 1664. The Dutch regained control in 1673 but were again ousted by the English in 1677. The Quakers who settled Burlington City on the New Jersey shore opposite the island in the 1680s maintained a productive

trading relationship with the Native Americans, and used the island as a key trading location. By the mid-18th century, however, such trade had dissipated and the post was abandoned. Since the colonial period, the island has been used for farming, as an amusement park, a ferry landing, and for summer retreats.

BRADFORD WINEMAN

See also

Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Fort Amsterdam (New York); Fort Nassau (New Jersey); Minuit, Peter; New Jersey; New Netherland

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Fort Carillon (New York)

See Fort Ticonderoga (New York)

Fort Caroline (Florida)

French-built military outpost first established in 1564 by René Goulaine de Laudonnière, an aide to Jean Ribault, and located on the south bank of the St. Johns River, roughly 10 miles to the east of modern-day Jacksonville, Florida. Fort Caroline was the site of the only French settlement in Florida. It was destroyed in 1565, when the Spanish killed its inhabitants and otherwise eliminated the French presence in the territory.

In 1562, the French Huguenot leader Ribault discovered the mouth of the St. Johns River and made plans to turn it into a French settlement. Two years later, Laudonnière returned to Florida and established a small settlement for Huguenot refugees near the mouth of the St. Johns River. The French named the settlement Fort Caroline, in honor of King Charles IX.

Constructed on the south bank of the river, Fort Caroline contained several palm-thatched buildings surrounded by earthen walls. Located on level ground to the west of St. John's Bluff, the redoubt's buildings were constructed to resemble the letter "A." The base of the "A" was oriented toward the river. The French dug moats along the fort's sides and erected a palisade that fronted the river. Facing south was a stone gateway of significant size.

Soon after the fort's establishment, Ribault returned to France to obtain additional supplies. While he was gone, Laudonnière and the approximately 400 inhabitants struggled to survive. They were unable to find gold or silver, and they could not provide for their own basic needs. The settlers survived largely as the result of the assistance of the Timucuan tribe, which supplied food in return for protection from the Spanish.

Spain, of course, had already laid claim to Florida and quickly deemed the Protestant Huguenots as a threat to its military and reli-

gious presence in the region. In August 1565, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés left Spain for Florida with five ships and about 700 men, hoping to beat Ribault and his supplies to Florida. However, storms slowed his progress and he did not preempt the Frenchman.

While Spain prepared to eliminate Fort Caroline, the French faced troubles in Florida when several residents tried to force the Timucuans into providing food and other supplies. As relations with the Timucuans deteriorated, so did morale in the colony. Threatened with starvation, the French settlers prepared to flee. Only the return of Ribault with supplies and additional soldiers prevented the complete abandonment of the colony.

Ribault and Menéndez had first confronted each other at sea on September 4, 1565. The French disengaged, and the two squadrons took different paths back to Florida. Ribault arrived at Fort Caroline first, and Menéndez landed at St. Augustine on September 8. The French prepared to attack the Spanish fleet, but a storm threw them off course and prevented the action. Menéndez's effort was more successful. Almost immediately after Ribault's arrival, Menéndez and his Spanish fleet confronted the French settlers. On September 20, 1565, with most of Ribault's supplies still on board the ships, Menéndez attacked the French at Fort Caroline. The French were outnumbered two to one, and the Spanish attack triumphed. The Spanish killed approximately 132 French settlers in the assault; another 45 escaped. Spain renamed the fort San Mateo.

In 1586, the French returned to Florida, and avenged their earlier defeat by burning the fort to the ground. They did not, however, attempt to rebuild Fort Caroline or colonize Florida again.

Andrew K. Frank

See also

Florida; Florida, Franco-Spanish Conflict over; Fort San Mateo (Florida); Laudonnière, René Goulaine de; Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro; Redoubt; Ribault, Jean; St. Augustine

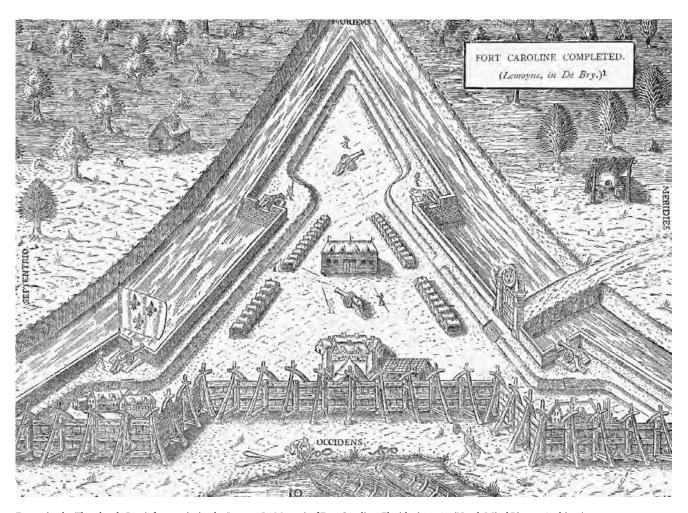
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Fort Casimer (Delaware)

Dutch fort built in 1651, located on the Delaware River between Fort Elfsborg and the Swedish-held Fort Christina, which was seven miles downstream. The Dutch constructed the garrison in an attempt to control water routes to New Sweden. Petrus Stuyvesant ordered construction of the fort, which he personally supervised, using 200 soldiers. The fort was completed in short order.

Swedish engineer Peter Lindeström made drawings of Swedish and Dutch forts at Sand Hook in 1655. His renderings show the east side of Fort Casimer at 180 feet wide, with a gate. The fort's walls were 12 feet high, and two buildings are shown extending above the



Engraving by Theodor de Bry (after a painting by Jacques Le Moyne) of Fort Caroline, Florida, in 1564. (North Wind Picture Archives)

walls, one of them a two-story frame building with a large dormer window set into the roof. The post's main building was located along the west wall of the fort. This building housed the commander's office, and its window served as a lookout post. The second building was a square building with a tall conical shaped roof that may have been a magazine. Lindeström depicted the fort as square in shape with four large arrowhead-shaped ramparts. Firing platforms, fitted along each wall between the ramparts, doubled as the roof of various enclosed spaces within the fort.

Fort Casimer mounted a dozen 12-pounder iron cannon and one "brass" (actually bronze) gun. Although Stuyvesant had placed heavy weapons in the fort, he chose not to give the fort commander any means to use them, as the fort was supplied with neither gunpowder nor cannonballs. It had only 63 small lead balls for the brass gun and 1,000 musket balls.

Swedish governor Johan Classon Rising led an attack against Fort Casimer on May 1 (Trinity Sunday), 1654. The Swedes took the fort easily, as it had a garrison of only nine men and lacked gunpowder. Rising promptly renamed the post Fort Trinity, for the day on which it had fallen. He allowed Fort Casimer's Dutch residents to

either leave unharassed or to swear loyalty to the Swedish Crown and remain. Most chose to stay. Within a month, however, alarming reports reached Rising that Stuyvesant intended to retake the fort. In response, in early 1655, Rising decided to strengthen the fort significantly.

Rising's journal reports that his first decision was to construct a bulwark just outside the Dutch fort along the river's edge. This bulwark was a massive wooden structure built of two parallel log walls, 210 feet long and probably some 16 feet apart, set vertically like a palisade and located between the Dutch-built fort and the river. These walls were about 12 feet above the ground. A pier was erected extending out into the river from a landing at the top of the vertical log-wall structure. Next, a horizontal log edifice was added on top of the vertical log structure with a gun platform and firing ports for six cannon. This effectively made the structure into a blockhouse. Lookout platforms at the top of the walls were fitted at each end. Next, four 14-pounder cannon, probably of Danish origin, were taken from the ship *Örnen* (Eagle) and mounted in trenches. Lastly, low earthwork bulwarks with log curtain walls, soil ramparts, and fore trenches were added between the gun trench

and the river. This seems to indicate that Fort Trinity was never armed as designed because the cannon were not installed on the gun deck. There were now essentially two forts on one site.

In September 1655, during his expedition against New Sweden, Stuyvesant and his forces recaptured Fort Trinity, which became known again as Fort Casimer. That same year, the outpost became the center of Dutch authority in both New Jersey and Delaware. The fort and surrounding settlement fell under English control in 1664.

LARRY S. STALLCUP AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Delaware; Fort Christina (Delaware); New Jersey; New Sweden; Rising, Johan Classon; Stuyvesant, Petrus

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Fort Chambly (Quebec)

French fort constructed in 1665, situated on the Richelieu River north of Lake Champlain at the point where the rapids give way to navigable water stretching to the St. Lawrence River Valley. Initially, Fort Chambly was used to launch raids against the Iroquois Confederation, and it was the site of a consequential 1691 Iroquois defeat by French forces under Philippe Clément de Vuault, Sieur de Valrennes. Later, after the advent of peace between the Iroquois and the French in 1701 and with the imperial struggle against Britain just getting underway, Fort Chambly was employed primarily as a supply depot for key strongholds on Lake Champlain, such as Fort St. Frédéric at Crown Point. As with many French forts in the region, it also helped funnel Albany-bound furs toward the merchants of New France. Upgraded in 1709, Fort Chambly had become a square-shaped, stone structure with walls over 100 feet long and a bastion in each corner by 1711. It was then the largest fortification on the Hudson-to-Richelieu invasion route, and the last major line of French defense before Montreal.

Fort Chambly played an important role in quashing Anglo-American incursions against Canada in 1690 and again in 1691. Because of its commanding position at the foot of the Richelieu rapids, enemy troops moving downstream from Lake Champlain had to disembark and portage through swampy woods in order to pass. This gave the Fort Chambly garrison the option of engagement, which it exercised when Major Peter Schuyler of the Albany militia arrived on August 1, 1691, with 266 troops and 146 Mohawk and Mahican allies. Although the French suffered heavy losses in the engagement and their enemy was able to push on and raid La Prairie for the second time in as many years, the encounter at Fort Chambly helped ensure that the overall campaign fell far short of its original goal of the conquest of Montreal.

The last time in the colonial period that Fort Chambly would witness major military action came near the end of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). After Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm's, replacement as commander in chief of French forces in North America, Brigadier General François-Gaston de Lévis, failed in his bid to retake Quebec in the spring of 1760, three British forces began closing in on Montreal from the south, east, and west. The southern force, consisting of 3,400 troops under Colonel William Haviland with Robert Rogers's fabled rangers in the vanguard, took Fort Chambly on September 1, 1760, after a short battle with the French garrison, which numbered fewer than 100 men at that point. Haviland's forces then moved northward along the Richelieu and joined up with the forces of Major General Jeffery Amherst and Brigadier General James Murray, where they collectively encircled Montreal with 17,000 troops. Only one week after the fall of Fort Chambly the capitulation of Montreal occurred, presaging the official end of New France that came with the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

Fort Chambly would bear witness to conflict one additional time, during the American Revolutionary War, when it was taken by Patriot forces on May 17, 1775, and briefly occupied. A restored Fort Chambly stands today, part of a Canadian National Historic Site.

STEVE BUNN

See also

Canada, New England Expedition against; Fort St. Frédéric (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Hudson River; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Lake Champlain; La Prairie, Battle of (1691); Mahican; Mohawks; St. Lawrence River

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Fort Charles (Virginia)

Military outpost built about 1610. During 1610–1611, Sir Thomas Gates, governor of the Jamestown Colony, responded to the threat of Native American attacks by ordering that two small forts be erected near the coast. The forts, Fort Charles and Fort Henry, were named for the sons of King James I. They were situated astride the mouth of Hampton Creek, very near the modern-day city of Hampton. In 1611, English ship pilot John Clark described Fort Charles as being located half a league away from Fort Algernon on Point Comfort. It was garrisoned by 15 soldiers and boasted a single castiron cannon for defense against the natives.

In 1613, Don Diego de Molina, one of three Spaniards captured in 1611 who was held at Fort Algernon, described Fort Charles in a

letter as being half a league from Fort Algernon and a bit larger than Fort Henry. In 1614, Captain George Webb was the commander of both Fort Charles and Fort Henry. He wrote that their surroundings were commodious for the garrison, but noted that the forts were indefensible if they were to come under attack from European forces. By the 1630s, both Fort Charles and Fort Henry had been abandoned.

After a Native American attack on Virginia in 1644, however, Fort Charles was rebuilt at the fall line of the James River, where present-day Richmond is located. Construction was completed in 1645.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Fort Algernon (Virginia); Fort Henry (Virginia); Jamestown; Virginia

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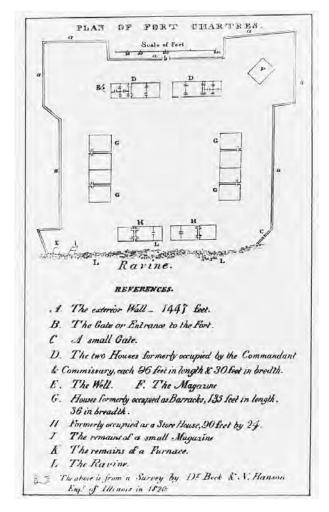
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Fort Chartres (Illinois)

One of a series of forts built in what is now modern-day southwestern Illinois that served as the center of French military and civil activity in the Illinois Country from 1720 until 1765, when it was transferred to the British. The first fort was constructed on the east bank of the Mississippi River, 18 miles north of present-day Kaskaskia, Illinois. The fort served as both a base for trade and exploring expeditions and as the headquarters for the commandant of upper Louisiana.

In October 1718, Pierre Boisbriant was authorized by the Company of the Indies to construct a fort to protect the Illinois Country from the English and Spanish. A wooden fort was completed in the spring of 1720 and named Fort Chartres in honor of Louis, Duc de Chartres, son of King Louis XV of France. The fort became the seat of government for the Illinois Country while the territory remained under French rule. Fort Chartres offered a degree of protection from the Fox tribe for the French settlements of Prairie de Rocher, St. Philippe, Cahokia, and Ste. Genevieve. The fort was square, palisaded, made of wood, and featured two bastions and four curtainlike walls.

The original wooden fort fell into disrepair and was replaced in 1727. The new structure was much stronger than the original, with four bastions and walls that were double palisaded. The interior had a barracks, officers' quarters, a storage area, and a chapel. In 1731 the management of Louisiana was transferred from the Company of the Indies to the French government, and in 1732 the commandant of the fort constructed a new wooden fort farther away from the river. This too was abandoned in 1747, and the garrison removed to Kaskaskia. A fourth fort was begun in 1751 under the guidance of the French engineer Francois Saucier and was completed in 1760. Unlike the previous wooden forts, the new structure was built of limestone with four bastions connected by walls measuring 340 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 15 feet high. On completion, the



Plan of Fort Chartres, Illinois. (Library of Congress)

fort could house over 400 men, although the French never garrisoned that many soldiers at the fort.

After the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the French surrendered Illinois to the British according to the terms of the Treaty of Paris (1763). Two years passed before the British garrison arrived from New Orleans to occupy the fort because of hostile Native Americans in the region. On October 10, 1765, British troops of the 42nd Highland Regiment took possession of Fort Chartres and soon afterward it was renamed Fort Cavendish.

The British occupation of the fort resulted in a number of French settlers relocating west to St. Louis in Spanish Louisiana. The British continued to maintain a small garrison at the fort to protect their western territory from Native Americans and the French. The fort was extensively damaged in 1770 by a flood on the Mississippi River, and the British ordered it abandoned in late 1771.

THERESA L. STOREY

See also

Fox; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Illinois; New France

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Fort Chiswell (Virginia)

Fort constructed in the autumn of 1760 during the Cherokee War (1759–1761). Fort Chiswell was situated about eight miles east of present-day Wytheville in Wythe County, in the far southwestern corner of the present state of Virginia. It was named for Colonel John Chiswell, the owner of several nearby lead mines, and built by Colonel William Byrd III.

Byrd, commanding a Virginia militia regiment, had marched to the relief of Fort Loudoun (Tennessee), located at the confluence of the Little Tennessee River and Telico River. The Cherokees had been allies of the English, but a war party returning from service against the French and their Native American allies tried to supplement their war booty with horses from several Virginia frontier settlements. In the ensuing exchange of fire, several Cherokees were killed. Following this, another party had attacked other frontier settlements, and a general war against the Cherokees followed.

On August 8, 1760, the western Cherokees forced the surrender of Fort Loudoun, although its garrison was promised safe passage back to South Carolina. However, the retreating garrison was attacked two days later at Ballplay (Tennessee) by Cherokees hoping to avenge their earlier losses. Several Englishmen died in the skirmish. Byrd, whose mission was to relieve Fort Loudoun, arrived too late. The Cherokees posed a threat of more fighting to come. Thus, to position himself advantageously for a spring campaign, Byrd built Fort Chiswell as winter quarters. The garrison served as a post, arsenal, and supply depot until approximately 1790. Later that decade the property was sold.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Cherokees; Cherokee War; Fort Loudoun (Tennessee)

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Fort Christanna (Virginia)

Fort built in Brunswick County, Virginia, next to the Meherrin River, in 1714 in the aftermath of the Tuscarora War (1711–1713). During this time, Virginia was scrambling to protect its frontier from invasion by the Tuscaroras of North Carolina. Virginians also feared other tribes living to the north and west, who might side with the Tuscaroras. One solution to the dilemma was to unite the

Catawban speakers who resided in Virginia, including the Saponis, Occaneechis, and Stenkenocks. They agreed not to conduct raids on the English and to assist Virginia in defending the frontier against the Iroquois, who came down from New York, and the Tuscaroras, who were still a threat.

Construction on Fort Christanna was begun in August 1714 and represented the great ambition of Virginia's Gov. Alexander Spotswood, who supervised the building effort. The fort was large and built in a pentagonal shape with 300 feet per side. Its walls were made of log palisades, which connected five blockhouses. Each blockhouse contained five cannon for defense of the fort. Spotswood was so interested in the success of his venture that he built his residence not far from the fort. By this move, he hoped to coax settlers to move westward beyond Fort Christanna, thereby strengthening Virginia's frontier settlements.

In its heyday, Fort Christanna was a bustling community. Perhaps its most noteworthy facility was its Indian School, which was assisted financially by the Anglican Church's London-based Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. At its height, the school sponsored 70 Native American pupils. While there, the children were taught English and the Christian faith by schoolmaster Charles Griffin. Once the children completed their studies, they were expected to return to their respective communities and help spread European civilization.

The fort also served as home base for the Virginia Indian Company, a trading venture. This was yet another enterprise of great interest to Spotswood, and its presence made certain that Fort Christanna was a trade center. The company also distributed materials meant for defense of the frontier. The company built the Indian School and cut roads and erected bridges throughout the region, which was dotted by waterways. Spotswood thereby successfully fixed and regulated Virginia's Native American trade in one location.

Located between the fort and the Meherrin River was a Saponi village. Approximately 300 individuals from the Saponi tribe, and other tributary Indian groups incorporated with the Saponis, inhabited the village. The children who lived there entered the fort every day to study.

Virginia stopped funding the fort's maintenance in 1718; thus, the fort quickly fell into disrepair. Today the fort's ruins are located south of Lawrenceville, Virginia, in modern Brunswick County overlooking the Meherrin River. Excavations of Fort Christanna and the Saponi village began in 1979 and continue to this day. Indeed, archaeologists have found that the descriptions of the fort and the Saponi village made by John Fontaine in 1716 are accurate.

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See also

Catawbas; Iroquois; Saponis; Spotswood, Alexander; Tuscaroras; Tuscarora War; Virginia

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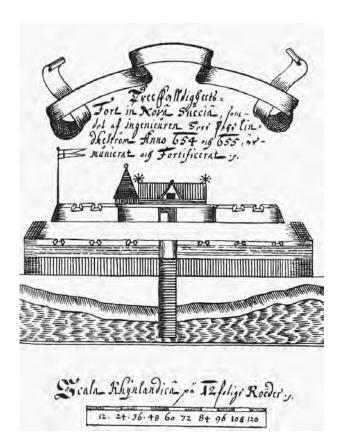
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Fort Christina (Delaware)

Fort constructed in 1638 by the Swedes on the Delaware River (where modern-day Wilmington is located) and named for Queen Christina of Sweden. Fort Christina was built under the supervision of Peter Minuit, who had led the Swedish expedition to settle the area. Two ships, the *Kalmar Nykle* and the *Fogel Grip*, sailed from Sweden in 1637 and arrived on the Delaware River in the spring of 1638. A settlement site was quickly selected at a place called "The Rocks" (modern Wilmington). Minuit's expedition erected a wooden stockade immediately after arrival and, in just three months, the Swedes had completed basic construction on the fort.

The hastily built fort was a rough square shape because that was the easiest and most efficient shape to build. It also included arrowhead-shaped bastians on each corner. To fortify the post's 12-foot-high walls against cannon fire, dirt was piled against the outer wall so the palisade was not visible from the river. Its walls



Fort Christina, established in 1638 under the leadership of Peter Minuit, was the chief outpost of Swedish settlers in the Delaware River area. (Hulton Getty/Archive Photos)

protected living quarters, a magazine, a storehouse, and a barn among other outbuildings. Its permanent garrison was 3 men, but at times the temporary garrison was as large as about 40 men.

Because the stockade was 12 feet high, the men inside could not see over the walls to defend the fort. Thus, a firing platform was constructed around much of the palisade's interior. The platform allowed defenders to stand and observe activities on the river, and it served as the roof for many buildings within the fort's walls.

The local Native Americans, the Delawares (Lenni Lenape), were rarely much of a problem for the Swedes, who maintained good relations with them. The men of New Sweden were most concerned that Fort Christina provide them with adequate protection from their European neighbors, particularly the Dutch. Soon, the fort became a political and cultural center for New Sweden.

Be that as it may, the Swedes neglected to maintain the fort and allowed it to fall into disrepair. Indeed, only two years after it was built, the ramparts had begun to crumble. After hastily repairing the damage, the fort's inhabitants were forced to undertake a major renovation in 1644.

Notwithstanding this repair work, the Dutch captured Fort Christina in 1655. Petrus Stuyvesant and a force of seven ships and more than 300 infantrymen took the fort with no bloodshed and renamed it Fort Altena. In 1664, the English in turn invaded and took control of the fort. Some decades later, they dismantled the fort so that nothing of it remains above ground today.

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See also

Anglo-Dutch War, Second; Delaware; Minuit, Peter; New Jersey; New Sweden; Stuyvesant, Petrus

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Fort Clinton (New York)

See Fort Saratoga (New York)

Fort Condé (Alabama)

French fort on Mobile Bay near the Mobile River, built during 1710–1711. Fort Condé demonstrated the Louisiana colony's military strength along the Gulf Coast. The fort was originally named Fort Louis de la Mobile, but by 1724 it had been renamed Fort Condé de la Mobile to recognize French marshal Louis II de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, whose descendants lived in Mobile. The fort's soldiers conducted surveillance of coastal and river traffic and guarded the colony.

Fort Condé experienced many of the problems endured by its predecessor. Hurricanes battered the garrison, and storm surges piled sand in Mobile Bay's channel. Thus, officials wanted to prevent water and wind damage encountered on the coast. Workers rebuilt a smaller brick structure on the fort's stone foundation, using locally manufactured bricks, oyster shells, and lime (known as tabby). Strategic enhancements included platforms for gunmen, improved casements, and steeper sides. Unfortunately, bricks sometimes fell apart and the colony occasionally lacked sufficient funds and workers to reinforce Fort Condé as desired.

Many of Fort Condé's soldiers were poorly trained, but they were rarely confronted by human attackers. Mosquitoes and vermin, however, tormented the soldiers, who often suffered fevers and mosquito-borne diseases. Supplies, especially bedding, were frequently slow to arrive. And the hot, humid environment was miserable. As a result, morale among those stationed at the garrison was very low.

Under terms of the Treaty of Paris of 1763, France ceded Mobile to the British, who renamed its military installation Fort Charlotte to honor the British queen. The Spanish in turn captured it in 1780 during the American Revolutionary War. The United States seized the former Fort Condé from Spain in 1813, when it served as U.S. Army Major General Andrew Jackson's headquarters. By 1819, workers had razed part of Fort Condé and thrown the rubble into the surrounding marshes. A rebuilt Fort Condé is now a tourist attraction in modern Mobile, emphasizing the city's French colonial history.

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See also

Fort Louis (Alabama); Louisiana; New France

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Fort Conti (New York)

Colonial fort built in 1679 by the French, located on the eastern bank of the Niagara River where it flows into Lake Ontario, near modernday Youngstown, New York. Fort Conti was one of several forts built on this site, including Fort La Salle, Fort Denonville, the House of Peace, and Old Fort Niagara. Commanding the portage around Niagara Falls, the site controlled the Great Lakes route into the interior of the continent (the principal alternative to the Ottawa River route already controlled by the French). The location was a frequent point of contention, first between the French and the Seneca (Iroquois Confederation), then later between the French and British.

René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle may have built the first structure at the site, Fort La Salle, in 1669. This would have been a temporary structure for quartering during the winter, probably defensible against attack. Little, however, is certain about Fort La Salle's whereabouts. La Salle returned to the area in December 1678, intent on creating a personal fur-trading empire in the upper Great Lakes. He assigned his lieutenant, Henri de Tonti, to build a transport ship on Lake Erie and to build Fort Conti at the mouth of the Niagara River to protect vessels bringing supplies from the east. The fort was named for Tonti's patron, Louis Armand de Bourbon, Prince de Conti. Its construction began in January 1679.

Standing on rock bluffs 25–50 feet above the river, the fort consisted of two 40-foot-square log blockhouses connected by palisades. La Salle left a dozen men to garrison the fort when he ventured farther west in August 1679 and dispatched another squad in November. When he returned the following year, the fort had been destroyed, burned either by the Senecas or through the carelessness of the garrison.

In 1687 the new governor of New France, Jacques-René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, viewed the Iroquois Confederation as a threat to his province's security and to the upper lakes fur trade. In July he attacked the main Seneca villages, near the Genesee Valley. Then he proceeded to the Niagara River to claim the portage and to order the construction of Fort Denonville at the site of Fort Conti. The fort consisted of a stockade with four bastions enclosing eight buildings.

The governor returned to Montreal, leaving the fort and 100 men under the command of Captain Pierre de Troyes. That winter, the garrison suffered from cold, starvation, revolt, and scurvy, in addition to attacks by the Senecas. By April only 10 or 12 men remained at the site, and Troyes died of scurvy on May 8, 1688. The garrison was relieved, but the governor concluded that the fort was too distant and isolated to be maintained in the face of Seneca hostility. On September 15, 1688, the troops pulled down the stockade and abandoned Fort Denonville. The Senecas burned the remains.

In the early 1700s, when relations with the Iroquois had improved, the French determined again to consolidate control of the Great Lakes and to exclude the English from the fur trade. In 1720 Louis-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire, an adopted son of the Senecas, persuaded them to deny the English permission to build a fort on the Niagara while he built a trading post (the Magazin Royal, or royal store) at the Niagara Escarpment (Lewiston, New York). In 1726 Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry, the governor's chief engineer, built a new fort in the guise of a trading post at the Fort Denonville site. He officially called it the House of Peace, but it was also the first to carry the name Fort Niagara. It was built in the style of a grand two-story house, 48 feet by 96 feet, with stone walls 4 feet thick and a surrounding stockade. Overhanging dormers on the second floor allowed defenders to fire down on attackers. With this, the French finally had a permanent fort at the mouth of the Niagara River. Later referred to as the "French Castle," the structure still stands.

During King George's War, the neutrality of the Iroquois kept the fort peaceful and its garrison did not exceed 30 men, but it was expanded and the stockade replaced. In the years preceding the French and Indian War, Fort Niagara was the base for the French expansion toward the Ohio Valley. The site was extensively reconstructed and enlarged in 1755–1756.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Chabert de Joncaire, Louis-Thomas; Chaussegros de Lery, Gaspard-Joseph; Denonville, Jacques-René de Brisay de; Fort Niagara (New York); La Salle, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de; Senecas

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Fort Corchaug (New York)

Native American fort located in present-day Suffolk County, Long Island, New York, on the west bank of Downs Creek. The Corchaug tribe built this fort some time after the Pequot War (1636–1638). At that time, the Corchaugs occupied the north fork of Long Island from Orient Point to the Wading River.

The Corchaugs were part of a confederacy of four tribes occupying the eastern end of Long Island, led by the *sachem* (chief) at Montauk. The Corchaugs paid tribute to the Pequots until the Pequot War. Thereafter, they changed their allegiance to the English settlers in Boston. Indeed, they went so far as to send the heads of 60 Pequot refugees to Lieutenant Lion Gardiner at Fort Saybrook as proof of their allegiance.

Fort Corchaug served two primary purposes. It was a place of refuge not from Europeans but from the natives of New England who would come to Long Island to collect shells for making wampum. Archaeological evidence also suggests that the site was used as part of a wampum network that extended to New Amsterdam. The fort was in an oblong shape and was built with a palisaded perimeter approximately 210 feet in length (running north—south) and 160 feet wide (running east—west). It was likely further protected by an earthen berm running perpendicular to Down's Creek.

As the English established themselves on Long Island, the Corchaugs gradually lost their sovereignty. From 1648 to 1649, the Corchaugs sold much of their land to the newcomers and soon lost their autonomy. Some Corchaugs were enslaved, and many others died of disease. Fort Corchaug was abandoned in 1660.

The Downs family purchased the land on which Fort Corchaug stood in the early 1800s, and it was subsequently used for pasturing cattle. In 1935, archaeologist Ralph Solecki discovered the remains of the fort and then conducted an extensive archaeological survey on the site. In July 2000, the Peconic Land Trust purchased the site for \$1.2 million in order to preserve and study it.

STEVEN DIETER

See also

Fort Saybrook (Connecticut); Gardiner, Lion; Long Island; Pequot War; Wampum

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Fort Crèvecoeur (Illinois)

The first French fort in the West, or Illinois Country, constructed in early 1680. René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, arrived in Canada in 1667 and became interested in the fur trade. In 1677 he returned to France to petition King Louis XIV for permission to explore the western part of New France to the Mississippi River. The king formally granted La Salle permission on May 12, 1678. La Salle was given five years to explore the territory and was authorized to construct forts wherever necessary. La Salle embarked from La Rochelle on July 14, 1678, with 32 men, including Henri de Tonti, a native Italian then serving in the French military.

After arriving in Canada, La Salle ordered a small ship, the *Griffon*, constructed on Lake Erie for the expedition. On September 18, La Salle sent the *Griffon* back to Niagara with a load of furs and orders to meet the expedition on Lake Michigan. Months later, when it failed to return, the ship was assumed lost. On January 5, 1680, La Salle's party arrived at the point where the Illinois River widens to form Peoria Lake and camped near present-day Peoria. The following day they encountered a Native American Illinois village where La Salle informed Nikanopy, brother of the chief, that he intended to erect a fort and build a canoe for descending the river. The two men agreed that the natives would provide food for La Salle's men in exchange for protection and trade.

The onset of winter prevented further exploration, so La Salle ordered the construction of a fort to shelter his men and protect them from the Iroquois. The fort was completed and occupied within a few weeks at this temporary location. It was protected on one side by the Illinois River, on two sides by deep ravines, and in the front by a hill reinforced by timber. An earthen embankment and a 25-foot-high, 12-inch-thick stockade wall made of pointed logs surrounded two long barracks and a cabin that also served as the chapel. La Salle named the post Fort Crèvecoeur, which means "heartbreak," in honor of Marshal Turenne's victory over the Dutch in July 1672. Tonti had served under Turenne during the battle at that Dutch stronghold.

In March 1680, La Salle returned to Canada for supplies and to determine what had happened to the *Griffon*. On arrival at St. Joseph, La Salle learned that the ship had disappeared and that a French ship carrying supplies for his expedition had also sunk. During his absence, La Salle left Tonti in command of Fort Crèvecoeur.

While Tonti was away on May 6, 1680, inspecting Starved Rock as a permanent site for a new fort, the garrison mutinied. The fort was completely destroyed, but the deserters, who threatened to murder La Salle, were captured. Fort Crèvecoeur was never rebuilt.

THERESA L. STOREY

See also

Illinois; Iroquois; La Salle, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de

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Fort Cumberland (Maryland)

Logistical base erected in 1755 for Major General Edward Braddock's 1755 Fort Duquesne campaign. Located in present-day Cumberland, Maryland, Fort Cumberland sat on a bluff northwest of the junction of Wills Creek and the Potomac River's north branch. Although the fort was in Maryland's western territory, the Maryland Assembly had little interest in supporting a post well beyond its frontier. Thus much of the fort's development fell to neighboring Virginia.

The site of the fort was originally an outpost of the Ohio Company of Virginia. In 1754, Lieutenant Colonel George Washington converted the storehouse at the site into fortifications in order to supply his ill-fated attempt to seize the Forks of the Ohio River, later dominated by France's Fort Duquesne. The post was known as the Wills Creek Fort or Fort Mount Pleasant, Virginia, but Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie renamed it Fort Cumberland in 1755 after King George II's son, the Duke of Cumberland. As part of a broader campaign against New France, the Virginians further expanded Fort Cumberland to support Braddock's army.

The main fort encompassed a log stockade, roughly 100 feet square, with four corner bastions. It mounted 16 cannon, mostly 4-pounders, and a number of swivel guns. Attached to the fort's eastern side stood a rectangular palisade about 300 feet long and 150 feet wide that enclosed a large parade ground and three barracks and storehouse buildings roughly 200 feet long. At the fort's eastern end, an angled bastion overlooked Wills Creek. The garrison also dug trenches to the creek to ensure a water supply. When fully garrisoned, there was sufficient room for more than 200 men.

Through spring 1755, over 2,000 regular and provincial troops and an abundance of supplies flowed into the fort. Braddock himself arrived there on May 10. Confident of victory, the army's vanguard departed on June 8. After a stunning defeat at the July 8 Battle of the Monongahela, Braddock's shattered force retreated to Fort Cumberland. The survivors, led by Colonel Thomas Dunbar, who succeeded the mortally wounded Braddock, reached the fort on July 17. Stragglers trickled in for more than a week.

Following Braddock's defeat, Fort Cumberland became the westernmost British outpost in the middle colonies. Despite gover-

nors' pleas to remain there, Dunbar withdrew on August 2, leaving behind a large number of wounded. Only two companies of Virginia and Maryland rangers remained at the fort, the latter denied pay by their own colony. Maryland's intransigence continued amid a debate over the fort's future. Maryland governor Horatio Sharpe believed that the exposed fort should be abandoned in favor of Fort Frederick, a post under construction nearly 60 miles down the Potomac. Virginia's military commanders also thought the fort was too distant from their settlements and stretched their resources too far without assistance from both Maryland and Pennsylvania. But neither colony provided aid. The Crown refused to abandon the fort, however. In 1757, British commander in chief John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, ordered Maryland to garrison the post, but the Maryland Assembly refused to comply. Meanwhile, the Virginians remained, waiting in vain for the Marylanders. A small number of regulars soon supplemented their numbers.

Fort Cumberland did little to halt or deter French and native war parties, which often killed individuals within sight of the garrison. These raiders occupied ridges overlooking the Potomac Valley and fired down into the fort. The psychological effect of such sniping unnerved the garrison, although direct attacks were rare.

British brigadier general John Forbes's 1758 campaign against Fort Duquesne reignited debate over the fort's future. The Virginians argued for another advance using Braddock's Road and relying on supplies still stockpiled at Fort Cumberland. Pennsylvanians argued for a new route through southern Pennsylvania. Both proposals had as much to do with postwar economics as with current strategy. While Washington scouted and improved the Braddock Road, Colonel Henry Bouquet constructed the so-called Forbes Road through Pennsylvania. In July 1758, Bouquet ordered Washington to construct a 30-mile road linking Fort Cumberland with Fort Bedford, Pennsylvania. The Virginian mistakenly believed the army would gather at Bedford as a diversion and then march to Cumberland for the main attack against Fort Duquesne.

Forbes, however, selected the Pennsylvania route. For the first and only time, Maryland provided a garrison, freeing an embittered Washington and his Virginians to join the main army in Pennsylvania. After peace treaties with the western tribes and Forbes's capture of Fort Duquesne, Fort Cumberland's role became superfluous and it was soon abandoned. When frontier warfare reignited with Pontiac's Rebellion in the summer of 1763, the fort's remains became a sanctuary for local settlers. With the rebellion's end, the locals abandoned the site once again.

STANLEY J. ADAMIAK

See also

Braddock, Edward; Braddock's Campaign; Dinwiddie, Robert; Forbes Campaign; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Ohio Company; Ohio Expedition (1754); Pontiac's Rebellion; Washington, George; Wills Creek (Maryland)

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Fort Darby (Massachusetts)

The first fort constructed on Marblehead, a rocky peninsula on the Atlantic Coast of Essex County in northeastern Massachusetts. Fort Darby was situated on Naugus Head, a promontory on the northwest corner of the peninsula. Naugus Head and Winter Island, which was opposite, controlled the entrance to Salem Harbor. The fort's exact appearance is unknown.

Marblehead was settled in 1629 as a fishing community and an outpost of Salem; it became a separate town in 1649. Fort Darby was most likely built about 1630 at the behest of John Endecott, the acting governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony until the arrival of John Winthrop. Its construction was hastened by concerns over the vulnerability of the young colony to pirates, privateers, and other foreign raiders. The fort was named after a similar headland in Derby (pronounced Darby), England. In 1673, when the arrival of a hostile Dutch fleet was feared, the fort's "great artillery" was made ready for use.

A breastwork (later Fort Sewall) was built on the northeast corner of the Marblehead Peninsula, possibly as early as 1634. It faced Marblehead Neck, a rocky promontory extending to the east from the main peninsula, and controlled the entrance to Marblehead Harbor. Another defensive position, on Winter Island, was built as early as 1643. A powder magazine was built in Marblehead in 1755.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Massachusetts

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Fort de la Boulaye (Louisiana)

The first European fort along the lower Mississippi River, established by Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville in 1700. Fort de la Boulaye was situated on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, approximately 30 miles to the south of present-day New Orleans and 45 miles north of the mouth of the Mississippi. Although it existed for only six years, the outpost gave France control of the lower Mississippi River Valley and the capacity to expand north from the Gulf of Mexico while also expanding south

from Canada. The fort had a two-story blockhouse composed of mud and wood, which was encircled by a wooden palisade and a moat about 12 feet wide. The garrison also mounted a 4-pounder cannon.

D'Iberville coveted a French presence on the Gulf of Mexico and had already established a fort on Ship Island, southwest of Mobile Bay. In January 1699, he had sent his brother, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, to explore the coast farther westward. On March 2, 1699, at Cabo de Lodo (Cape Mud), Bienville found the Mississippi River. After exploring up river, d'Iberville decided that its banks were too low and that marshes and mud flats might hamper large ships. He then built Fort Maurepas on the east side of Biloxi Bay and sailed for more colonists and supplies.

When d'Iberville returned, he ordered Bienville to build a fort on the first high ground upstream. Bienville built Fort de la Boulaye in 1700. As it turned out, the fort was too far inland to be truly effective and was poorly manned and supplied. Even worse, the flood-prone, mosquito-infested site could not sustain agriculture and threatened the French with yellow fever and other mosquito-borne diseases. They abandoned the fort in 1706.

JOHN H. BARNHILL

See also

Fort Biloxi (Mississippi); Fort Maurepas (Mississippi); Le Moyne de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste; Le Moyne d'Iberville et d'Ardillières, Pierre; Louisiana

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Fort de la Presque Isle (Pennsylvania)

A series of forts built by the French, the English, and the Americans beginning in 1753 along the southern shores of Lake Erie, near the Presque Isle peninsula (now Erie, Pennsylvania). The name comes from *presq'île* (literally "almost an island"), the French word for "peninsula." François Le Mercier, a French engineer, erected the first French fort in 1753.

Le Mercier had been attached to the expedition sent to seize control of the headwaters of the Ohio River and prevent English encroachments into French-claimed territories. Presque Isle marked the beginning of a newly discovered route into the Ohio Country. As such, it guarded the supply route and communications to the interior. The expedition of about 1,500 men was under the overall command of Captain Pierre Paul Marin, an experienced officer who was then 61 years old.

Work on the fort began in late spring and was completed by June or July 1753. Located on an elevation overlooking the lake and peninsula, it consisted of chestnut logs laid horizontally and stacked 15 feet high. The fort was square, 120 feet long on each side, and contained four log houses, either one in each corner or one along each interior wall. There was a gate on the north wall, and

another on the south. The French cut a portage road from Presque Isle to Rivière au Boeuf (French Creek), where they established Fort Le Boeuf (Waterford, Pennsylvania). This gave them access by water to the Allegheny River and Ohio River.

Disease, however, cut the mission short. All but 300 men were sent back to Montreal. Marin himself died at Le Boeuf on October 29, 1753. The operation commenced again the following year, with a larger force under Captain Claude-Pierre Pécaudy, seigneur de Contrecoeur. This expedition established Fort Machault (Venango, Pennsylvania) on the Allegheny River and Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh) at the Forks of the Ohio, giving rise to the French and Indian War.

When the French abandoned Fort Duquesne in 1758, some of its garrison withdrew to Presque Isle. The British feared that the French might try to retake the Forks of the Ohio from there or the other nearby forts. Indeed, a force of some 1,100 Frenchmen and 200 Native Americans descended from the upper lakes and gathered at Presque Isle for precisely that purpose. However, they were redirected to the north to assist with the defense of Fort Niagara. When Niagara fell to the English, its French defenders withdrew temporarily to Presque Isle. They then burned Fort de la Presque Isle in the second week of August 1759, and continued their retreat to Detroit. The first French fort built in Pennsylvania, Presque Isle was also the last to be abandoned.

English forces under Colonel Henry Bouquet occupied the site and constructed a new fort at or near the same location in 1760. The English fort was a palisade with a blockhouse in one corner that was supposed to be impregnable. Constructed of massive logs, the blockhouse had a projecting upper story. Openings in the projecting floors allowed soldiers within to fire downward on attackers who came too close. The blockhouse also had a bastion from which flanking fire could cover one or more walls. A sentry box stood at the top, from which water could be thrown on the shingled roof in case of fire. Gutters made of bark were arranged so as to disperse the water to every part of the roof, and green turf at the angles of the roof were to provide protection against fire arrows. The sentry box and the doors of the blockhouse were lined to make them bulletproof. Unfortunately, the ridge-like bank of a stream entering the lake about 40 yards away provided cover for attackers, as did the lakeshore on the other side.

In 1763, during Pontiac's Rebellion, the fort was not one of the major forts on which the English focused their defensive resources. Presque Isle was commanded by Ensign John Christie of the Royal American Regiment, who had under him some 27 men, including six Rangers he had commandeered from a passing detachment. On or about June 15, 1763, 200–250 natives (Ottawas, Ojibwas, Wyandots, and Senecas) arrived from the Detroit area. Many of these attackers were veterans of the French and Indian War. They proceeded to make use of the stream's bank and the lakeshore to approach the fort stealthily at dawn.

Storming the site, an advance group used the loopholes in reverse direction to pour gunfire and burning pitch into the blockhouse. They also made a shield from the walls of an outhouse. Others built makeshift breastworks of logs on the ridges, from behind which they shot musket balls and fire arrows and made preparations to undermine the blockhouse. By nightfall the defenders' water supply was spent. Fighting continued through the night, paused in the morning, and resumed in the afternoon of the second day. The blockhouse caught fire, but by then the defenders had dug an underground tunnel to a well and they managed to put it out. At midnight on the second day, a former Englishman among the Wyandots presented Christie with an ultimatum—surrender or be burned alive. Come morning, Christie surrendered the post. Presque Isle was the last of the British forts to fall in Pontiac's Rebellion. Despite the terms of surrender, the natives torched the fort. Most of the garrison were killed, although the Wyandots, less enthusiastic participants, turned Christie, four of his men, and a sergeant's wife over to the commandant of Detroit.

In 1795, the Americans built a blockhouse at Presque Isle Bay. This was a log structure with a square first floor and a projecting octagonal second floor. At about the same time, a town was established there as well.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Blockhouses; Bouquet, Henry; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Le Boeuf (Pennsylvania); Fort Machault (Pennsylvania); Fort Niagara (New York); Fort Niagara, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Ojibwas; Ottawas; Pécaudy de Contrecoeur, Claude-Pierre; Pontiac's Rebellion; Senecas

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Fort Denonville (New York)

See Fort Conti (New York)

Fort Detroit (Michigan)

French-established post founded in 1701 and located at the narrowest point of the Detroit River, near present-day Detroit, Michigan. At the turn of the 18th century, New France established several posts along the Great Lakes to expand and control the profitable fur trade with the Native Americans. One important location was a 27-mile strait cut by the Detroit River between Lake Erie and Lake St. Claire, which served as a gateway for the three western Great Lakes to Lake Erie and the St. Lawrence River. On July 24, 1701, a French expedition led by Antoine de La Mothe Cadillac selected a site for a fortified town, which he called Detroit, or "the city of the strait."

Cadillac scouted a 40-foot-high bluff on the western side of the river where he located a fort that occupied a square of about one acre. It boasted a stockade 12 to 15 feet high and was protected by a deep moat. Cadillac named the fort Pontchartrain de Detroit after Jérôme Phélypeaux de Maurepas, Comte de Pontchartrain, French minister of marine and colonies. Eventually, the name for the entire settlement evolved simply to Detroit.

The outpost at Detroit expanded with the increased demand for beaver furs. By 1750 the fort accommodated a population of almost 900 traders, soldiers, and merchants. Fort Pontchartrain served as a French logistics base and was used to project military power into the region to resist British encroachment, especially during the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

After the British captured Quebec in 1759, all French outposts in the Great Lakes region, including Fort Pontchartrain, became possessions of Great Britain. On November 29, 1760, Major Robert Rogers led a British force of 200 soldiers into Detroit to occupy Fort Pontchartrain. The British changed the name of the military-trading complex to Fort Detroit and began to implement their own brand of imperial control on the native and French inhabitants.

Captain Donald Campbell, the first British commandant at the fort, described the fort as being in good repair with two bastions pointed toward the river and one bastion covering the land approach. In the bastions were 3-pounder guns and several small mortars. There were 70 or 80 houses in the fort laid out in a regular street pattern. In 1762, Major Henry Gladwin replaced Campbell with orders from Major General Jeffery Amherst to stop providing gifts, especially military stores, to the regional natives. This caused much acrimony among the local tribes.

In May 1763, Ottawa chief Pontiac organized a coordinated rebellion to oust the British from the region. He hoped to take Fort Detroit by deception. However, Gladwin had wind of the plot, and to Pontiac's dismay, had formed the entire garrison on the parade ground, fully armed. His ruse foiled, Pontiac resorted to besieging Fort Detroit on May 10. The siege of Fort Detroit lasted several months as the British attempted to organize sorties to attack Pontiac's camps. The summer of 1763 was a bloody time at Fort Detroit for both sides. The blood-letting continued until October 31, when Pontiac notified Gladwin that he was abandoning the siege. Fort Detroit continued to serve as a British center of trade and military power for the remainder of the colonial period as well as during the American Revolution.

STEVEN J. RAUCH

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; Fort Detroit, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; New France; Pontiac (Obwandiyng), Chief; Pontiac's Rebellion; Rogers, Robert

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Fort Detroit (Michigan), Siege of

Start Date: May 7, 1763 End Date: October 15, 1763

The event that launched Pontiac's Rebellion, and the most prolonged and prominent military engagement on the American frontier in 1763. Led by Ottawa chief Pontiac, Ottawa warriors along with the Pottawatomies, Wyandots, and other Native American groups in the Great Lakes region besieged Britain's Fort Detroit for five months (May–October 1763). The largest garrison in the region with about 130 soldiers, Fort Detroit was also the only post west of Fort Pitt that withstood attempts to capture it. The engagement is also the only one in which Chief Pontiac is known to have participated directly.

On May 7, just prior to opening the siege, Pontiac attempted to take the fort by surprise. Detroit's commander, Major Henry Gladwin, had received warning of the attempt, and when Pontiac entered with some 300 warriors, the garrison was under arms, which induced the Ottawa chief to cancel his plans. When Pontiac returned on May 9, Gladwin forbade him to enter with anything but a small number of warriors. Ottawas then attacked the island in the Detroit River that held the fort's supply of cattle, killed several British soldiers and settlers outside the post, and began the siege.

Attacking warriors were armed with muskets, and at times brought the fort and vessels in the river under heavy fire, but they were never able to overwhelm the garrison by fire or assault. Conversely, the British, also armed with muskets, had in addition only a few small artillery pieces, and thus they lacked the firepower to disperse



Illustration depicting a meeting between Ottawa leader Chief Pontiac and Major Robert Rogers in 1763 regarding peace terms following the Native American siege of Detroit. (Library of Congress)

attacks. As a result, much of the fighting had a seesaw quality: Warriors made use of cover to approach and fire on the fort, sometimes constructing their own breastworks; in response, Gladwin sent out sorties to destroy these structures when warriors temporarily returned to their camps.

Native American efforts to cut off the garrison's supplies, which moved by water over Lake Erie and up the Detroit River, presented a greater threat to the British. On May 28, warriors intercepted a bateau convoy, attacking and capturing most of the men who had made camp for the night on the lakeshore (and who were at that time unaware of the hostilities at Detroit). At the end of June, the sloop Michigan, returning with supplies from Niagara, repelled a canoe-borne attack as it was making its way up the river, and then endured fire from native-constructed fortifications on a nearby island. A few weeks later Pontiac and his followers launched fireboats to try and destroy vessels anchored near the fort. In September, the crew of the schooner Huron engaged in hand-to-hand combat to defend the ship, which was also returning with supplies for the garrison. Beyond carrying supplies, the artillery support provided by the guns of the Michigan and the Huron provided additional motivation for Native American attacks on these vessels.

At the end of July, a bateau convoy arrived at Detroit with troops under the command of Captain James Dalyell, including a ranger detachment led by Robert Rogers. In the early morning of July 31, Dalyell led most of these troops out of Detroit to attack the natives' camp, resulting in the major field action associated with the siege. His foes were prepared for him, however, and warriors ambushed his force at what would later be known as Bloody Run. Of 247 British soldiers, 55 became casualties and approximately 100 were captured, with the remainder fighting their way back to the fort.

Hostilities lasted until October 15, when Pontiac abandoned the siege. By then, he had little choice, as his requests for assistance from the French in the Illinois Country had been denied, clashes had arisen among various Native American groups in his camp, and warriors needed to leave to pursue the winter hunt. Although tensions between Pontiac and the British would continue for some time, Detroit would no longer be threatened.

MATTHEW S. MUEHLBAUER

See also

Bateau; Detroit; Hurons; Illinois; Ottawas; Pontiac (Obwandiyng), Chief; Pontiac's Rebellion; Rogers, Robert

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Fort Dickinson (Virginia)

English fort erected in 1756, under the supervision of Lieutenant Colonel George Washington. Fort Dickinson was the third in a line of forts constructed to provide refuge in case of French or native attack, and was located on the Cowpasture River on a site four miles below the present-day town of Millboro Springs and George Washington National Forest in Bath County, Virginia.

Prior to the French and Indian War (1754–1763), little had been done in Virginia and the other English colonies to erect fortifications, especially on the western frontiers. The English were generally unorganized, lacked engineers, and had given little thought to western defenses. The few fortifications that were available were in serious disrepair. The French, on the other hand, had a well-organized military system and a well-placed program of fort construction.

Early in 1756, in the midst of war, the Virginia colonial legislature finally appropriated adequate funds to erect fortifications. Most of the forts were small, stockade enclosures. They tended to differ from one another as a result of terrain and the judgment of the construction supervisor. However, none of the frontier forts could have resisted a direct military assault or cannon fire. Their principal function was to protect settlements from surprise raids and Native American raiding parties. Many were located near rivers because the settlers had advanced up the rivers toward the western mountains. These forts were usually bastion traces in the form of a square. Fort Dickinson, named for the early local landowner John Dickinson, most probably featured a wooden stockade and a blockhouse. For a time, the fort was garrisoned by 250 men. It was attacked by natives in 1756 and again in 1757.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Virginia; Washington, George

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Fort Dinwiddie (Virginia)

English fort built during 1754–1755 in the mountains of modern-day Virginia under the supervision of Lieutenant Colonel George Washington. In late 1754, Washington was put in command of building a line of forts to protect western frontier settlements from attacks by the French and their Native American allies during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The first of these forts to be built was Fort Dinwiddie, begun in late 1754 and sited near the house of William Warwick in the bottomlands of the Jackson River

(on Meadow Lane Farm) near present-day Warm Springs in Bath County, Virginia. It was locally called Warwick's Fort and stood about 20 miles to the west of Fort Dickinson. Officially named for Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia, the fort was inspected by Washington in early 1755.

On September 6, 1755, Washington ordered Captain Peter Hogg to take command of Fort Dinwiddie, and on September 24, Washington instructed Hogg to add bastions and barracks to the fort, to clear a field of fire to the range of musket shot, to employ coopers, to secure provisions, and to make weekly and monthly reports. By 1756, the number of men garrisoned at Fort Dinwiddie ranged between 60 and 100.

Later in 1756, Washington placed Thomas Bullett, a surveyor of the region, in command of the fort and soon promoted him to captain.

Although little is known about the particular physical characteristics of the post, it did boast a covered log passageway linking the blockhouse to a natural spring within the structure's walls. For a time, Colonel William Byrd III was at the fort, which some then called Byrd's Fort. The fortification was in use until 1789.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Dinwiddie, Robert; Fort Dickinson (Virginia); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Virginia; Washington, George

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Fort Dobbs (North Carolina)

Fort Dobbs was a fortification built to provide protection to the western frontier of North Carolina during the French and Indian War. The fort was situated in the western piedmont region some 27 miles west of modern-day Salisbury, North Carolina.

In 1754, conflict erupted between the British colonies and the French settlements in the Great Lakes region. British forces under Major General Edward Braddock sent to deal with the growing French presence met defeat the next year near the Monongahela River at the hands of the French and their native allies. This resounding British defeat was part of a growing conflict on the western frontier of the British colonies, where French and native raiding parties operated at will in the areas along the Appalachian Mountains. A number of refugees, seeking to avoid the growing fighting, moved southward along the Great Wagon Road to the western region of Piedmont, North Carolina.

In 1755, the threat of possible attacks forced North Carolina to explore the idea of constructing a fort on its western frontier. Royal Governor Arthur Dobbs requested funds from the North Carolina

General Assembly to construct a fort to protect the colony's western settlements. The fortification was described as "a Barrack and Fort for the Company on the Western Frontier." In addition, the legislature also took steps to build additional forts to protect the colony's ports along the seacoast.

Captain Hugh Waddell formed a company of provincial rangers, and his unit was assigned to build the fortification near the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains in 1756. Waddell and his rangers selected a site along the fork of Fourth Creek, a tributary of the Yadkin River. Log palisades surrounded the fort, which contained a rectangle-shaped main building in the center.

The main building was described as 53 by 40 feet in size. This building or blockhouse had oak walls roughly between 6 to 16 inches in width. The blockhouse had three floors, where slots were available to run musket barrels through to defend the compound.

After its construction, Francis Brown and Richard Caswell inspected the fort and they described the post as "a good and Substantial Building." Captain Waddell and his rangers remained at Fort Dobbs, which was named after the colony's governor. The fort provided a base for rangers patrolling the area as well as a place of refuge for settlements during threats of Indian raids.

On the night of February 27, 1760, a raiding party of roughly 60 to 70 Cherokees attacked the post. Waddell and his rangers repelled the attack with only 1 killed and 2 wounded. The raiding party suffered perhaps 10 to 12 killed and wounded. By 1761, however, the threat to the western settlements subsided and the garrison was reduced to only 30 men. In 1764, the fort was abandoned by the colony, and its building and walls were dismantled. The site of the fort is now protected by the State of North Carolina.

WILLIAM H. BROWN

See also

Braddock, Edward; Braddock's Campaign; Cherokees; Cherokee War; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; North Carolina

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Fort Dorchester (South Carolina)

English fort built between 1757 and 1760, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), and located at the colonial town of Dorchester on the Ashley River about 25 miles northwest of Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina). Founded by a group of Massachusetts Congregationalists in 1695, Dorchester thrived as an important trading post until most of the residents migrated to a

new community near Midway, Georgia. The village still attracted merchants and farmers through the mid-1700s, but it failed to thrive as it had earlier.

During the winter of 1756–1757, concern about a French naval threat to Charles Town drew new interest in remote Dorchester. Gov. William H. Lyttelton worried that if the French attacked and captured Charles Town, then the only powder magazine in the colony would be lost. Thus Lyttelton proposed establishing a magazine in the interior of the colony. In January 1757, the South Carolina Assembly agreed to build one at Dorchester and provide a small guard to secure it against attack.

The powder magazine itself was to be constructed of brick, but the fort was made of tabby, a concrete-like mixture of oyster shells, lime, and sand. Thousands of bushels of oyster shells were brought up the Ashley River to the construction site on a bluff above the river. The tabby walls of the fort were 8 feet high and 2 feet thick, forming a rectangle of 100 square feet with half-bastions on the corners to allow the defenders to fire down the length of the walls. The powder magazine was built in the center of the fort and partially buried to minimize damage from an explosion.

Work on the fort continued until May 1760, when funds were diverted for other military construction in the colony. Though never used during the colonial wars, Fort Dorchester served as a critical base during the early years of the American Revolutionary War to secure government records and store ammunition, weapons, and other supplies. The resilient tabby structure still exists today and is one of the best preserved examples of a unique colonial construction method.

STEVEN J. RAUCH

See also

Charles Town (South Carolina); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Lyttelton, William Henry; South Carolina

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Fort Dummer (Vermont)

Massachusetts frontier fort built in 1724 in what is now southeastern Vermont, during Dummer's War (1722–1727). Fort Dummer served as a patrol base to detect and deter Native American and, later, French raiders bound for Massachusetts' Connecticut River Valley. It was also used as a trading post. With the outbreak of Dummer's War in 1722, Abenaki raiding parties descended on the northern New England frontier.

In December 1723, the Massachusetts Assembly authorized construction of a blockhouse capable of garrisoning 40 men on the Connecticut River's western shore, just north of the colony's border. Named after Lt. Gov. William Dummer, the fort's construction

began in February 1724. Lieutenant Timothy Dwight, supervised by Colonel John Stoddard, along with a dozen carpenters and militiamen constructed the roughly 100-square-foot stockade with walls of stacked squared pine timbers nearly 20 feet high. Three interior corners contained two-story houses that doubled as blockhouses. Storehouses and other housing lined the other walls. A 14-square-foot tower stood amid the parade ground, and the fort also contained several cannon and swivel guns.

From spring 1724 through the war's end in 1727, militia and friendly natives based at Fort Dummer ranged the frontier looking for signs of raiders. The raiders usually avoided the provincial patrols and only attacked the fort once. On October 11, 1724, 70 Abenaki warriors struck, but the fort's artillery drove them off. Rather than confront the fort again, war parties harassed the garrison or killed individuals beyond the fort's protection.

Although Fort Dummer was technically in New Hampshire, Massachusetts alone garrisoned and maintained the post. The New Hampshire Assembly refused to support a fort 50 miles away from its nearest settlement, even defying Crown orders in 1744. For more than 20 years, Massachusetts unsuccessfully used New Hampshire's intransigence to gain Fort Dummer's surrounding lands.

With peace after 1727, the fort converted to a "truck house," essentially a trading post for local natives. Its stockade expanded and numerous small dwellings sprang up in its shadow. The fort also served as a center for tribal negotiations.

With King George's War (1744–1748), the fort resumed its military mission, although the enemy was now France as well as the Abenakis. Raids often originated at France's Fort St. Frédéric near Lake Champlain's southern end. However, by then, Fort Dummer was no longer the first line of defense. Fort at Number Four, built by New Hampshire settlers 30 miles up the Connecticut River, bore the brunt of French and native attacks. Fort Dummer's patrols ranged widely, with one group even reaching the Champlain Valley. Although it was not attacked directly, French and Native American raiding parties harassed the fort, as well as surrounding settlers, until war's end in 1748.

During the French and Indian War (1754–1763) the Connecticut River became a military backwater, overshadowed by the Champlain Valley. Garrisons rarely exceeded a dozen men. After the collapse of New France in 1763, Massachusetts abandoned the fort and locals appropriated its timbers. In 1907, a new dam's backwater completely flooded the site.

STANLEY J. ADAMIAK

See also

Abenakis; Dummer's War; Fort at Number 4 (New Hampshire); Fort St. Frédéric (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Massachusetts; Raiding Party

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Fort du Portage (New York)

See Little Fort Niagara (New York)

Fort Dupui (Pennsylvania)

Pennsylvania post located south of the current town of Shawnee in Monroe County on the Delaware River, along Pennsylvania's northeastern frontier. The garrison was named for Samuel Dupui, a local French Huguenot. Dupui lived at Esopus, married a Dutch woman, and before 1725 moved to the Minisink area along the Delaware. He bought a part of the flat land where present-day Shawnee is situated, as well as property from lawyer and merchant William Allen. Dupui constructed a dwelling superseded by a stone residence in which he lived when Native American troubles began in 1755, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). That same year, the region's settlers built a spacious stronghold excluding bastions but with one swivel cannon in each of its four nooks.

Fort Dupui became one of eight secondary provincial posts built in early Northampton County (now Carbon, Lehigh, Monroe, and Northampton counties). The provincial commissioners designed these installations as short-term positions amid settled communities until Fort Allen, Fort Franklin, Fort Hamilton, and Fort Norris could be erected.

Fort Dupui protected the lower section of the Minisink area. Native raids in December 1755, and the assault on neighboring Brodhead's Fort in particular, isolated the region's people. Although a weak post, Fort Dupui provided refuge for successive military units between December 1755 and May 1758. It also provisioned adjacent forts under the provincial commissary's direction and, with the signing of the Third Treaty of Easton in August 1757, remained open as a base for provincial rangers.

RODNEY J. Ross

See also

Fort Allen (Pennsylvania); Fort Norris (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Pennsylvania

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Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania)

French-built fort erected in 1754 at the confluence of the Monongahela River and Allegheny River in western Pennsylvania, at the current site of Pittsburgh. The post was named for the governor-general of Canada, Ange de Menneville, Marquis de Duquesne. Fort Duquesne was a key French installation designed to secure French claims to the Ohio Country to the west and south. During its short existence (1754–1758), the fort became the focal point of three British military campaigns during the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

The French erected Fort Duquesne as the lynch pin in a line of fortifications designed to reimpose French control over Native Americans in the Ohio Country and to impede the movement west of British colonials. Its location astride the headwater of the Ohio River assigned great importance to the small garrison, which the British and their American colonists repeatedly tried to capture. The largest of the area's four forts, the post was square in shape and made of wood. It had a 10–12 foot ditch surrounding it and bastions in each of the four corners. Fort Duquesne was equipped with approximately 15 guns; 6 were 6-pounders, and the rest were 2- or 3-pounders. Sometime after 1754, several buildings were built just outside the fort's northeast wall and outfitted with protective earthen and wood walls. The post was designed to house 200–300 men, but that number frequently swelled to as many as 1,500 as soldiers from Canada made their way south.

Virginia launched the first campaign against Fort Duquesne in early summer 1754. Lacking adequate manpower and discipline, however, the campaign floundered after a detachment of 600 French and allied natives defeated the Virginians at Fort Necessity on July 3-4, 1754. As tensions between Great Britain and France escalated toward open war, the British made the capture of Fort Duquesne a principal goal of their military strategy in 1755. Thus Major General Edward Braddock arrived in Virginia early in 1755 to lead a campaign to capture Fort Duquesne. Braddock's 2,200 British regulars and colonial militiamen crossed 120 miles of wilderness terrain in June 1755, eventually advancing to within 10 miles of Fort Duquesne. However, some 250 French and 600 native allies ambushed Braddock's army shortly after it crossed the Monongahela River. In the resulting battle, the British lost two-thirds of their force, including Braddock, and quickly retreated back into Virginia. Consequently, Fort Duquesne remained secure for the next three years, serving as a staging point for raids along the colonial frontier.

Following a reorganization of the British government, the capture of Fort Duquesne again ranked high on the list of British military goals for 1758. Brigadier General John Forbes, in command of 1,600 British regulars and several thousand colonials, cautiously advanced across southern Pennsylvania throughout the summer of 1758. Along the way, Forbes secured the neutrality of previously French-allied Native Americans, depriving the French garrison at Fort Duquesne of sorely needed scouts and shock troops. Badly outnumbered and overmatched, the French destroyed the fort in



Major George Washington and his men raising the British flag at Fort Duquesne in 1758. (Bryan, George S., *The Mentor, Pioneers of the Great Wests*, vol. 8, no. 1. New York: The Mentor Association, February 20, 1920)

November and withdrew down the Ohio River. The British immediately occupied the site and commenced construction on a larger earth and log structure, which they named Fort Pitt. They would maintain a tenuous hold over the region for the next 15 years.

Daniel P. Barr

See also

Braddock, Edward; Braddock's Campaign; Coulon de Villiers, Louis; Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville, Joseph; Duquesne de Menneville, Ange, Marquis de Duquesne; Forbes, John; Forbes Campaign; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Necessity (Pennsylvania), and Battle of; Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Ohio Country; Ohio Expedition (1754); Ohio Expedition (1755); Ohio River Valley; Pennsylvania

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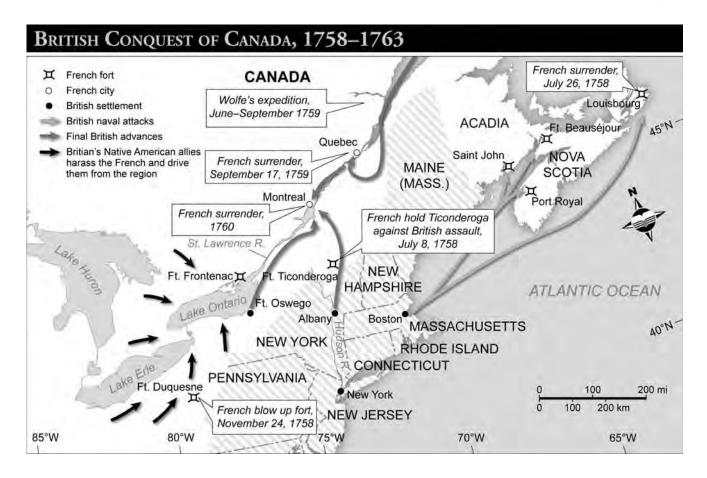
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Fort Ebenezer (Georgia)

English-built redoubt erected in 1757 approximately 25 miles northwest of Savannah (modern Effingham County, Georgia). In 1757, Georgia's Lt. Gov. Henry Ellis recognized the need for a fortification at the Salzburger settlement of Ebenezer. The Salzburgers were German Lutherans who had settled the area beginning in 1734. Ellis had arrived in Georgia in 1757 to act as temporary governor during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). He quickly determined that the Georgia colony had to improve its defensive infrastructure to defend against the French, Spanish, and natives. By 1765, Ebenezer and its surrounding satellite settlements were a thriving community of about 3,000 people.

In August and September 1757, Ellis ordered the men of the colony to build a string of fortifications at key sites along the frontier. The people of Ebenezer were fortunate to have as one of their residents an expert military engineer and the royal surveyor general for the southern colonies, William Gerard De Brahm. De Brahm had previously designed fortifications at Savannah, Charles Town



(present-day Charleston), and Fort Loudoun (Tennessee). He now undertook to build a fort to protect the Salzburgers.

Assisted by royal funding, De Brahm directed the town's residents to build a large earthen fort in the northeast section of town. It was rectangular in shape with four projecting corner bastions. The fort surrounded a group of 10 town lots, the owners of which were compensated for the military use of their property. De Brahm owned one of the lots and may have chosen the location based on personal interest.

No action occurred at Ebenezer during the course of the French and Indian War, and after 1763 the fort was abandoned and dismantled. In 1775, the remains of De Brahm's fort were used as a storage site for rebel arms and powder. Ebenezer served throughout the American Revolutionary War as a key logistics base and major headquarters for both British and American armies.

STEVEN J. RAUCH

See also

De Brahm, William Gerard; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Georgia; Redoubt

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Fort Edisto (South Carolina)

English post erected in May 1715 and located at Givhans Ferry along the Edisto River in eastern South Carolina. The post was situated on the grounds of a plantation belonging to James Rawlings, now the site of Givhans Ferry State Park in Dorchester County, South Carolina. The South Carolinians put up the redoubt to meet the immediate needs of the Yamasee War (1715–1717).

The war was sparked mainly by unscrupulous trade practices of certain colonial deerskin traders. Although many of the area's tribes had begun to complain about trade arrangements, the Yamasees, whose home base was just 100 miles from Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina), had the most grievances. They were also deeply indebted to white traders, debts that in fact would have taken a generation or more to repay. The war began in April 1715 with a combined attack against white settlements by the Yamasees, the Creeks, the Savannahs, and the Apalachees. Within weeks, colonists had hastily built Fort Edisto in order to protect Charles Town and other coastal settlements from attacks from the west. Local militia constituted the fort's garrison, which was reinforced by several river boats.

The Yamasee War was one of the most vicious conflicts between natives and Europeans ever fought in colonial North America. The war dragged on into late 1716. The English, with the help of their native allies, emerged victorious—if tattered. A final peace settlement was not concluded until November 1717. The agreement had been reached with the Creeks, who ended up being the principal instigators of and fighters in the Yamasee War. In late December 1716, the garrison at Fort Edisto was withdrawn and the fort abandoned.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Creeks; Native American Trade; Redoubt; South Carolina; Yamasees; Yamasee War

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Fort Edward (New York)

Fort Edward refers to three fortifications constructed between 1709 and 1766 on the same site, located astride the upper navigable reaches of the Hudson River. This strategic site, called variously the "Long Portage" or "Great Carrying Place" (not to be confused with the "Great Carrying Place" on the Mohawk River where Fort Stanwix stood) was a critical point in the British military transportation system because it provided the best access point to the southern edge of Lake George, only 14 miles distant. The first post, a mere stockade, was built by order of Colonel Francis Nicholson to serve his army, whose 1709 attempt to invade Canada proved stillborn. In 1731, another defensive structure was built to protect the commercial center and settlement founded by John Henry Lydius, an Albany fur trader. French and Native American raiders destroyed Fort Lydius a decade later during King George's War (1744–1748).

The third installation, begun in 1755 by Major General Phineas Lyman of Connecticut, was named "Edward" by Sir William Johnson to honor Edward Augustus, then the duke of York and younger brother to the future king George III. At a cost of more than £14,000, two regular engineers, James Montresor and Henry Gordon, supervised renovations of this provincial post during the summers of 1756 and 1757. They eventually constructed a large military complex based around a four-bastioned defensive work, capable of holding more than 1,000 regular and colonial troops in two barracks blocks. Fabricated primarily of earth and timber on the eastern bank of the river, the fortress was designed to shield Albany from French and native raids. Another set of buildings was built on an adjacent island, which served as headquarters for Robert Rogers's rangers. It was connected to the fort by a bridge. On the western bank of the river, a fortified blockhouse stood to protect the facilities.

Fort Edward was never seriously threatened by enemy action at this time. Its strength, large garrison capacity, and proximity to reinforcements made it too dangerous a post for the French to assail following their capture of neighboring Fort William Henry in 1757. Instead, it acted as a springboard for British thrusts northward. Each May, large Anglo-colonial forces would congregate at Fort Edward

for training and then take to the field for summer operations. Both Major General James Abercromby and Major General Jeffery Amherst launched their respective campaigns during the French and Indian War (1754–1763) from Fort Edward's environs. It remained an important logistical center, however, even after the fall of France's Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point in 1759, when the seat of combat operations moved much farther up Lake Champlain.

The fortress fell into disrepair following the conquest of Canada but was not finally abandoned by the British Army until 1766. By then, most of its works had fallen into a state of decay because of the earth and wooden construction. The site, however, had become a desirable area for settlement because earlier military forces had cleared great swaths of land in the immediate area during their years of occupation.

ALEXANDER V. CAMPBELL

See also

Fort William Henry (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Hudson River; Johnson, Sir William; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Lake George; New York; Nicholson, Sir Francis

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Fort Elfsborg (New Jersey)

Swedish-built fort erected in 1643 on the New Jersey side of the Delaware River between present-day Salem, New Jersey, and Alloway Creek. Constructed on the orders of Johan Printz, New Sweden's governor, Fort Elfsborg sat on land previously held by the Delaware tribe. The Swedes had purchased it in 1641, recognizing the strategic value inherent in its elevation, which commanded a view of the Delaware River. An earthen-work fortification, Fort Elfsborg had three angles fronting the river, each with a bastion. The bastions featured four bronze 12-pounder guns, four iron 12-pounder guns, and one mortar.

In 1638, the Swedes established New Sweden along the southern portion of the Delaware River. The Dutch, who had already established a colony to the north, now sought to crowd out the Swedes, whom they viewed as interlopers bent on stealing their lucrative fur trade. The Dutch also laid claim to the land now being settled by New Sweden. As a counterpoint to New Sweden, New Netherland built Fort Nassau (New Jersey) on the Delaware River, located just south of modern-day Philadelphia. This is not to be confused with Fort Nassau, New York. In response, Printz built Fort

Elfsborg farther downriver. In so doing, Printz knew that New Sweden would now be in a position to monitor all water traffic moving north from the Delaware Bay or moving south toward the Bay. The impact on trade was obvious, as the Swedes were now in a far better position to influence fur trading. After 1643, all ships moving past Fort Elfsborg were required to drop anchor and be searched by the Swedes. This infuriated the Dutch, who redoubled their efforts to evict the Swedes from the region.

In 1651, New Sweden abandoned Fort Elfsborg. As it turned out, the location of the fort could not have been worse. Surrounded by a quagmire of swampland, the fort's garrison was subjected to swarms of mosquitoes. Those inhabiting the post were so hounded by the insects that one colonist remarked that "the people were so swollen, that they appeared as if they had been affected with some horrible disease." Soon after construction, the fort had been nicknamed "Fort Myggenborgh" or "Fort Mosquito." Dutch moves along the Delaware were another motivating factor behind the closure of the post. In July 1651, New Netherland opened Fort Casimer, farther to the south of Fort Elfsborg, rendering the Swedish post all but obsolete.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Fort Casimer (Delaware); Fort Nassau (New Jersey); New Netherland; New Sweden; Printz, Johan Björnsson

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Fort Frederica (Georgia)

British fortification built in 1736 on St. Simons Island, south of Savannah, Georgia, and east of Brunswick. The fort was constructed on the orders of Georgia founder James Oglethorpe. Fort Frederica was one in a series of fortifications that Oglethorpe built in eastern and coastal Georgia to keep Spanish troops in Florida from seizing contested Georgia territory. Oglethorpe expected a Spanish attack to claim land they desired. He also sought to prevent Spain from securing access to sea islands that would enable them to mount invasions against the mainland. Oglethorpe also saw the new fort as a staging area from which to launch attacks on Spanish-held St. Augustine.

Surveying the coast south from Savannah, Oglethorpe selected St. Simons Island as his military headquarters. He picked a location on the Altamaha River, adjacent to a marsh and lush forests beyond it, and ordered construction of Fort Frederica to guard his colony. Soldiers and skilled laborers built the fort in 1736 on a river loop so they could monitor traffic and react quickly if enemy ships approached.

The fort contained basic military structures, including storehouses and a powder magazine. The garrison was square-shaped, with bastions in each corner, and measured approximately 125 by 124 feet. In addition, it boasted a spur battery that protruded out and toward the river. An adjacent community of craftsmen and settlers, including indentured servants, provided services to the fort, which was manned by the 42nd Regiment of Foot.

On July 5, 1742, Spanish commander Manuel de Montiano's troops arrived on St. Simons Island. After taking Fort St. Simons, they marched toward Fort Frederica. Concealed English forces, supported by Native American allies, surprised the Spanish on the military road at Gully Hole Creek and proceeded to defeat them at Bloody Marsh. The Spaniards tried twice to attack the fort from the river and raid it at night, but were unsuccessful.

Oglethorpe continued pursuing the Spanish with Fort Frederica as his principal base until he returned to England in 1743. After a 1748 peace treaty with Spain, the fort was abandoned, and many residents in and near Frederica moved. A 1758 fire razed most of the deteriorating fort and surrounding town structures. Fort Frederica was designated a national monument in 1945. Today, the U.S. National Park Service oversees the fort's ruins and archaeological excavations.

ELIZABETH D. SCHAFER

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Bloody Marsh, Battle of; Florida; Fort St. Simons (Georgia); Georgia; Montiano, Manuel de; Oglethorpe, James Edward; St. Augustine

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Fort Frederick (Maine)

See Fort William Henry (Maine)

Fort Frederick (Maryland)

British stronghold built in 1756–1758 in the Cumberland Valley, 18 miles west of modern-day Hagerstown, Maryland, near the Potomac River. Fort Frederick was the center of Maryland's frontier defense during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Named in honor of Maryland's lord proprietor, Frederick Calvert, Sixth Lord Baltimore, construction on the fort began in 1756 on the orders of Gov. Horatio Sharpe.

Fort Frederick was unique because of its large size and stone walls. Most other frontier forts were built of earth and wood. Indeed, the post was one of the largest fortifications built by colonists in North America. Its exterior lines ran 355 feet from bastion point to bastion point, and it stood 18 feet high. The walls were 3 feet thick. At least three major buildings originally stood within the walls, including the barracks that could comfortably accommodate 200 men, and in times of emergency could house twice that number.

236 Fort Frederick (South Carolina)

The design of Fort Frederick conforms to the style developed in the early 18th century by Sébastien Le Prestre, Marquis de Vauban, the French military engineer who is considered the father of modern fortification. Sharpe personally directed much of the construction. Although funds to construct the fort were cut in 1758, by that time much of the work had been completed.

Fort Frederick served as a supply base for several French and Indian War campaigns and a number of different types of troops were assigned there. These included various county militias, provincial troops from Virginia and North Carolina, volunteer Ranger companies, royal regulars (most notably, the 60th Regiment of Foot), and Maryland forces.

In 1756, Fort Frederick was designated by the Maryland Assembly as the westernmost position the colony would defend. After that, all troops stationed at Fort Cumberland (Maryland) were withdrawn to Fort Frederick. The fort saw no military action, however, and was abandoned after the English capture of Fort Duquesne in 1758. English colonials temporarily reoccupied the post in 1763, when several hundred settlers and militia sought protection within its walls during Pontiac's Rebellion. It was again used during the American Revolutionary War to serve as a prison for Hessian and British soldiers.

Maryland sold Fort Frederick in 1791, and its surrounding acreage was used as farmland. During the American Civil War, Union troops served there to help defend railroad lines from Confederate attacks.

Anna Kiefer

See also

Fort Cumberland (Maryland); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Maryland; Pontiac's Rebellion

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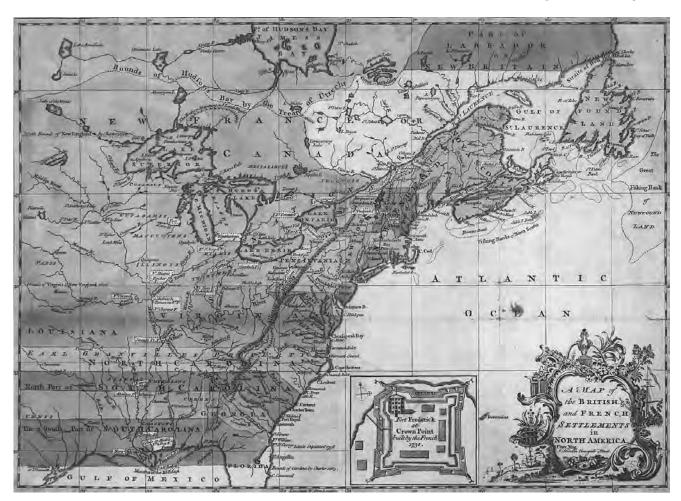
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Fort Frederick (South Carolina)

British fort built between 1731 and 1734 and located roughly three miles south of Beaufort, South Carolina. The fort stood along the Beaufort River in what is now the town of Port Royal. A U.S. Navy hospital currently stands close to the ruins of Fort Frederick.

Fort Frederick went up in an effort to protect Beaufort against native raids and threats from the Spanish at St. Augustine.



Map of the British and French settlements in North America, including an inset of Fort Frederick in South Carolina, ca. 1755. (Library of Congress)

The post featured four-foot-high outer walls made of tabby. Tabby is a mixture of lime, water, and oyster shells that renders surprisingly strong and durable structures. To make the tabby, workers harvested the rich oyster beds that abounded in the adjacent waters.

The fort was approximately 125 feet long and 75 feet deep. A bastion was located on the southwest side of the structure. A number of cannon were mounted along the eastern side of the fort, which looked onto the Port Royal River. Inside the walls were a powder magazine and barracks.

Between the 1730s and 1750s, both colonial and British regular troops served as Fort Frederick's garrison. From 1731 to 1736, the post was home to an independent company of British regulars. The fort was also periodically reinforced with scout boats.

By the end of the 1750s, however, the fort had fallen into disrepair. In 1757, the South Carolina Assembly directed that a new fort be built. A year later, construction began on Fort Lyttelton, which replaced Fort Frederick. The site where Fort Frederick once stood is now part of a three-acre tract known as the Fort Frederick Heritage Preserve. There the ruins of the post remain, believed to be the oldest tabby structure in South Carolina.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Fort Lyttelton (South Carolina); Port Royal (South Carolina); South Carolina

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Fort Frey (New York)

British outpost built in the 1690s on the north side of the Mohawk River opposite Canajoharie, New York, 40 miles west of Schenectady. Heinrich Frey, an immigrant from Zurich, Switzerland, originally settled the site in 1689. Frey was the first European settler in the area, the land of which then belonged to Native Americans. Frey purchased 300 acres from the Mohawks and built a log cabin. At the beginning of Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), the British took over the cabin, built a palisade around it, and retained it as a post even after the conflict ended.

In 1739, Frey's son Heindrick built a new house to replace the cabin. This one and a half story structure is still standing at its original location in Palatine Bridge. The house was also used by the British as part of a military and trading post. Although the British never palisaded the new house, Fort Frey—as it was now known—served as a strategic redoubt for the British during the French and Indian War (1754–1763) to protect the Mohawk River route.

During the American Revolutionary War, two of Heindrick Frey's sons, Henry and Bernard, supported the Crown, and the third, John, joined the Tryon County Militia. Henry was eventually imprisoned, whereas Bernard served with Butler's Rangers. John rose to the rank of major and fought at the Battle of Oriskany. He later participated in the convention that helped ratify the Constitution in New York. Fort Frey itself remained in the possession of the Frey family until at least the latter half of the 19th century.

STEVEN DIETER

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Mohawks; Redoubt; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns

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Fort Frontenac (Ontario)

French garrison founded on July 12, 1673, named for Quebec's celebrated 17th-century governor, Louis de Baude de Frontenac. Fort Frontenac was located on the northeastern shore of Lake Ontario and abutted the Cataraqui River near present-day Kingston, Ontario. It initially consisted of several small buildings surrounded by a wooden palisade. Construction at the time was feasible only because the English were engaged overseas and the Iroquois—perennial enemies of the French—were tied up fighting the Susquehannocks and the Mohegans. The fort began to evolve into a true stronghold in 1675, after the French Crown appointed explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, its commanding officer.

By 1677, La Salle had converted the fort into an imposing, square-shaped structure, with stone walls 3 feet thick, 15 feet high, and 300 feet long, complemented by 30 cannon and bastions at each corner. First of the major European colonial outposts on the lower Great Lakes, Fort Frontenac also allowed for the construction and harborage of an armed fleet, giving the French early naval supremacy on these strategically vital inland waters.

During the latter stages of the Beaver Wars (1641–1701) against the Iroquois and during the overlapping conflict with the British known as King William's War (1689–1697), Fort Frontenac proved to be both an asset and a liability to the French. On the one hand, it was an extremely valuable support base for military expeditions deep into Iroquois territory. It had, after all, been King Louis XIV's 1665 edict demanding the "extermination" of the Iroquois that inspired the construction of the fort in the first place. The resulting scorched-earth campaigns against Confederacy nations such as the Senecas in 1687 and the Onondagas and Oneidas in 1697 were all launched from Fort Frontenac, and were a primary reason France was able to secure an advantageous peace with the Iroquois in 1701. Furthermore, the fort commanded the main route leading from the Iroquois homeland south of Lake Ontario to the Ottawa tribal territory in the north, impeding a potential alliance between these two

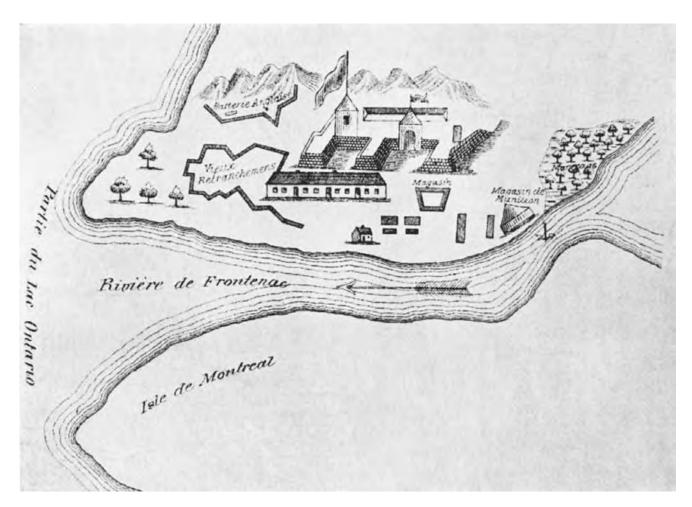
groups, the forging of which would have diverted thousands of Canadian furs from Montreal to Albany.

Yet during this same period, Fort Frontenac's disadvantages were also glaringly apparent. It was so susceptible to assault by land that the Iroquois were able to keep it under continual siege from 1687 to 1688, causing scurvy and other maladies to spread among the fort's occupants. The supply line from Montreal to the Cataraqui was also extremely vulnerable and unreliable, entailing as it did numerous portages from where ambushes could easily be sprung. By 1689, the drain of this on military personnel and material, coupled with the brutal Iroquois attack on Lachine on July 25–26, 1689, forced the French to raze Fort Frontenac and withdraw the garrison.

Rebuilt and reoccupied by 1697, Fort Frontenac soon became far more important as a trading center and symbol of French sovereignty than as a military outpost. Although Louis XIV had formerly discouraged fort building and western expansion for fear of spreading his colony too thin, the imperial rivalry with Britain that began in earnest with the onset of Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) forced a reversal of this policy. Thus instead of being seen as a drain on the population of New France, Fort Frontenac and similar outposts were now treated as de facto villages. During this era,

Louis XIV went from punishing *coureurs de bois* as traitors to considering them as manifest extensions of French power in North America. It is no coincidence that these Canadian fur traders increasingly began carrying government *licences* and were granted the more respectable title of *voyageur*. French territorial expansion combined with the fur trade made outposts such as Fort Frontenac economically self-sustaining and even profitable. And in their role as the king's posts, they cemented native alliances while checking British commercial and territorial ambitions.

The next major action involving Fort Frontenac came during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), in which it figured prominently in the strategies of both the French and English. Fort Frontenac and its nemesis directly across the lake, Fort Oswego (begun by the British in 1724), would be key staging areas during the war, and would wind up facilitating each other's destruction. In 1756, French major general Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, attacked from Fort Frontenac with 3,000 men and completely pillaged all of Oswego's fortifications. Two years later, on August 25, 1758, Lieutenant Colonel John Bradstreet mustered a force on the ashes of Britain's erstwhile stronghold and repaid the French by leading a successful amphibious assault against Fort Frontenac. By August 28, Bradstreet had



Etching showing Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario, near present-day Kingston, Ontario. The fort was established in 1673. (North Wind Picture Archives)

forced the capitulation of the commandant, Pierre-Jacques Payen de Noyan, and burned the ships anchored in the fort's harbor, thus extinguishing the French naval presence on the Great Lakes.

Even more significantly, perhaps, the subsequent razing of Fort Frontenac destroyed a huge stockpile of supplies destined for Fort Duquesne, paving the way for British follow-up attacks that put French Canada on the defensive for the duration of the war. After Bradstreet's incursion, Fort Frontenac would remain in ruins for the remainder of the colonial period, and would not see occupation again until the 1780s, when Loyalists fleeing the American Revolutionary War settled among its remains and built on it the future capital of a united Canada.

STEVE BUNN

See also

Beaver Wars; Bradstreet, John; Coureurs de Bois; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Niagara, Siege of; Fort Oswego (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Frontenac, Louis de Buade de, Comte de Frontenac et de Palluau; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Lake Ontario; La Salle, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de; Lachine, Battle of; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Montreal; New France; Oneidas; Onondagas; Oswego, Battle of; Ottawas; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Senecas; Seneca, French Attack on; Susquehannock

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Fort Garrison (Maryland)

English post constructed in late 1692 in Baltimore County, Maryland, adjacent to the falls of the Patapsco River. Fort Garrison was one of three forts erected that year in Maryland to protect settlers from Native American raiding parties. Perhaps the biggest impetus for the building of the forts was King William's War (1689–1697), which set the English North American colonies against New France and its native allies.

Fort Garrison was an imposing outpost built of stone on a rise that afforded a commanding view of the surrounding area. Its main feature was a fieldstone blockhouse that measured 48 by 18 feet. The blockhouse walls were nearly 2 feet thick. Cut into the stout

stone walls were six holes through which muskets could be fired. The roof was also of stone to stymie any attempt to set the structure ablaze. Sometime after the original construction, Fort Garrison's blockhouse was expanded to include a short second story, and the roof was altered with a different pitch and no longer made of stone. Several small outbuildings lay within a short walk of the blockhouse, at least one of which housed a contingent of Native Americans who provided assistance to the fort's 10-man garrison.

Because of settlers' fears of attack, heightened by the ongoing war and episodic native raids, Maryland's governing council appropriated funds for increased defenses along the frontier in the spring of 1692. Ultimately, three forts were erected, the construction for which was covered by a general tax on all settlers. In addition to Fort Garrison in Baltimore County, Marylanders built forts in Anne Arundel County and Charles County. The council also provided funds for the manning of each. Their garrisons were 10 mounted rangers, including 1 captain or commander. Rather that stay in or near the forts, the rangers patrolled a wide area surrounding them in an attempt to deter native—and possibly—French attacks.

By 1696, Captain John Oulton, Fort Garrison's commander, wrote that his men had cleared roads and were regularly patrolling an area some 50 miles distant from their home base. The flourishing tobacco trade also made Fort Garrison an important outpost, as it lay near a series of roads and river landings used to bring the cash crop to market near the coast. The redoubt also protected a major route that took white settlers along native trails as they headed westward.

In 1755, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Fort Garrison served as a safe haven when Maryland's frontier settlers panicked after the defeat of British forces under Major General Edward Braddock near Fort Duquesne. Fort Garrison's commanding officer, Captain John Risteau, called for all nearby settlers to arm themselves. He also augmented the ranger garrison by housing a contingent of local militiamen within the fort.

Fort Garrison probably never came under direct attack. In the years to come, and as the threat of attack decreased, Fort Garrison became less important. The expansion of the frontier ever westward also made the post's functions superfluous. Eventually, Fort Garrison would be abandoned, although it survives to the present day in Maryland as the oldest stone fort in the state.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Blockhouses; Braddock's Campaign; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Maryland; Redoubt

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Fort Gaspereau (Nova Scotia)

French fort constructed in 1751, situated on the north side of the Chignecto Isthmus, which connects Nova Scotia to the Canadian mainland. The French built the fort primarily to protect the Acadian community of Baie Vert and the overland route to Quebec from the Bay of Fundy. The French began the construction of Gaspereau after the English completed Fort Lawrence, which had been built to counteract Fort Beauséjour. Fort Gaspereau was erected just 15 miles from Beauséjour. Although the French regarded Fort Lawrence as unimportant, Abbé Jean Louis Le Loutre, missionary to the Micmacs and Acadians, believed otherwise. Indeed, it was largely through his efforts that Fort Gaspereau was built.

Constructed at the mouth of the Gaspereau River, two miles from Baie Vert, Fort Gaspereau consisted of a palisaded earthwork that was 180 feet square and flanked by two-story blockhouses that had small cannon in the upper levels. The palisades were surrounded by a ditch, although it appears that at the time of its surrender the ditch had not been completed. Additionally, the fort lacked ramparts. The interior contained a barracks, commander's quarters, storehouse, and powder magazine. The fort contained no water supply within its walls. Although the barracks were designed to hold up to 200 soldiers, few French troops were stationed there. After the outbreak of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the French further strengthened Fort Gaspereau in 1754 with the addition of a plank roadway across Baie Vert directly connecting it to Fort Beauséiour.

In spring 1755, Gov. William Shirley of Massachusetts raised 2,000 men under the command of Colonel Robert Monckton to capture Fort Gaspereau and Fort Beauséjour. The expedition left Boston on May 23, 1755. On June 16, Beauséjour surrendered, leaving Fort Gaspereau to face the English colonial troops alone. A detachment under Colonel John Winslow marched to Fort Gaspereau on June 18 and demanded the fort's surrender. With only 30 men and a few officers facing 500 opposing troops, Fort Gaspereau surrendered. Rather than have to house the prisoners, in early July the English sent the captured French troops to Fort Louisbourg, and the French governor there subsequently sent the men on to Quebec in mid-August 1755.

Winslow's inventory of materials captured at Fort Gaspereau included four 4-pounder and four 2-pounder cannon, two swivel guns, seven barrels of powder, 1,300 round shot, a hundredweight of musket balls, and 50 cartridges. Winslow described the buildings as uninhabitable and the storehouse as leaking. He also noted that the garrison was short of flour and lacked sufficient water. Despite a recommendation that it be demolished, the British effected repairs and garrisoned the fort with 200 men for the winter of 1755–1756. The British renamed it Fort Monckton. After losing a dozen men in the vicinity and seeking to strengthen Fort Cumberland, in September 1756 the British decided to withdraw their 200-man garrison and destroy the fort.

Today the fort's ruins are a Canadian National Historic site, with a stone cairn, reconstructed ditch, and military cemetery holding the remains of French and English troops.

KARL S. HELE

See also

Acadia; Chignecto Isthmus; Fort Beauséjour (Nova Scotia); Fort Lawrence (Nova Scotia); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Le Loutre, Jean-Louis; Micmacs; Monckton, Robert; Shirley, William; Winslow, John

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Fort George at the Battery (New York)

See Fort James (New York)

Fort George (Rhode Island)

See Fort Anne (New York)

Fort George (Virginia)

Fort named for England's King George II (1683–1760), constructed in 1736. Fort George was the third fort built by the Virginians to defend the mouth of the James River at Old Point Comfort. As was typical of colonial Virginia's forts, its construction was prompted by an increase in the threat of attack by European powers, namely France and Spain. The land at Old Point Comfort was owned by Sir William Beverly; however, the colony began building Fort George prior to obtaining Beverly's approval. It finally agreed to pay £105 for the land parcel.

The remains of Fort George were described by Dr. Robert Archer in a letter he wrote to the Virginia Historical Society in 1847. In it, he portrayed the fort as a masonry structure with an inner wall some 18 inches thick and an outer wall 27 inches thick. The walls were braced by wooden beams that created cribs, which were filled with sand. In 1749, a massive hurricane undermined a corner of one of the fort's exterior walls, which promptly collapsed. The sand used to fortify the cribs was undermined, putting stress on the wooden beams. Once one bay collapsed, the others came down in rapid succession. Fort George was not rebuilt after the 1749 storm. In 1781, the British considered rebuilding the fort at the same location but never followed through with their plans. In 1817, however, the U.S. Army began the construction of Fort Monroe on the site of Fort George.

CHRISTOPHER L. McDaid

See also

Fort Algernon (Virginia); Virginia

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Fort Gloucester (Massachusetts)

A series of fortifications on a bluff called Stage Head overlooking Gloucester Harbor on Cape Ann in northeastern Massachusetts. Never officially named, these defenses were known by many informal designations. The name of the bluff was derived from the fishing stages (drying areas) constructed there by the Dorchester Company in 1623.

Simple breastworks were constructed there in 1703, during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713). In preparation for King George's War (1744–1748), breastworks with a platform capable of carrying eight 12-pounder cannon were constructed there in 1743. At the same time, Fort Libby was built in another part of Gloucester. The harbor's defenses were renovated once again for the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and in 1775 for the American Revolutionary War.

As a relatively secure site after the 1690s, the town of Gloucester gained indirect benefits from the colonial wars. Its population grew as it attracted refugees from the Maine frontier as well as some of the demobilized soldiers who had earlier passed through on their way to Quebec or Port Royal. The wars gave added impetus to the timber and shipbuilding trades, and reduced competition from Maine, which transformed the town's economy. The expulsion of the French from Nova Scotia reduced the risk of attack on fishermen and thus spurred the expansion of long-range fishing fleets. On the other hand, the town suffered from the mobilization (and subsequent loss) of many men and from the constant disruptions of fishing and shipping.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Massachusetts; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns

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Fort Good Hope (Connecticut)

Dutch fortified trading outpost, sometimes also referred to as House of Good Hope, constructed in 1633 along the west bank of the Connecticut River. In June 1633, Governor-General Wouter van Twiller of New Netherland sent agents to secure Dutch interests in the Connecticut River Valley, site of a thriving fur trade. Jacob van Curler and a company of soldiers sailed up the river, selected a site on the west bank (at present-day Hartford), and concluded a land purchase and trade agreement with the Pequots. The Dutch proceeded to build a trading post and named it House of Good Hope. Fort Good Hope consisted of a house protected by a palisade and armed with two cannon. The traders maintained livestock, planted a garden and an orchard nearby, and carried on a profitable fur trade.

Angered by the Dutch moves along the river, Gov. John Winthrop of Massachusetts wrote to van Twiller plainly stating the English claim to the Connecticut River Valley and warning him not to build a fort. Van Twiller replied that Good Hope was merely a trading post, not a military fort. He also said that Dutch claims, based on a 1624 expedition by Cornelis May, predated those of the English.

In short order, Plymouth Colony mounted an expedition up the Connecticut River by ship. The commander of Fort Good Hope ordered the English to halt, but they defied his orders and sailed on. The English then went ashore a few miles upriver, erecting a trading post there, and beginning a brisk fur trade as well.

Van Twiller ordered Jacob van Curler to return to the valley with a force of about 70 men to challenge the new English post. The English commander, William Holmes, stood firm, and English traders remained at their post, intercepting much of the valley's fur trade before it could reach Fort Good Hope.

Within a year, however, Dutch-Pequot relations disintegrated into a cycle of murder, revenge, and mistaken identity. The Pequots killed traders from a rival tribe as they approached the Dutch outpost and Dutch traders retaliated by killing a Pequot sachem (chief). The sachem's kinsmen took revenge by destroying a European trading vessel, which turned out to be English and helped precipitate the Pequot War. This violence nonetheless further curtailed trade at Fort Good Hope.

In September 1650, New Netherland's Gov. Petrus Stuyvesant traveled to Hartford to confer with New England officials and establish a border between the Dutch and English colonies. The resulting agreement gave Connecticut to the English. Shortly thereafter, word arrived of the outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654) in Europe. The Dutch maintained their post at Fort Good Hope until July 1653, at which time a New England force ejected them.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Anglo-Dutch War, First; Connecticut; New Netherland; Pequot War; Pequots; Stuyvesant, Petrus; Winthrop, John

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English colonial captain John Underhill taking possession of the Dutch post at Fort Good Hope in 1653. A 19th-century colored engraving. (The Granger Collection)

Fort Granville (North Carolina)

British post erected in 1749 on Beacon Island, not far from present-day Portsmouth, North Carolina, overlooking the Atlantic Ocean near Ocracoke Inlet. In 1748, the North Carolina Assembly appropriated funds to build a fort on the northeastern coast. Construction of Fort Granville began the following year.

The post was to serve mainly as a lookout and an initial defensive bulwark against a possible Spanish attack. The small structure was quite modest and not particularly well fortified. In 1757, the post was enlarged in large part because of the ongoing French and Indian War (1754–1763). The expanded Fort Granville was made of wood and shaped like an "L."

The fort was abandoned in 1764, although it was rebuilt and garrisoned during the American Revolutionary War. In 1794–1795, new buildings, including a blockhouse, were constructed at the site. The post was used during the War of 1812, but it again fell into disrepair. During the American Civil War, the Confederates built a

small sod fort on the ruins of what is thought to be Fort Granville. Union forces seized it in late 1861.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

North Carolina

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Fort Granville (Pennsylvania)

Pennsylvania garrison erected in December 1755, located a mile southwest of the current town of Lewistown in Mifflin County, along the Juniata River. George Croghan, a well-known trader and frontier diplomat, was instrumental in the construction of Fort Granville, which was named for John Carteret, Earl of Granville. A square structure with sides 83 paces in length, it possessed four bastions and interior accommodations for troops. An ungraded gorge without a glacis concealed the approach to the post, however, making it vulnerable to attack.

Fort Granville was one in a series of links in Pennsylvania's defensive perimeter of stockades located in the lower Juniata Valley and Aughwick Creek Valley of Cumberland County (now the counties of Cumberland, Franklin, Fulton, Huntingdon, and Juniata). Fort Lyttelton, Fort Shirley, Fort Granville, and Fort Patterson were constructed not far apart and were sometimes called the "LSGP line," based on the initials of each of the posts. Located west and northwest of Kittatinny Mountain and the half circle shaped by the Shade, Tuscarora, Blacklog, and Cove mountains and adjoining mountain ranges, the LSGP line ran parallel to old Native American north-south trails. Hence, patrols operating between the four posts were able to check native war parties.

In 1756, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Delaware and Shawnee warriors under Chief Shingas and Delaware chief "Captain Jacobs" raided Sherman's Creek Valley and the lower Juniata River Valley. Their attacks continued along Conococheague Creek. On July 22, Captain Jacobs invited Fort Granville's garrison to fight. Aided by a Frenchman, he lay siege and devastated the post, gaining advantage by approaching the fort's wall through the deep gorge that surrounded it. Native fire arrows, shot from the cover of the gorge, quickly burned breaches in the fort's wall. Sensing their great vulnerability and hoping for clemency, Fort Granville's occupants elected to allow the enemy free entry, bringing about its fall. Fort Granville's capture was the most important Native American triumph in Pennsylvania between the disastrous setback in 1755 of Britain's Major General Edward Braddock and Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763.

Pennsylvania's military defense was transformed after Fort Granville's capture. The LSGP line was evacuated and its garrisons were restationed in Cumberland County's eastern installations. In early September 1756, Colonel John Armstrong, whose brother had died at Fort Granville, led a band out of Fort Shirley across a passage to attack Captain Jacobs's camp in the hamlet of Kittanning (now Kittanning, Indiana County). Despite heavy losses, the expeditionary force killed Captain Jacobs and razed his village on September 8.

RODNEY J. Ross

See also

Croghan, George; Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Fort Lyttelton (Pennsylvania); Fort Shirley (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Kittanning, Battle of; Shawnees

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Fort Griswold (Connecticut)

See Litchfield Forts (Connecticut)

Fort Half-Moon (New York)

English-held redoubt located outside Albany, New York, on an island in the Mohawk River, near modern-day Waterford, New York. Fort Half-Moon, also known as Camp Van Schaick, had several iterations beginning in 1669.

The first outpost was probably built for the Schagticoke tribe. The English used the site only sporadically. In 1691, a garrison of fusiliers from nearby Albany briefly manned the post, which had been refurbished since 1669. The fort had deteriorated badly by the late 1690s, and English army engineer Colonel Wolfgang Romer set forth an ambitious plan to repair and augment the fortifications. The work probably began in 1698 and was completed by 1703. The rebuilt stronghold could then accommodate a permanent garrison of about 25 men and featured a stone and masonry palisade.

Between 1735 and 1755, Anthony van Schaick, a wealthy landowner with land rights to the area, including Fort Half-Moon and the island on which it sat, constructed a substantial house on the site. There is evidence that the van Schaick family had a smaller, wooden structure on the island prior to the building of the mansion. The new house was made entirely of brick and was considered quite elaborate for its time and place. During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the Van Schaick mansion was used as a temporary headquarters by Major General James Abercromby and Major General Jeffery Amherst as well as Sir William Johnson. During the war, in 1757, Fort Half-Moon (by now also known as Camp Van Schaick) underwent a complete renovation and was reportedly built atop three-foot stilts to protect it from river flooding. Nevertheless, a 1759 British Army report termed the facility to be "poor."

Fort Half-Moon saw yet another incarnation during the American Revolutionary War. In 1777, Major General Philip Schuyler of the Continental Army ordered fortifications on the island to be rebuilt and substantially strengthened. Added to the post were a blockhouse, barracks, stockade, and entrenchments. Between 1777 and 1783, Major General Schuyler and Major General Horatio Gates both used Fort Half-Moon and the Van Schaick house as their headquarters.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Abercromby, James; Amherst, Jeffery; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Johnson, Sir William; Redoubt

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Fort Halifax (Maine)

English fort erected in 1754–1755 at the convergence of the Sebasticook River and the Kennebec River in the town of Winslow, Maine (then part of Massachusetts). Massachusetts's Gov. William Shirley ordered the construction of Fort Halifax in 1754 to protect English settlers living along the banks of the Kennebec. The fort was named for George Montague-Dunk, Earl of Halifax, then president of the British Board of Trade and Plantations.

Original plans called for a massive structure with a garrison of 400 men. However, officials later reduced that rather significantly. The final complex consisted of blockhouses, redoubts, barracks, and a large building for officers' quarters and storehouses. Major General John Winslow was Fort Halifax's first commandant. He supervised 300 men who completed the fort's construction.

There were no recorded attacks on Fort Halifax despite skirmishes in the area during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The fort was decommissioned in 1766. It then became a popular trading post, although navigating the Kennebec River proved difficult, and the post was eventually abandoned. In 1775, during the American Revolutionary War, a force of 1,100 men led by Colonel Benedict Arnold stopped at the fort on its way to Quebec.

Most of the fort was demolished in 1797, although what remained was used by the community of Winslow for a number of years as meeting space, a store, and then a tavern. This site boasted the old-

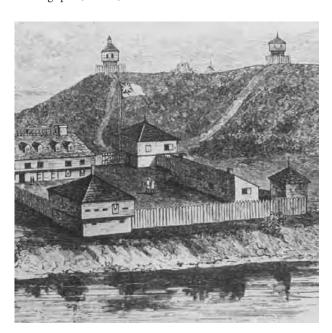


Illustration of Fort Halifax on the Kennebec River, Maine, around 1755. (Library of Congress)

est blockhouse in the United States until it was destroyed by severe flooding in 1987. The fort has since been reconstructed, using some of the original timbers.

STEVEN DIETER

See also

Blockhouses; Maine; Massachusetts; Redoubt; Shirley, William

Reference

Roberts, Robert B. *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts*. Toronto: Collier Macmillan Canada, 1988.

Fort Halifax (Pennsylvania)

Pennsylvania post constructed in June 1756 and located half a mile north of present-day Halifax at the mouth of Armstrong Creek along the Susquehanna River. Colonel William Clapham ordered Fort Halifax erected in spring 1756, and Gov. Robert Hunter Morris probably named it for George Montague-Dunk, Earl of Halifax. Square in form and with bastions at each corner, the fort, including bulwarks, measured some 160 feet on a side with 65-foot curtains amid the bastions. Two of the bulwarks held raised platforms, and the post's gate faced westward toward the Susquehanna River. The post contained barracks, a well, and a storehouse at its southern end.

Fort Halifax was one in a chain of posts built as a defensive perimeter and supply system meant to dominate the strategic junction of the Susquehanna River's tributaries. It served as the primary base along the communication line between Fort Augusta at Shamokin and English colonists to the south.

From the start, Clapham confronted problems at Fort Halifax. His isolated soldiers lacked discipline and pay was irregular. As a result disorder and mutiny ensued. Ten men were subsequently court-martialed and several were convicted and sentenced. Following the transfer of some troops to Shamokin, Fort Halifax's garrison counted a captain with a company-sized unit. In October 1757, following complaints that Fort Halifax did not offer effective protection to settlers or serve as an effective way station for boats on the river, the post was evacuated and its garrison removed to Fort Augusta. Fort Halifax was dismantled in 1763.

Rodney J. Ross

See also

Fort Augusta (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Montague-Dunk, George, Second Earl of Halifax; Pennsylvania

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Fort Hardy (New York)

See Fort Saratoga (New York)

Fort Henry (Pennsylvania)

Pennsylvania post located two miles northwest of present-day Bethel, near the western edge of Berks County. Captain Christian Busse built Fort Henry in February 1756, just as fighting was breaking out along Pennsylvania's frontiers during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Busse, along with 50 provincial troops, erected the fort close to the Dietrich Six dwelling, situated about 14 miles from Fort Swatara.

Sometimes referred to as Busse's Fort or the Fort at Dietrich Six, its location guarded roads along the Swatara, or Tolihaio, Gap, and protected nearby settlers. Considered the most significant stockade between the Lehigh River and Susquehanna River, Fort Henry sat on a slight elevation and afforded an unobstructed sight of Native American passages from Blue Mountain as well as the westward valley. The post's only purpose was to quarter troops as a base for ranging. Fort Henry was part of a western defensive line for Berks and Lancaster counties, a chain of forts created by settlers prior to the November 1755 approval of militia and appropriation legislation.

Fort Henry's appearance imitated other frontier stockades that included one or more tile-roofed houses inside a walled compound. The fort included palisades and was well built and well run. Its spacious interior allowed the garrison to drill and march within its walls. The source of the post's name remains in doubt. Allegedly, it honored a dignitary of the House of Hanover, perhaps William Henry, Duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh, a sibling of King George III.

The October 1755 Penn's Creek Massacre had provided considerable reason for heightened military readiness. Colonel Conrad Weiser, commander of the Berks County Militia under an October 1755 provisional commission, exercised supervision over the defensive line. By January 1756, Gov. Robert Hunter Morris had granted provincial consent for the Berks and Lancaster defensive line that included Fort Lebanon, Fort Hunter, and Fort Swatara, as well as Fort Henry.

Troops from Fort Henry helped guard the Easton Conference in July 1757. In early February 1758, the post's garrison numbered 89 soldiers. When Major Thomas Lloyd took command in April 1758, the garrison was reduced to 45 men. Reductions to support the Forbes Campaign further depleted the fort's troop strength to just 17 men by December 1758. No troops were posted at the end of the year. Fort Henry was activated again as a patrol station in 1763 during Pontiac's Rebellion.

RODNEY J. Ross

See also

Easton Conference and Treaty; Forbes Campaign; Fort Hunter (Pennsylvania); Fort Lebanon (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Pennsylvania; Pontiac's Rebellion; Weiser, Conrad

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Fort Henry (Virginia)

There were actually two posts named Fort Henry erected in the Virginia colony. The first was built sometime between 1607 and 1611 at the mouth of Hampton Creek in the Tidewater region; the other was erected in 1646 along the Appomattox River, where modernday Petersburg is located. Both were used mainly for defense against Native American attacks.

The first Fort Henry was named for the Prince of Wales, who was an ardent supporter of the Virginia colonial experiment. The garrison was on the western side of Hampton Creek opposite Fort Charles. Fort Henry was the smaller of the two posts. In 1611, John Clark, a ship's pilot, described Fort Henry as being located a musket shot plus another quarter of a musket shot away from Fort Algernon on Point Comfort. At this time it was equipped with a single, cast-iron gun for defense against native attack.

In 1613, Fort Henry was mentioned by Don Diego de Molina in a letter he penned. Molina had been one of three Spaniards captured in 1611 by the English. He was held at Fort Algernon and described Fort Henry as being half a league from Point Comfort, but smaller than Fort Charles. Fort Henry was garrisoned with a force of 15 soldiers. It apparently lacked cannon.

In 1614, Captain George Webb was commanding both Fort Henry and Fort Charles. He described both as "goodly seats and much corne ground about them, abounding with the commodities of fish, fowle, deere and fruits." He also noted that the two forts were indefensible in the face of a determined attack by European forces.

The second Fort Henry was situated at the falls of the Appomattox River (present-day Petersburg). After the Native American massacre of 1644, Gov. William Berkeley and the Virginia Assembly ordered six forts to be constructed along six key Virginia rivers. Fort Henry was erected by Captain Abraham Wood during 1645–1646 and was sited 11 miles from the mouth of the Appomattox River, where it joins the James River. Garrisoned by 45 men, the fort soon became one of the most important posts in Virginia's line of defenses. It had a blockhouse, storage facilities, and barracks, which were protected by a palisade.

In 1647, Wood was granted permission to convert Fort Henry and 600 surrounding acres into a military trading center. He was required to maintain a garrison of 10 soldiers there for three years. Wood spent 30 years there outfitting explorers and trappers, dying in 1680 as a major general in the militia. By the end of the century, as settlements crept farther west, Fort Henry lost any vestiges of military utility. It slowly evolved into a center of commerce and as an area of settlement that would eventually become Petersburg.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, Third; Berkeley, William; Fort Algernon (Virginia); Fort Charles (Virginia); Virginia

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Fort Herkimer (New York)

Also known as Fort Kouri or Fort Dayton, Fort Herkimer is a name associated with several forts built on the banks of the Mohawk River, near the mouth of West Canada Creek, in modern-day Herkimer County, New York. In the early 1700s, German-Palatine immigrants settled the area around Herkimer, effectively extending the existing frontier westward.

Johann Yost Herscheimer (the father of Brigadier General Nicholas Herkimer of American Revolutionary War fame), known as Kouri ("Bear") by the Mohawks because of his imposing physique, constructed a stone house in 1740 on the south bank of the Mohawk River, opposite West Canada Creek. It served originally as a store and trading post and supplied provisions to the British troops at Oswego. Later, Sir William Johnson, the British superintendent of Indian Affairs, had the post extensively fortified.

The two-story house was 70 feet long and 40 feet wide. Its stone walls were 2 feet thick and had loopholes at each story and in the basement. Enclosing the house at a distance of about 30 feet was a ditch 6 feet deep and 7 feet wide. The ditch was lined with palisades, set obliquely, and backed by an earthen parapet. Four small bastions stood at the angles of the parapet. A house near the west parapet served as a barracks and guardhouse.

In 1756, the fort was dismantled, and the stockade, ditch, and parapet, along with an added blockhouse, were then rebuilt around the stone Herkimer Dutch Reformed Church about a quarter mile to the west. This became known as the Herkimer Church Fort. The church itself, begun in 1740, was not completed until 1767. Also in 1756, the British erected a wooden blockhouse on the northern side of the river, which was also called Fort Herkimer. This was abandoned after 1760. During the American Revolutionary War, Patriot forces built a more substantial structure, Fort Dayton, on the north bank site and also refortified the Church Fort with more palisades and earthworks.

The Palatines, discontented with their fate in the English colony, had hoped to maintain a neutral stance in the French and Indian War (1754–1763), but Gov. Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Marquis de Vaudreuil, of New France attempted to turn them against the English. When this failed, a French force of 300 Troupes de la Marine, Canadian militia, and native warriors led by François-Marie Picoté de Belestre moved eastward from Lake Ontario, and raided the settlement of German Flats on the north

bank on November 12, 1757. They killed 40 inhabitants, took about 150 captives, slaughtered livestock, and burned all 60 houses and the barns, mill, and other outbuildings. Believing themselves to be neutral, the Palatines had failed to seek refuge at the Church Fort. Captain Philip Townshend, in charge of 200 troops at the Church Fort, sent a detachment of about 50 to stop the mayhem, but it was too weak to be effective. As Colonel George Augustus, Lord Howe was advancing up the Mohawk River with more troops and militia, Belestre eventually withdrew. Vaudreuil, pleased with the outcome, sent an exaggerated report of the destruction to Paris, and made plans to use the Ontario-Mohawk route again in the future. No combat occurred at the fort itself.

During the American Revolutionary War, both Brigadier General Benedict Arnold and Major General George Washington paid visits to Fort Herkimer, then known as Fort Dayton. In 1812, the deteriorating post was extensively updated, but it was leveled in 1819 to make way for an inland canal.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Johnson, Sir William; New York; Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Pierre de, Marquis de Vaudreuil

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Fort Hill (Maine)

See Fort Mary (Maine)

Fort Hoarkill (Delaware)

See Fort Swanendael (Delaware)

Fort Hunter (New York)

British fort and mission located on the southern bank of the Mohawk River and the eastern bank of Schoharie Creek (modern Montgomery County, New York). In 1709, three Mohawks, a Mahican, and Peter Schuyler, the mayor of Albany, negotiated an agreement with Queen Anne to allow the construction of a mission fort on a tract of land in the Mohawk Valley at Schoharie Creek. The queen provided a silver communion service and other items for a chapel as well as ministers for "my Mohawk Indians."

At the time this fort represented a new extension of New York's western frontier. A second fort foreseen for Onondaga was never built. The Mohawks in turn agreed that Palatine German Protestants—displaced by war and persecution and then resident in London—could settle there. The fort would thus defend the Mohawks,

the New York frontier, and the Palatines. It eventually formed part of a chain of forts connecting Albany and Oswego. The fort was named for Gov. Robert Hunter.

Fort Hunter, constructed in 1711–1712, was square in shape, 150 feet long on each side, and rimmed with a palisade 12 feet high. Within the palisade was a 5-foot-wide parapet. At each corner stood a two-story, double-loopholed blockhouse, which was 24 feet square and 17 feet high. The blockhouses had room for 20 men apiece and were armed with cannon, the largest of which were 9-pounders.

At the center of the fort stood a chapel named for Queen Anne. The original chapel was a log cabin; however, it was replaced with a stone church in 1741. This was a 24-foot-square structure with an attic and a 15-foot-square cellar lined with logs. The cellar was used as a powder magazine. Also within the walls of the fort were 30 cabins intended for resident Mohawks. A stockaded Mohawk settlement nearby was known as the Lower Mohawk Castle (the Upper Castle being at Fort Canajoharie). A two-story stone parsonage, 25 feet by 35 feet, was constructed a mile east of the fort in 1734. During the American Revolutionary War, the parsonage was also fortified, palisaded, and garrisoned.

Fort Hunter's first commander, Captain John Scott, commanded a 20-man garrison. Captain Walter Butler, the fort commander in 1733, negotiated with the Mohawks for additional land, expanding the tract by 86,000 acres. Sir William Johnson, the British agent for Indian Affairs, established a free school for Native Americans there in 1769.

With time the fort fell into disrepair. In 1773, a fire destroyed one blockhouse and two walls. The palisades and blockhouses were rebuilt at the beginning of the American Revolutionary War. The remnants of the fort were dismantled in 1820 to make way for the Erie Canal. Stones from the chapel went into the construction of a lock along the canal. The parsonage, however, still stands.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Blockhouses; Johnson, Sir William; Mahican; Mohawks; Praying Towns and Praying Indians; Schuyler, Peter (Pieter)

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Fort Hunter (Pennsylvania)

One of a series of frontier forts established by the English to guard against French incursions along the Pennsylvania frontier. The fort was located along the Susquehanna River just below Fishing Creek and six miles north of another fort at Harris's Ferry. Fort Hunter commanded an important crossing point in the Susquehanna River and provided protection to the nearby town of Paxton. The land was settled by Benjamin Chambers in 1725. He willed the land to

his brother-in-law Samuel Hunter, for whom the fort apparently was named.

With the beginning of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the English carried out widespread buttressing of their frontier defenses. Reportedly, Fort Hunter was constructed by settlers in the area beginning in late 1755, with the work completed by the Pennsylvania Regiment early the next year. A detachment of 30 soldiers manned the fort.

In 1756, with the construction of Fort Halifax 11 miles up the Susquehanna, Pennsylvania's Gov. William Denny and the British commander in North America, John Campbell, Lord Loudoun, decided that Fort Hunter should be abandoned. When the inhabitants of Paxton objected, Denny rescinded the order. Indeed, in 1757 Fort Halifax was abandoned and Fort Hunter strengthened instead. Fort Hunter withstood several native attacks that same year but thereafter saw little activity.

JAIME RAMÓN OLIVARES AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Fort Halifax (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Paxton Boys Uprising; Pennsylvania

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Fort Hyde (North Carolina)

Fort Hyde, also known as Hyde Fort, was a defensive fortification in colonial North Carolina during the Tuscarora War of 1711–1715. The fort was located at Core Point, or "Cow Towne," on the banks of the Pamlico River. Fort Hyde was situated on the opposite bank across from Bath, the seat of government for the Bath Colony of the Carolina Proprietorship. The works were probably named for colonial governor Edward Hyde, who died of yellow fever on September 1, 1712.

Unlike Fort Reading located at Chocowinity Bay, Fort Hyde was a purely defensive work to protect the seat of the colonial government and provide refuge for neighboring families. The fort remained one of the few locations that were not overrun during the initial attack by Chief Hancock and his native raiders in September 1711. The fort remained a defensive post in the colony as the Carolina colonists prepared to assault the neighboring Tuscarora towns near and along the Pamlico River and Tar River.

The Bath Colony continued to fear another possible native raid especially in light of the general dissatisfaction with the peace terms settled between Chief Hancock and Captain John "Tuscarora Jack" Barnwell. The governor and the council voted to establish a permanent garrison at Fort Hyde on May 10, 1712. This garrison would consist of a commander or officer and 30 men; another 10 men would be dispatched to Fort Reading. The post was to safeguard the

inhabitants along the Pamlico River and Trent River. Fort Hyde continued as the major protective post of the colony as another expedition under the command of Colonel John Moore moved against the Tuscaroras later that year and into 1713.

WILLIAM H. BROWN

See also

Barnwell, John; Fort Reading (North Carolina); Native Warfare; North Carolina; Tuscaroras; Tuscarora War

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Fort James (New York)

Post constructed by the Dutch West India Company in 1626 to protect the city of New Amsterdam (now New York City) on Manhattan Island. When the states-general of Holland granted a charter to the Dutch West India Company in the early 1620s, it called on Manhattan Island to be the center of the permanent New Netherland colony. The Dutch settlement, known as New Amsterdam, was located at the southern end of Manhattan Island.

In 1625, Cryn Fredericksz van Lobbrecht, a military engineer and surveyor, designed a bastion named Fort Amsterdam. Construction began the next year when Dutch leader Peter Minuit secured a lease from the Manhattan tribe for possession of the island. The directors of the Dutch West India Company sought to protect the entrance to the Hudson River and to consolidate in New Amsterdam both trade operations and a majority of the colony's settlers. Initial plans called for the construction of a large fort, but with relative peace with the Manhattans and no threat from foreign powers, the design was scaled back. Constructed by 1628, the fort was of earth and had four bastions and mounted several cannon.

Fort New Amsterdam remained at the center of New Netherland's activities. The company's directors lived within its walls and all council sessions were held there. When disputes arose with the Native Americans, the residents of New Amsterdam sought its protection.

During the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1664–1667), the English mounted a surprise attack against the fort on September 24, 1664. Although Director General Petrus Stuyvesant was prepared to resist, Dutch settlers refused to fight and English control was established over New Netherlands.

In the aftermath of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, the English levied a special tax on the residents of New York in 1670 to rebuild the fort, which was renamed Fort James after the Duke of York (later King James II). The fort was still in disrepair, however, when in August 1673, during the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672–1674), the Dutch recaptured Fort James, then manned by only 60 men, and

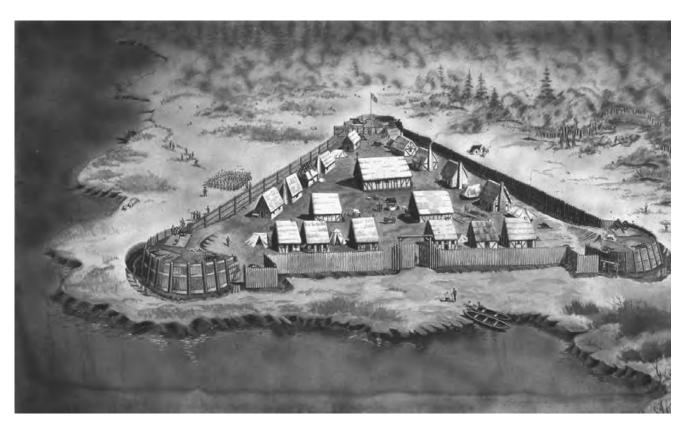


Illustration of Fort James at Jamestown in Virginia, the first permanent English settlement in North America. (MPI/Getty Images)

renamed it Fort William Hendrick. The British prevailed in the war, however, and the settlement and fort reverted back to English control. In 1683 the fort was the location for the meeting of New York's first legislative assembly.

In 1714, the fort was renamed Fort George after the new king. In 1776, during the American Revolutionary War, Fort George was totally destroyed. Today, the site of the fort is marked by the Old Custom House building at the end of Broadway, across from Battery Park in New York City.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

Anglo-Dutch War, Second; Anglo-Dutch War, Third; Minuit, Peter; New Netherland; Stuyvesant, Petrus

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Fort James (Virginia)

Fort constructed at the site of the first English settlement in Jamestown in 1607. The garrison was erected roughly 45 miles upstream from the mouth of the James River, on a swampy peninsula. On May 12, 1607, after almost five months at sea, English colonists landed on an island located some 40 miles up the James River from the Chesapeake Bay. James Island was connected to the mainland by a narrow isthmus, which was defensible against Native American attacks by land or amphibious attacks by rival European powers.

During their first two weeks on James Island, the colonists attempted to establish friendly relations with the natives. When the Powhatan Confederation responded to the settlers with a mixture of caution and occasional hostility, however, they quickly built a fort they called James Citie Forte, or Fort James, as it is known today. The fort would be rebuilt twice at the same location.

The local Paspahegh tribe (part of the Powhatan Confederation) attacked Jamestown in late May 1607, as the fort was still being constructed. Indeed, at the time of the raid, the "fort" was a barely fortified encampment. The attack killed a young boy and wounded several other settlers.

By June 15, 1607, the colonists had completed Fort James. The log fort was a walled, 14-foot palisade embedded in a trench. There were circular bulwarks—or watch towers—at each point of its triangular shape. Several brass cannon, believed to be 9-pounders, were mounted on the walls. Within the fort's walls were a storehouse, chapel, and barracks. In the winter of 1608, the English

added to the fort and essentially rebuilt it to make it more impervious to attack.

In the spring of 1610, Gov. Sir Thomas West, Third Baron De la Warr, arrived at Jamestown to discover that much of the fort had been burned for fuel during the "Starving Time" of the winter of 1609–1610. Indeed, the severe winter weather and food shortages had nearly wiped out the colony. William Strachey, secretary of the colony, recorded in May 1610 that the palisade had been ripped down and the gates were off their hinges, and many of the surrounding houses whose owners had died during the winter had been torn apart for firewood. To make matters worse, natives under the orders of Chief Powhatan had laid siege to the fort. By winter's end, more than 100 of the 200 settlers had died of starvation, disease, and exposure.

West decided to rebuild the fort. According to Strachey, the new fort's southern line was 420 feet long and was the longest and best defensive line because it faced the river. The two landward sides were 300 feet long. As with the former fort, each point of the triangular post had a bulwark with artillery. Fort James was critical because the colonists were at war with Native Americans from just before the injured Captain John Smith returned to England in 1609 until the marriage of John Rolfe to Powhatan's daughter Pocahontas in 1614.

On May 22, 1622, Native Americans launched surprise attacks on the colonists, hoping to wipe them out. The Second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622–1632) resulted in the death of hundreds of settlers. Those who could find shelter in the growing number of fortifications usually survived, and Jamestown resisted the attacks.

In the 1660s and early 1670s, Dutch fleets attacked English ships and installations in the Chesapeake Bay area. Gov. Sir William Berkeley strengthened Fort James in 1664, but it still lacked the large cannon necessary for adequate defense against European powers. Jamestown was, however, captured and burned by Nathaniel Bacon during Bacon's Rebellion (1676–1677). By the time the colony's capital was relocated to Williamsburg, the fort at Jamestown was no longer in use and had fallen into disrepair. In 1861 a Confederate fort was built on the site of Fort James, virtually obliterating its remains. Today it is part of the U.S. National Park system.

In 1645, a garrison also named Fort James was built on the Chickahominy River near present-day Lanexa in New Kent County, about 20 miles west of Williamsburg. The post was a new fortification in the Pamunkey region built for security following hostilities initiated by Chief Opechancanough. In 1646, Lieutenant Thomas Rolfe, the son of Pocahontas and John Rolfe, was given a grant to the fort and 400 acres of land beside it for a period of three years.

In the late 1660s another fortification, also named Fort James, was erected on Tyndall's Point. The site today is on Gloucester Point, which is across from Yorktown in Gloucester County.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, First; Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Bacon's Rebellion; Berkeley, William; Jamestown; Opechancanough;

Pamunkeys; Powhatan Confederacy; Powhatans; Smith, John; Virginia

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Fort Johns (New Jersey)

Garrison erected in 1756 designed to offer a sanctuary for area settlers, located on the Old Mine Road overlooking the Shapanack Flats and the Delaware River in Sussex County, New Jersey. Also known as Fort Shapanack and John's Fort, the post had a 120-foot-square palisade with bastions in three of its corners and a log cabin in the fourth. Adjoining the palisade, on the outside, was a 50-by-24-foot wooden blockhouse with a stone foundation. Within the palisade stood a 15-by-20-foot log house and a 20-by-57-foot stone dwelling.

The Fort was designed to accommodate 100 or more soldiers. The Van Campen Inn (constructed in 1742), down the hill from Fort Johns, could accommodate an additional 150 people if needed. The Old Mine Road, named for a copper mine being developed in the 1750s, ran along the river and from there to Kingston, New York. Intersecting this road at Fort Johns was the Military Road, opened in 1756, over which supplies were brought approximately 60 miles from Elizabeth Town (now Elizabeth, New Jersey).

Fort Johns served as the headquarters for the defensive line along the Delaware River authorized by the New Jersey legislature in December 1755. This was a response to attacks by the Delawares, who had sided with the French in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). It was also a refuge for local settlers and served as a military post until the end of the American Revolutionary War. The fort may have been named for John Rosencrans, a local militia captain and the owner of the original dwelling, or John Stevens, the builder of the fort, or perhaps John Johnston, the designer of the Delaware River forts.

An outline of the fort sketched in 1758 by Captain Jonathan Hampton, quartermaster for New Jersey's frontier defenses, was preserved and can still be viewed today. The site is now part of the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area. Archaeological investigations were undertaken in 1975 and again during 1998–2000.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Blockhouses; Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Fort Normanock (New Jersey); Fort Walpack (New Jersey); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; New Jersey

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Fort Johnson (New York)

British fort constructed in 1748–1749 along the Mohawk River roughly 25 miles west of Schenectady, New York. Also known as Mount Johnson, Fort Johnson was the original three-story limestone house of Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian Affairs and hero of the Battle of Lake George during the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

Johnson, an Irish immigrant from County Meath, came to the American colonies in 1738 to oversee his uncle Peter Warren's land holdings in the colony of New York. In 1739, Johnson bought a tract of land north of the Mohawk River and began building his own house. His first house, which he named Mount Johnson, was completed in 1743.

Mount Johnson's proprietor developed a successful fur trade. Johnson also established strong relations with the Native American tribes, particularly the Mohawks. Learning their languages and dressing in their clothing, Johnson met the Native Americans in his home and worked hard at preserving their lands from settlers moving into the Mohawk Valley. His relationship with the Native Americans enabled him to acquire large land holdings, mainly gifts from the Mohawks. In time, he became one of the richest men in the American colonies.

Deciding to build a larger house, and acting as his own architect, Johnson constructed a large three-story limestone dwelling about a mile west of his first home. The house followed the Georgian style of architecture with high ceilings, tall windows, and spacious rooms with fireplaces. Completed in 1749, Johnson named his new home Fort Johnson. The grounds included the house, grist mill, and outbuildings.

There were also structures flanking the house in front. The flanking structures were fortified to defend against attacks by the French and their native allies. Sometime in 1756 Johnson added cannon and a stockade to the complex. Two years later, two blockhouses went up at opposite ends of the site.

In 1754, while serving in the New York colonial legislature, Johnson led negotiations with the Native American tribes at the Albany Conference. During the French and Indian War, Johnson's militia successfully defeated the French at the 1755 Battle of Lake George. His home served as his military headquarters and after his victory, he was commissioned as superintendent of Indian Affairs for the region north of the Ohio River by the Crown in 1756. All Indian affairs were conducted from his office in the house.

Acquiring even more land and wealth, Johnson moved from the fort to his new home, Johnson Hall, in 1763. He gave Fort Johnson to his son, John, who lived there until 1774. During the American Revolutionary War, Fort Johnson was confiscated in 1777 by the nearby Tryon County Committee of Sequestration because of Johnson's Loyalist sentiments. All its furnishings were sold at auction.

Today, Fort Johnson is a museum under the auspices of the Montgomery County Historical Society.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

Albany Conference; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Johnson, Sir William; Lake George, Battle of; Mohawks; New York

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Fort Johnson (South Carolina)

Johnson. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000.

British fort built in 1704 at Windmill Point on James Island that overlooked the southeast side of Charles Town Harbor. Fort Johnson was situated approximately two miles from the town of Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina). When first constructed, it was composed of stockade fences and earthworks, along with heavy cannon pointing toward the harbor entrance. Fort Johnson was built in a triangular shape with three bastions, and it featured as building materials mud, pine saplings, and oyster shells. Land-based defenses boasted a heavy gate, a dry moat, drawbridges, and a glacis.

The post was named after the aggressive and strong-willed governor of the colony, Sir Nathaniel Johnson. Worried about the prospects of war with Spain and its powerful fortress at St. Augustine threatening English settlements along the Carolina coast, Johnson had ordered the construction of a fort by the harbor to protect Charles Town. In 1708, the colonial government took control of the fort. Throughout the following decades, Fort Johnson was never well maintained. A devastating 1752 hurricane and the onset of the French and Indian War (1754–1763) saw the refurbishment of the fort and its fortifications.

In 1759, when the Anglo-French rivalry was reaching its climax, the fort's walls and bastions were further reinforced. However, the fort saw no action. Although it was located in an important strategic location, the reality was that if enemy ships were to penetrate the harbor's mouth, the city would have been lost to the invaders. The fort was nonetheless garrisoned from the early 18th century to the conclusion of the American Civil War.

The Stamp Act crisis of 1765–1766 saw Fort Johnson serve as a safe house. The inhabitants of Charles Town vigorously protested the arrival of the stamps to the southern colony. Fearing a popular uprising in the streets, Lt. Gov. William Bull sent the despised

stamps to the fort for safekeeping. Fort Johnson's garrison was temporarily strengthened and the stamps remained there until Parliament rescinded the legislation in March 1766. Rebellious colonials seized Fort Johnson at the start of the American Revolutionary War in September 1775, although the fort did not play a major role during the conflict.

Throughout the 18th and much of the 19th centuries, the fort developed according to the needs of the times. Prior to the War of 1812, Fort Johnson was strengthened in anticipation of British naval attacks. By 1830, the fort was nearly in ruin. Before the start of the Civil War, several permanent buildings were added to the site.

Confederate forces seized the fort on January 2, 1861. It was from here that the first signaling mortar shell was fired to open the bombardment of Fort Sumter. July 2, 1864, saw Fort Johnson's final military encounter, when Confederate troops there repelled a large force of Union troops. In early 1865 the fort was evacuated as Union troops arrived.

After 1865, the fort fell into ruin. Today, the 90-acre tract of land is on the National Register of Historic Places and houses research facilities for various state and national government agencies.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

South Carolina

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Fort Johnston (North Carolina)

Fort Johnston was situated on the lower Cape Fear River near the modern-day town of Southport (Smithville), North Carolina. The fortification was to protect the lower Cape Fear River and to control river traffic between Wilmington and the town of Brunswick.

After a Spanish warship captured some English colonial vessels off of Cape Fear in 1741 during the Anglo-Spanish War of 1739–1744, the North Carolina General Assembly voted in 1745 to construct a post called "Johnston's fort" to block enemy access to the river, as the conflict with Spain had expanded into King George's War (1744–1748). The post was named after the colonial governor, Gabriel Johnston. It was to be constructed of "tapia" masonry and be armed with 24 cannon.

During the fort's construction in 1748, three Spanish privateers ventured up the Cape Fear River and attacked the town of Brunswick. Many area residents sought refuge in the unfinished post. The fort was finally completed the next year and armed with four old cannon.

Throughout its existence, the fort was either strengthened or allowed to decay depending on the military threat to the colony. With

the beginning of the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and the possibility of a French naval attack, the North Carolina General Assembly voted in 1754 to appropriate £2,000 to reinforce the works. Gov. Arthur Dobbs also requested arms and ammunition from Britain to equip the fort, but when the arms finally arrived in 1758, the fort was in ruins. Troops from its garrison had frequently been withdrawn to serve elsewhere during the war; some of them served in Brigadier General John Forbes's 1758 expedition against Fort Duquesne.

At the start of the American Revolutionary War in 1775, North Carolina's last royal governor, Josiah Martin, took refuge in Fort Johnston after local Patriots drove him from office. He escaped on a British warship shortly afterward, and Patriot forces destroyed the fort. When British troops occupied Wilmington early in 1781, they repaired and garrisoned the post, but evacuated it eight months later. Fort Johnston was repaired and garrisoned by American forces during the War of 1812 and by Confederate troops during the American Civil War. It is presently home to the Sunny Point U.S. Military Ocean Terminal.

WILLIAM H. BROWN AND JIM PIECUCH

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; North Carolina

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Fort Kanadesaga (New York)

British fort constructed in 1756, located one and a half miles northwest of the present-day city of Geneva, New York. Also known as Fort Canadasaga, Fort Kanadesaga consisted of a 17-foot-high log palisade enclosing an area 150 feet square. Blockhouses, each 24 feet square, were located in two diagonal corners. About one mile away, the outlet of Seneca Lake formed a 20-foot-wide rapid that some held to be a natural site for an ambush. The fort was situated near a Seneca village called Kanadesaga, which by the 1770s had more than 60 longhouses.

The fort was built under the direction of Sir William Johnson in May 1756. The post was part of an effort to persuade the Senecas and other Native Americans of the Iroquois Confederation to join with the English in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Each of the Iroquois Nations except the Cayugas had agreed to the construction of a fort adjacent to its principal village.

The purpose of the fort was ostensibly to protect the natives from the French. In return, the Iroquois promised to stand by the English in the war. Indeed, the Iroquois entered the war only in 1759, when they feared further erosion of their influence among the increasingly independent Delawares and Shawnees of the Ohio Country. During the American Revolutionary War, the Sullivan-Clinton expedition destroyed Fort Kanadesaga and the adjacent village on September 17, 1779. In 1975, historians and archaeologists excavated the site and ascertained considerable facts about the fort.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Blockhouses; Delaware; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Iroquois Confederation; Johnson, Sir William; Senecas; Shawnees

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Fort Kiburn (Connecticut)

See Litchfield Forts (Connecticut)

Fort King George (Georgia)

First colonial garrison built in Georgia by the British in 1721, located on the north bank of the Altamaha River, not far from modern-day Darien, Georgia. Fort King George served as the first line of protection for South Carolina against the Spanish in Florida and their native allies from 1721 to 1727. From its beginning, South Carolina claimed what later came to be the colony of Georgia as part of its territory.

The Spanish, based in Florida, also laid claim to the area. St. Augustine served as the primary settlement for Spanish Florida, and the garrison there was supported by the Guales, the Timucuas, and the Yamasees, who had previously lived in coastal and southern Georgia. These tribes and the Spanish hoped to one day regain control of coastal and southern Georgia.

As a result of the Spanish-native threat as well as a potential challenge by the French at Fort Toulouse in Alabama, the South Carolina government charged Colonel John C. "Tuscarora Jack" Barnwell with the task of defending this disputed area. Thus, Barnwell established a fort near the mouth of the Altamaha River and called it Fort King George in 1721. Barnwell intended Fort King George to be the first in a chain of fortifications along the frontier to prevent the intrusion of the Spanish or French into British territory and to keep native peoples in check. This plan never came to fruition, however, and the British finally abandoned Fort King George in 1727, moving its garrison to Beaufort, South Carolina.

The fortification itself consisted of a blockhouse made from cypress logs, barracks, and earthen walls reinforced with a wooden palisade. Fort King George was garrisoned by His Majesty's Independent Company. Those assigned to the fort faced isolation, a hot and oppressively humid climate, and a poor diet. These conditions often led to the outbreak of disease, and the garrison remained constantly under threat of attack by the Spanish and various Native Americans. These severe conditions eventually led to the abandonment of the fort in 1727.

After the founding of Georgia in 1733, Gov. James Oglethorpe in 1735 settled a colony of Scottish Highlanders at the site of Fort King George in hopes of securing the southern frontier of Georgia. However, the colony found the site undesirable and later moved farther up the Altamaha River to establish Darien.

DIXIE RAY HAGGARD

See also

Barnwell, John; Florida; Fort Toulouse (Alabama); Georgia; Guales; Oglethorpe, James Edward; South Carolina; Yamasees; Yamasee War

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Fort Kouri (New York)

See Fort Herkimer (New York)

Fort La Bahia (Texas)

Spanish presidio founded in 1721 and located near the Gulf of Mexico in present-day southeastern Texas. Fort La Bahia, also known as Nuestra Señora Santa Maria de la Bahia del Espritu Santo, was originally established by the Spanish on Matagorda Bay on the west bank of Gracitas Creek in present-day Victoria County, Texas. Captain Domingo Ramon founded the presidio on April 4, 1721, on the ruins of Fort St. Louis. That redoubt was a French stronghold established by the French explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, in 1685. The Spanish erected the post to protect the Nuestra Señora del Espiritu Santo de Zuniga Mission. The Spanish also established the mission and presidio to prevent any further French encroachment along the coastline of Texas, as well as to protect the local Karankawa people.

Throughout its history, the presidio went through many changes. A year after its founding, Marques de Aguayo began construction of the permanent presidio. At the presidio, relations between Native Americans and the soldiers were troubled, a not unusual occurrence for such places. Indeed, by 1726, relations with the Karankawas had deteriorated to the point that the Spanish left the site along the bay and rebuilt both the mission and presidio 26 miles inland. There they hoped to convert and protect the Aranama tribe.

At this location, the presidio prospered for 23 years. In 1749, the presidio moved again to the present-day city of Goliad, Texas. Here the chief function of the stronghold was to protect the road to San Antonio from highwaymen.

The main duties of the soldiers now included escorting convoys, the supply trains traveling from San Antonio to the Rio Grande River, and guarding the surrounding area from Lipan, Apache, and Comanche attacks. Unlike many of the Spanish colonial presidios, Fort La Bahia's history did not end with New Spain. Rather, it continued to serve the area even after Mexico and Texas gained their independence in the early 19th century. La Bahia still exists today in Goliad and is owned and operated by the Catholic Diocese of Victoria County.

CHARLES D. GREAR

See also

Fort St. Louis (Texas); Karankawas; La Salle, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de; Presidio; Spanish Mission System, Southwest; Texas

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Fort La Galette (New York)

See Fort La Présentation (New York)

Fort La Pointe (Wisconsin)

Principal French trading post on Lake Superior, built in 1718 at or near the same site of France's Fort St. Esprit (1693–1698) in La Pointe, Madeline Island, Wisconsin. Madeline Island is the largest of the 22 islands that comprise the Apostle Islands archipelago and was populated by the Ojibwas when the French explored the area around 1620. During 1655–1656, two French explorers and fur traders, Pierre d'Esprit Radisson and Medard Chouart de Groseillier, made their way to Chequamegon Bay and contacted the Ojibwas. In their wake, a French Jesuit mission known as St. Esprit was established next to the Ojibwas' village on Madeline Island in 1660. Father Claude Allouez hoped to use the location on Lake Superior not only to reach out to the Ojibwas, but also to the Huron and Ottawa converts in the area.

At this time, the entire region was plagued by starvation and warfare, and several tribes were constantly on the move in search of food and shelter. Between recurrent Iroquois raids, competition for resources around the lake had the refugee tribes fighting one another over hunting territory. Some displaced Wyandots and Ottawas settled near the mission, and several villages of the Ojibwas, the Illinois, the Nadouessis, the Assinipoualacs, and the Dakotas were in the surrounding area.

In 1671, Father Jacques Marquette, who had replaced Allouez, was no longer able to pacify the various tribes and was forced to abandon his mission when the Sioux declared war against the French. In 1693, the French established a fort and trading post near the former site of the mission and called it Fort St. Esprit, with the hope that it could keep the northern route open for French trade. However, Fort St. Esprit lasted only five years.

After Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), the governor of New France, Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, hoped to pacify the tribes in the Great Lakes region and to reestablish French military posts in the area. Thus, in 1718, Paul Legardeur, Sieur de St. Pierre, was ordered to rebuild a fort in Chequamegon Bay. He chose the site of the former Fort St. Esprit. He named the new fort La Pointe. It served as the principal French trading post on Lake Superior for almost 40 years. The fort was abandoned in 1759, when the French left the region. In 1765, a British trading post named Middle Fort was established nearby.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Jesuits; Ojibwas

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Fort La Présentation (New York)

A French (later English) fort built in 1750 where the Oswegatchie River joins the St. Lawrence River at present-day Ogdensburg, New York. The fort was constructed in the shape of a square with earthen palisades 70 feet long and a blockhouse at each of its corners, which was armed with five small cannon. There was also a moat around the structure. Located above the rapids of the St. Lawrence River and thus accessible to the Great Lakes, the fort served the multiple purposes of strengthening France's claim to the territory; preventing English movement down the St. Lawrence; diverting the fur trade away from the English fort at Oswego, on Lake Ontario; and instructing and converting the Iroquois in the hope of winning them over to the French side.

Abbé François Picquet, a Sulpician missionary known as the Apostle of the Iroquois, first viewed the site on November 21, 1748, which according to the Roman Catholic calendar was the Feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin, and so the fort was later named for that day. Picquet, who saw no contradiction in serving both evangelical and military ends, began construction of a fort and settlement there on May 30, 1749. Mohawks burned the initial stockade that same year, but the final structure was completed in 1750. Picquet reported in 1751 that he had attracted 396 Iroquois converts, who

were settled in three villages near the fort. By the mid-1750s there were some 500 converts, with some estimates running much higher.

During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Fort La Présentation served as a source of intelligence collection on the Iroquois Confederation and as a base for the launching of raids. In 1755, representatives from the Onondagas came to Fort La Présentation to assure the French that the Iroquois Confederation would remain neutral. Meanwhile, Gov. Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, assigned a military commander, Captain Claude-Nicholas de Lorimier de La Rivière, along with 20 to 30 soldiers to the fort, but it was Picquet who drilled the Iroquois in military exercises.

In 1756, Picquet and the Iroquois converts participated in a raid that destroyed Fort Bull (near Oneida Lake, New York), which disrupted plans for an English offensive, and their planned attack on Oswego. Because of jurisdictional disputes with Lorimier, Picquet was withdrawn from duty in March 1757. The next year, however, he returned in response to Iroquois demands and Lorimier was replaced. In July 1758, Picquet led his converts in the Battle of Ticonderoga.

By 1759, however, the French position generally was crumbling. The Iroquois Confederation finally entered the war on the side of the English, helping convince the converts that the tide had changed against the French. Fort La Présentation, suddenly appearing indefensible, was abandoned.

The English took possession of the site in August 1760 and constructed Fort Oswegatchie there. In the Treaty of Oswegatchie, France's native allies promised to remain neutral for the remainder of the war, and Sir William Johnson, British superintendent of Indian Affairs, promised to deliver to them the possession of their lands, the free exercise of their Catholic faith, and not to treat them as enemies after the war.

With the French vanquished, the fort lost much of its military significance and was of use primarily to fur and lumber interests until the American Revolutionary War. Samuel Ogden purchased much of the site in 1792, and England relinquished the fort to the United States under the terms of the 1796 Jay Treaty.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Fort Bull (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Johnson, Sir William; Iroquois Confederation; Mohawks; Onondagas; Praying Towns and Praying Indians; Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Philippe de, Marquis de Vaudreuil; St. Lawrence River

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Fort Lawrence (Nova Scotia)

British fort constructed between late 1750 and early 1751 on the site of the abandoned Acadian village of Beaubassin on the Chignecto

Isthmus in Nova Scotia. Fort Lawrence played a key role in Britain's consolidation of authority over Nova Scotia and the eastern borderlands of New France during the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

The British built the fort after two military expeditions by Major Charles Lawrence in the spring and fall of 1750 failed to drive the French from their position at Point Beauséjour on the western edge of the contested Chignecto Isthmus. Unable to dislodge his adversary, Lawrence positioned his picketed fort less than three miles from France's more substantial Fort Beauséjour, commencing a five-year standoff over the limits of British authority in the region. Fort Lawrence was a palisaded, quadrilateral garrison featuring two blockhouses and two platforms to accommodate small cannons.

Although modest in size and often poorly supplied, Fort Lawrence played host to key moments in the early French and Indian War. In 1754, Fort Beauséjour's commissary, Thomas Pichon, began making visits to British officers at Fort Lawrence. Upset by a series of thwarted promotions, Pichon delivered key details on French troops, leaders, and fortifications. Channeled through the British military, the information likely aided the joint Anglo-American army that, in the summer of 1755, laid siege to and took Fort Beauséjour. Later that fall, during the British campaign to capture and deport the Acadian population of Nova Scotia, Fort Lawrence served as a holding station for the detainees. One Massachusetts soldier reported that on the "stormy dark night" of October 1, 1755, 86 Acadians dug under the fort's wall and escaped. As the forced expulsion progressed and Acadian resistance intensified, British forces made increasing use of the more solid Fort Beauséjour, now renamed Fort Cumberland. Fort Lawrence fell into disrepair and was soon destroyed altogether.

CHRISTOPHER G. HODSON

See also

Acadia; Acadia Expulsion; Bay of Fundy Expedition; Chignecto Isthmus; Fort Beauséjour (Nova Scotia); Fort Gaspereau (Nova Scotia); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns

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Fort Lebanon (Pennsylvania)

Garrison built in January 1756 and located at the forks of the Schuylkill River on a ridge in the Blue Mountains, roughly two miles northeast of Auburn, West Brunswick Township, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania. Fort Lebanon, supported by an outlying base at Northkill (near Shartlesville), was Pennsylvania's only fort north of Blue Mountain. Named Lebanon for unknown reasons, the

fort was built by Captain Jacob Morgan between December 1755 and January 1756. Its timber stockade measured 100 feet square with walls 14 feet high. Erected in three weeks, the post enclosed a barracks, store, and two structures for sheltering local settlers.

Fort Lebanon was a link in a six-post chain of strongholds established to provide provincial defense for Berks and Lancaster counties (now Berks, Dauphin, Lebanon, and Schuylkill counties). Local residents created the network in response to the October 1755 Penn's Creek Massacre. Once appropriate supply legislation passed in November, Colonel Conrad Weiser, commander of the Berks County Militia, directed the construction of the fort, which began in late December 1755. By January 1756, Gov. Robert Hunter Morris and provincial commissioners had authorized more specific measures to fortify the region. Each post was situated to cover a passage through the Blue Mountains.

Captain Morgan was Fort Lebanon's commander throughout. An officer of a Berks County Militia unit, in December 1755 he was assigned to the provincial forces. By early 1756, Native American raids had begun to menace local settlers. In one instance, three structures were razed, a woman killed, and a child taken captive. In May 1756, Morgan's unit was incorporated into the new 1st Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment.

Fort Lebanon was later rechristened Fort William at an unknown date. A July 17, 1757, letter by James Read refers to the fort as "William," with the name in regular use thereafter. But the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of September 1, 1757, still gave its name as Fort Lebanon. The new name could have originated in deference to William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, King George II's only surviving male child.

Fort Lebanon's base, Northkill, was abandoned in September 1757. By then, fewer patrols were needed to range among the posts of the Berks and Lancaster defense line. By May 1758, Fort Lebanon (now Fort William) had been evacuated.

RODNEY J. Ross

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Pennsylvania; Weiser, Conrad

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Fort Le Boeuf (Pennsylvania)

French fort built in 1753 at the headwaters of La Rivière au Boeuf (French Creek), a tributary of the Allegheny River situated north of the Forks of the Ohio. Although the fort was initially constructed to serve mainly as a storage facility, the French nonetheless fortified it



Major George Washington travels 500 miles on horseback in 1753 to Fort Le Boeuf to deliver a warning to the French to stay out of the Ohio River Valley. (Library of Congress)

to withstand Native American raids as well as British attacks. Fort Le Boeuf was square in design with bastions situated in each corner, which were made of wooden pickets. Log barracks also served as buttresses for the post's curtainlike walls. It is believed that the structure enclosed nine small buildings, which included a powder magazine and a small church. Immediately outside the compound was a stockade that served as a camping and staging area. There were also several storehouses within the stockade. Work on the fort commenced in July 1753 under the supervision of Captain François Le Mercier.

As the French and Indian War (1754–1763) grew closer, Virginia's Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie ordered Major George Washington to carry a letter to the French at Fort Le Boeuf on October 30, 1753. Washington had also been ordered to confer with Native Americans along the way in an attempt to gain their support against the French. En route Washington secured the services of a guide named Christopher Gist, and they arrived in Logtown on November 26. There they met with several native chiefs, including Chief Tanaghrisson (also know as Half-King) of the Mingos. At first Tanaghrisson would not allow the French or British to build forts in the Ohio Country. After several days of negotiations, however, he finally agreed to allow the British to build a fort at the Forks of the Ohio. He also agreed to personally escort Washington to Fort Le Boeuf.

From Logtown, Washington's party traveled to Fort Machault (Pennsylvania), arriving there on December 4. During the three days

they spent there, the French attempted without success to sway Tanaghrisson to their side. From Fort Machault, Washington's entourage traveled four more days before arriving at Fort Le Boeuf in a snowstorm on December 11. Washington delivered the letter to the commander of the fort, Captain Jacques le Gardeur de Saint-Pierre. Saint-Pierre also tried to persuade Tanaghrisson to join the French cause. After three days the French gave Washington a letter for Dinwiddie, stating that the French would not leave the Ohio Country. On December 16, Washington's party, save for Tanaghrisson and four other Mingos, left Fort Le Boeuf for Williamsburg, Virginia. This exchange between the two colonial powers essentially set the stage for the French and Indian War—particularly in the Ohio River Valley.

The French controlled Fort Le Boeuf throughout much of the French and Indian War. With the fall of Fort Niagara (New York) on July 25, 1759, the French were no longer able to support Fort Le Boeuf and ordered the garrison to evacuate it. The retreating French burned the fort.

In 1760, the British constructed a new garrison near the ruined Fort Le Boeuf. During Pontiac's Rebellion (1763), a band of Seneca warriors attacked the British post on June 18, 1763. During the night, the garrison of 14 men escaped, making their way to Fort Pitt. The British then chose to abandon their garrison at old Fort Le Boeuf.

DALLACE W. UNGER JR.

See also

Dinwiddie, Robert; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Machault (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Gist, Christopher; Mingos; Ohio Country; Pennsylvania; Pontiac's Rebellion; Senecas; Tanaghrisson (Half-King); Washington, George

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Fort Lévis (New York)

French garrison constructed in 1759 on Isle Royale (present-day Chimney Island), in the St. Lawrence River between Montreal and Lake Ontario. The site is just east of modern-day Ogdensburg, New York. Captain Jean Nicolas Desandroüins, an engineer, designed the fort and began its construction in August 1759.

Built to command the upper St. Lawrence River, Fort Lévis was a square structure built of logs. It had four bastions, barracks, and a magazine. The fort was later improved with a breastwork around the island and an abatis that extended into the water. Reportedly the fort was armed with 35 cannon and could hold a garrison of 330 men.

After the fall of Fort Niagara on July 25, 1759, Major General Jeffery Amherst ordered Brigadier General Thomas Gage, who had just taken command of the British forces at Fort Oswego, to capture Fort Lévis. Supply problems delayed Gage and eventually led him to cancel plans to move against the fort that year.

During the campaign of 1760, however, Amherst took command of a force of almost 11,000 men against Fort Lévis. The offensive was part of a three-pronged attack on the city of Montreal. Amherst's advance took him down the St. Lawrence River toward the fort, which was defended by approximately 400 men and two gunboats, all under the command of Captain Pierre Pouchot.

Amherst's attack on the fort began on August 10, 1760. By that time, one of the French gunboats had been lost when it ran aground. On August 17, employing armed bateaux, the British attacked the other gunboat. After exchanging shots with it, the British bateaux closed on the gunboat in an attempt to board it. However, before the British could do so, the French commander surrendered it to the British. Once the remaining French gunboat had been taken, the British were able to pass the fort and cut it off from Montreal. Once the British had severed Fort Lévis from resupply, they laid siege to it.

The British bombardment of the fort began on August 23. The British used cannon from shore and on bateaux and gunboats that had joined the expedition. The French were able to drive off the British vessels during the initial bombardment but could not neutralize the British shore batteries. Following two days of bombardment, Pouchot surrendered what little remained of the fort. Once Fort Lévis had been taken, Amherst rebuilt it and renamed it Fort William Augustus before continuing on to Montreal.

DALLACE W. UNGER JR.

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; Bateau; Fort La Présentation (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Montreal; Pouchot de Maupas, Pierre; St. Lawrence River

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Nester, William R. *The Great Frontier War: Britain, France, and the Imperial Struggle for North America, 1756–1775.* Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000.

Fort Lewis (Virginia)

There were two fortifications named Fort Lewis built in Virginia, both in the western part of the colony. The first was built sometime between 1750 and 1757 by Colonel Charles Lewis; the second was constructed in 1756 by Major Andrew Lewis. The first structure was located on the Cowpasture River in Bath County, south of present-day Williamsville. After his marriage in 1762, Charles Lewis (the son of the founder of Staunton, Virginia) built a manor house beside the fort. He called the stockade around his home Fort Lewis,

although others referred to it as "Lewis's Hog Pen." Lewis, a militia colonel, was killed on October 10, 1774, in the Battle of Point Pleasant (West Virginia).

The second Fort Lewis was erected in 1756 by Major Andrew Lewis and was located near present-day Salem, Roanoke County, Virginia. On July 27, 1756, a Council of War at Augusta Court House specified that a fort be built that would be 60 feet square with two bastions and garrisoned by 50 men. The post was also called Campbell's Fort because it was built on land owned by James Campbell. It was garrisoned at first by just 30 men, and Lieutenant Colonel George Washington may have been its commander for a time.

In 1760, during the Cherokee War (1759–1761), a major conflict on the southern mountain frontier, men of Colonel William Byrd III's 1st Virginia Regiment assembled at Fort Lewis for an expedition against the Cherokees, who were besieging Fort Loudoun (Tennessee).

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Campbell, John, Earl of Loudoun; Cherokee War; Fort Loudoun (Tennessee); Washington, George

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Fort Ligonier (Pennsylvania)

British garrison built in 1758 during the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and located along Loyalhanna Creek, approximately 45 miles west of Fort Bedford, Pennsylvania. In early 1758, Brigadier General John Forbes ordered construction of a "Post at Loyalhanna" as part of his protected British advance to capture Fort Duquesne. Fort Ligonier was the last in a chain of fortified posts that ran along the road constructed by Forbes's troops through the wilderness of southern Pennsylvania. The garrison was 50 miles from Fort Duquesne and served as a supply depot and staging area for the approximately 5,000 British and colonial troops preparing to attack that place.

The wooden stockade fort was completed in September 1758 and was square in shape with bastions in each corner. The encampment was also surrounded by large, wooden pentagonal retrenchments that encircled the fort and several troop encampments. Reportedly, the interior measured 200 feet per side and housed two storehouses, a mess, and an officers' quarters.

On October 12, 1758, the garrison, commanded by Colonel James Burd, sustained an attack by some 1,200 French soldiers and several hundred Native American allies. The battle lasted approximately four hours, with the attackers sustaining heavy losses, after which they broke off the assault. After Forbes captured Fort Duquesne in November, he renamed the fort at Loyalhanna "Ligonier" after his commander in chief in Great Britain, General Sir John Ligonier.

Fort Ligonier served as a garrison for eight years. During Pontiac's Rebellion it provided a vital link in maintaining communications and the passage of supplies to Fort Pitt. Ligonier withstood attacks by Native Americans prior to the English victory at Bushy Run in August 1763. In March 1766, the British decommissioned Fort Ligonier from active service and placed it under the civil administration of Arthur St. Clair.

A reconstructed Fort Ligonier, located in Ligonier, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, was erected in 1954 after extensive archaeological excavations, and now boasts nine buildings for visitors. The reconstructed fort is on the National Register of Historic Places.

Anna Kiefer

See also

Burd, James; Bushy Run, Battle of; Forbes Campaign; Forbes, John; Fort Bedford (Pennsylvania); Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Fort Loudoun (Pennsylvania)

One of several forts erected along Forbes Road, built in 1756, which ultimately helped facilitate communications and supply lines during Brigadier General John Forbes's western campaign in 1758. Fort Loudoun was situated at the head of the Conococheague Creek and was originally designed to protect settlers west of the Susquehanna River from native and French raids. The fort was named for John Campbell, Lord Loudoun, commander in chief of British forces at the beginning of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). In 1758, during that conflict, Forbes was assigned the task of taking Fort Duquesne. He had the choice of using the road built by Major General Edward Braddock during his failed attempt to capture Fort Duquesne in 1755, or building a new, more direct road across southern Pennsylvania. Forbes chose the latter course. Fort Loudoun was among the forts protecting this new route.

Fort Loudoun was a square structure constructed of logs and measuring some 127 feet on each side. Two of its corners had shooting platforms that extended out from the walls. The gate was on the north side and it is believed there was a sally port on the south side. The fort contained a well for water and several buildings.

Colonel Henry Bouquet used the fort for his expedition during Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763. The fort was closed in November 1765.

DALLACE W. UNGER JR.

See also

Bouquet, Henry; Braddock's Campaign; Campbell, John, Earl of Loudoun; Forbes Campaign; Forbes, John; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Pennsylvania; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Fort Loudoun (Tennessee)

British military outpost built in 1756 in present-day eastern Tennessee, near the Cherokee town of Chota. Fort Loudoun was the fulfillment of a longtime British ambition to build a fort in the Tennessee River Valley to aid their Cherokee allies and provide protection from French and native incursions. Gov. James Glen of South Carolina had made construction of such a fort a priority of his policy toward Native Americans, and after years of negotiations, the Cherokees finally granted permission at the 1755 Saluda Conference for its construction.

Some 300 South Carolina provincial troops, led by Captain Raymond Demer, arrived in Tennessee in August 1756 to begin construction. William De Brahm designed the fort, but from the beginning Demer and De Brahm clashed over its location, design, and the allocation of manpower. De Brahm's elaborate earthworks ultimately proved too difficult to construct in the rocky mountain soil. Following De Brahm's departure in uncertain circumstances, Demer adopted a simple palisade design, and the fort was completed in the spring of 1757. Named for the Earl of Loudoun, the fort would last only four years, for the British garrison surrendered it to native attackers during the Cherokee War (1759–1761).

Fort Loudoun was more European in design than most North American forts. It was of diamond shape, with bastions in each corner. Fort Loudoun quartered 120 South Carolina militiamen and approximately 90 British regulars. Demer had charge of the garrison until August 1757, at which time his brother Paul assumed command.

That the Cherokees would attack a fort they themselves had requested only six years earlier said much about their apprehensions concerning new neighbors. Many natives had long resisted such a project, knowing from long experience that British forts usually preceded British settlers. However, pro-English chiefs such as Attakullakulla viewed the outpost as a renewal and strengthening of Anglo-Cherokee friendship and a way of checking French influence. Others, such as Old Hop, the chief of Chota, hoped to have Virginia, French, and Carolina neighbors to offset each other and thereby maintain Cherokee independence. For these men, the fort also served a practical purpose of offering Overhill Cherokees a military refuge from attacks from either the Iroquois or the Creeks, both enduring enemies of the Cherokees.

As events unfolded during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), and the Cherokees suffered indignity and violence at

the hands of their alleged British allies, anxieties concerning Fort Loudoun grew. When the Cherokee War began in the fall of 1759, the fort's days were clearly numbered. A long and difficult journey separated Fort Loudoun from Carolina resupply and it fell easy victim to a Cherokee siege that began on March 20, 1760. Out of provisions, Demer surrendered Fort Loudoun on August 8, 1760, and the natives took possession the next day. The Cherokees had agreed to allow the British to return to Carolina or Virginia unmolested, but on August 10 the fort garrison was attacked as it broke camp. Native warriors killed the officers and took the rest of the garrison prisoner, probably in revenge for native hostages murdered in 1759 at Fort Prince George near the Cherokee town of Keowee in western South Carolina. By 1761, the Native Americans had razed the fort.

ROBERT PAULETT

See also

Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter); Cherokees; Cherokee War; De Brahm, William Gerard; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Glen, James; Lyttelton, William Henry

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Fort Loudoun (Virginia)

British fort constructed during the winter of 1756–1757, located in Virginia's northern Shenandoah Valley at Winchester in Frederick County. Fort Loudoun (named for the commander in chief of British forces in America, Lieutenant General John Campbell, Lord Loudoun) was protected by a wooden palisade. It was ordered built by Colonel George Washington, who had assumed command of British forces after Major General Edward Braddock's defeat and death in 1755. The actual construction was supervised by John Patterson, who worked under Washington's oversight. Fort Loudoun was part of a network of British forts that stretched from the Potomac River down to the Carolinas. Its principal mission was to provide protection to the Virginia frontier and the settlements to the east during the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

Washington was intimately involved in the design and construction of Fort Loudoun (his preliminary drawings of the post are extant and may be examined at the Library of Congress). Washington's diagrams depict an installation of a modified star design, with four square bastions. It was protected largely by cannon mounted on each spur of the fort. Its walls were composed of earth and were double-palisaded. Fort Loudoun contained a guard house, a kitchen, a large storage facility, and barracks capable of accommodating more than 400 men.

Fort Loudoun acted as a supply base for smaller forts in the area. Washington used it as his headquarters throughout his tenure as

commander of Virginia's forces. Today, all that remains of the fort is the 40-foot-deep well dug by Christian Heintz in 1757. The well adjoins a house built in the 1820s. Both are owned by the French and Indian War Foundation.

THOMAS J. BLUMER AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Braddock's Campaign; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Virginia; Washington, George

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Fort Louis (Alabama)

French fort built in 1702 on high ground overlooking the Mobile River, approximately 25 miles north of Mobile Bay. The first permanent French settlement on the northern Gulf Coast, Fort Louis and vicinity was Louisiana's capital and military center to defend territory from the English and Spanish and guard coastal waterways and Mississippi River Valley trade routes. Officially called Fort Louis de la Louisiana, the fortification protected French interests and supplied troops and Native American allies.

When Fort Maurepas (Mississippi) failed to meet French expectations, Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville sought to establish a more enduring colony to assert France's control in Louisiana. Toward that end, he ordered construction of a fort and community north of Mobile Bay, an area he thought more suitable than Biloxi Bay. D'Iberville considered the Mobile area to be of strategic importance because the bay and rivers were navigable for larger ships, and French explorers had already charted the land and interacted with the natives.

The French court instructed d'Iberville to arrange the transfer of men and supplies from Biloxi to Mobile; the court also expected him to create and colonize a capital there. D'Iberville assigned that task to his brother, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville. In January 1702, Bienville, his brother Joseph Le Moyne de Sérigny, and explorer Charles Levasseur traveled up the Mobile River. The men discussed their plans with natives who told them about a bluff on the western riverbank. Bienville sent his brother information and drawings of the proposed site. D'Iberville approved the location, which the French called Twenty-seven Mile Bluff, indicating its rough distance from the coast, and directed Bienville to begin building a fort there.

Carpenters, masons, and laborers, mostly from France and Canada, constructed the facility. Fort Louis had curtain-style walls and bastions at each junction. It featured squared-off pine timbers arranged horizontally with dovetailed corners. The interior of the fort, which was about 120 feet square, contained a storehouse, a

guardhouse, officers' quarters, and a church. The fort was protected by palisades that went all the way to the riverbank, where barracks and a powder magazine were located. D'Iberville arrived in March 1702 to view the facilities, at which time he christened the post Fort Louis to honor King Louis XIV. After a March 27 peace ceremony with the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, d'Iberville returned to France. Bienville served as the fort's commander.

Friendly tribes used the fort's grounds for camping and conferences. Some natives provided fort residents with food and helped defend against unfriendly tribes. Fort Louis also provided supplies for raids against hostile natives. No significant enemy assaults damaged the fort. As it turned out, weather was its worst enemy. Fort Louis began deteriorating rapidly in the hot, humid climate. Workers routinely replaced rotting logs, and during these repairs, laborers reinforced and expanded the fort.

In early 1711, floods inundated Fort Louis. Water from saturated creeks and rivers filled buildings and homes, forcing the fort community to evacuate. Many people had previously complained that Fort Louis was too far from the colony's port on Dauphin Island outside Mobile Bay. And they sought brick and mortar buildings rather than completely wooden structures. The swampy environment of Fort Louis also hosted mosquitoes that carried deadly yellow fever.

Colonial officials subsequently chose a better fort site near the bay, and several hundred colonists dismantled buildings and floated materials and belongings south to the new Fort Louis. The new site was located where present-day Mobile is now situated, on Mobile Bay. The French frequently repaired, reinforcing with brick, and enlarged the new Fort Louis. By 1724, officials had begun calling it Fort Condé, to honor General Condé whose relatives resided in Mobile.

ELIZABETH D. SCHAFER

See also

Chickasaws; Choctaws; Fort Biloxi (Mississippi); Fort Condé (Alabama); Fort Maurepas (Mississippi); Le Moyne de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste; Le Moyne d'Iberville et d'Ardillières, Pierre; Louisiana; New France

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Fort Loyal (Maine)

English post built in 1676, situated at Falmouth, Maine (then part of Massachusetts) on Casco Bay. Its precise location was at the foot of present-day India Street in Portland, Maine. Fort Loyal was originally a palisaded log structure intended to serve as a safe haven for Falmouth settlers in case of native attacks. In 1690, during King William's War (1689–1697), the English augmented and rebuilt the fort to include four blockhouses and a battery of eight light guns.

These additional fortifications proved quite inadequate in the face of a major attack by French soldiers and a contingent of allied

Abenakis. In May 1690, a 500-man French-led force left Quebec to launch attacks against English settlements in Maine. The force arrived at Falmouth on May 16 and launched an attack against Fort Loyal, laying siege to it for five days. When the French attacked a settler outside the fort's walls, the garrison raised 30 volunteers who left the fort to do battle. They were quickly dispensed with, and only 4 badly wounded men managed to regain the fort. Captain Sylvanus Davis, Fort Loyal's commander, negotiated a surrender after most of the fort's inhabitants had died or were wounded. Although the fort's remaining inhabitants were guaranteed safe passage to neighboring settlements, Abenakis attacked and killed most of them. Davis and 4 of his men were carried back to Quebec.

The attackers leveled Fort Loyal and the settlement it was designed to protect. In 1742, a new fort was built on the ruins of Fort Loyal. It was named Falmouth Fort.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Abenakis; Blockhouses; Casco Bay; Falmouth, Battle of; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Maine

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Fort Lydius (New York)

See Fort Edward (New York)

Fort Lyman (New York)

See Fort Edward (New York)

Fort Lyttelton (Pennsylvania)

Pennsylvania garrison built in 1755 and located along the upper Aughwick Creek, northeast of modern-day Fort Littelton in Fulton County, Pennsylvania. Named by Gov. Robert Hunter Morris for the English chancellor of the Exchequer, George Lyttelton, and constructed by George Croghan in December 1755, Fort Lyttelton contained houses and four bastions in a stockade measuring 100 feet by 100 feet. It served as a station on the Forbes Road, part of a forward location a considerable distance away from other posts. Fort Lyttelton was one of a string of fortifications called for by Governor Morris to defend Cumberland County (now the counties of Cumberland, Franklin, Fulton, Huntingdon, and Juniata). With the outbreak of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), threats from the French and their Native American allies had risen dramatically.

Once native assaults resulted in the loss of private stations and Fort Granville, troops from Fort Lyttelton and its sister posts were organized into two ranger companies by March 1756 and assigned to scout a secondary defensive position. In September 1756, the defensive line was reorganized again. With the exception of Fort Lyttelton, the initial fortifications of the Cumberland Country defensive line were evacuated. Reassigned troops were sent to the post and, after Brigadier General John Forbes's campaign in 1758 culminating in Britain's capture of France's Fort Duquesne, Fort Lyttelton became a liaison in a military chain of communication to Fort Pitt (formerly Fort Duquesne).

Fort Lyttelton housed provincial troops until Forbes converted it into a British installation in June 1758. Garrisoned by regulars or provincials unit 1760, it remained the only provincial post west of the Susquehanna River to remain active following the fall of Fort Granville and the Battle of Kittanning. By 1763, it stationed local volunteers.

RODNEY J. Ross

See also

Croghan, George; Forbes Campaign; Fort Granville (Pennsylvania); Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Kittanning, Battle of; Pennsylvania

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Fort Lyttelton (South Carolina)

British fort constructed between 1758 and 1763, located roughly one-and-a-half miles south of Beaufort, South Carolina, on Spanish Point. Beaufort, situated on Port Royal Island, lay exposed to potential attack from Native Americans, the Spanish, and the French. Because it was on an island and very near Port Royal Sound, its defenses were difficult to secure completely.

In 1731, local settlers constructed Fort Frederick, which was just outside Beaufort proper (now the site of the U.S. Naval Hospital in modern-day Port Royal). The fort's location, however, was a poor one and left the town exposed to assault from the west. By the late 1750s, Fort Frederick had fallen into decrepitude. In response, the South Carolina Assembly appropriated funds to build a new fortification. Gov. William Henry Lyttelton also requested that London reinforce the new post with a 50- or 60-gun ship to be located in Port Royal.

Construction of Fort Lyttelton began in 1758 and was finished in 1763. Although the redoubt did not have a clear view of Port Royal Sound, its location assured that any ship trying to make its way to Beaufort would be spotted. Fort Lyttelton's longest section, which faced the Port Royal River, was 375 feet in length. The fort's other two sides were equal in length and were protected by a moat. The outer walls were composed of tabby, a mixture of lime, water, and oyster shells that made for surprisingly strong structures. Fort Lyttelton had two demibastions that fronted the river and a full bastion facing the land side, which had a gate.

The post could garrison up to 100 enlisted men, along with several officers. At the height of its readiness, it mounted at least 15 cannon. During the American Revolutionary War, Fort Lyttelton's commander, Captain William Harden, assembled a voluntary artillery unit there called the "Old B. V. A." (Beaufort Volunteer Artillery). This outfit went on to serve in every conflict in which the United States fought. Now the 1055th Transportation Company, it is the United States' fifth oldest military company.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Fort Frederick (South Carolina); Port Royal (South Carolina); Redoubt; South Carolina

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Fort Machault (Pennsylvania)

French fort built about 1753 on the western bank of the Allegheny River near the mouth of French Creek and close to the Delaware village of Venango (modern-day Franklin, Pennsylvania). In 1753, Major George Washington delivered a letter from Virginia's Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie to the French at Fort Le Boeuf. Dinwiddie's message demanded that the French abandon the Ohio Country, including their forts in the region. While making their way to Fort Le Boeuf, Washington's party stopped at Fort Machault and stayed for three days.

Fort Machault was designed to secure a supply facility at Venango, hence its location at the crossroads of two French supply trails leading to the Ohio Country. The fort was a wooden, square-shaped stockade with bastions in each corner. Buildings formed two sides of the structure. It was not particularly well fortified and usually mounted only a single swivel gun. The garrison could accommodate as many as 400 men, although there were usually only 40 or so men there at any one time.

In 1759, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Captain François-Marie Le Marchand de Lignery collected French troops at Fort Machault in hopes of launching an attack to retake Fort Duquesne from the British. By July 12, he had collected more than 700 soldiers and 400 Native Americans and was set to launch his attack against Fort Duquesne. However, before he could set off, he received word that Fort Niagara was under siege and in need of assistance. Lignery then led his troops to Fort Niagara, only to be defeated at the Battle of La Belle Famille on July 24. This led to the French loss of Fort Niagara. Once it had been taken, the French could not supply Fort Machault and were forced to abandon it in August 1759, burning it to the ground as they left.

After the French and Indian War, the British took possession of Fort Machault's site and renamed it Fort Venango. During Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763, a band of Seneca warriors attacked Fort Venango in June 1763, wiping out the entire garrison.

DALLACE W. UNGER JR.

See also

Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Dinwiddie, Robert; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Le Boeuf (Pennsylvania); Fort Niagara (New York); Fort Niagara, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; La Belle Famille, Battle of; Ohio Country; Pontiac's Rebellion; Venango (Pennsylvania); Washington, George

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Fort Manaskin (Virginia)

English fort erected sometime after 1660, also known as Fort Matuxon, and situated along the Pamunkey River not far from the York River in New Kent County, Virginia. The garrison was intended to bolster Virginia's defenses against Native American attacks. The York River is formed by the confluence of the Pamunkey River and Mattaponi River, an area that was home to the Pamunkey tribe. The Pamunkeys were the most powerful of the tribes that formed the Powhatan Confederacy.

Pamunkey chief Opechancanough, brother of Chief Powhatan and uncle of Pocahontas, had succeeded Powhatan as the active leader of the confederacy. He despised the English and had launched the Second Anglo-Powhatan War beginning in 1622, in which 350 settlers were massacred. In 1644, Opechancanough, now old and feeble, urged one last great surprise attack to annihilate the English. And so on April 18, 1644, the Powhatans attacked the area's settlers once more. More than 500 settlers living on the frontier perished.

Opechancanough was tracked down, captured by the English, and taken to Jamestown, where he was treated tolerably well by Gov. Sir William Berkeley. However, Opechancanough was mortally wounded when shot in the back by an outraged colonist.

In October 1646, Opechancanough's successor, Chief Necotowance, signed a treaty by which the natives agreed to surrender lands in the Tidewater region and to withdraw behind the falls of the James River and Pamunkey River. After the English Restoration in 1660, Berkeley initiated actions to strengthen the colony's defenses. This led to the construction of Fort Manaskin in New Kent County on the Pamunkey River to help defend the frontier against any new native raids.

Nothing is known of the fort's physical characteristics or how it was employed, although Native American allies may have formed part of its garrison.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Anglo-Powhatan War, Third; Berkeley, William; Opechancanough; Pamunkeys; Powhatan Confederacy; Powhatans; Virginia

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Fort Mary (Maine)

One in a series of redoubts located in Biddeford Pool, York County, Maine (then Massachusetts), built in 1710 on a bluff overlooking Winter Harbor. Fort Mary was not the first defensive installation in the community. Major William Phillips erected a modest garrison just below the lower falls of the Saco River sometime in the 1660s.

In 1675, however, local natives destroyed the post as part of a longstanding feud with the English settlers. The English then relocated to Winter Harbor. But it was not until 1693 that another fort was built near the falls. In 1703, natives captured and briefly held the stone fort, but the settlers soon recaptured it. In 1707, the garrison moved from this site in part because the British were constructing a new fort at the entrance to Biddeford Pool.

The new fort was completed in 1708 and named Fort John Hill, after its commander. That same year, Native Americans attacked Fort Hill. The English expanded Fort Hill in 1710 and renamed it Fort Mary, although the point on which it sat was called Fort Hill as late as the last half of the 19th century. Fort Mary and the other garrisons were relatively effective in deterring native attacks. Indeed, there were no recorded incidents of native attacks after 1748. It is not known when Fort Mary was degarrisoned, although its remnants were still in existence as late as 1886.

STEVEN DIETER

See also

Maine; Redoubt

Reference

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Fort Massachusetts (Massachusetts)

English fort built by the Massachusetts Militia in 1744 during King George's War (1744–1748). The fort was located along the Housatonic River, 25 miles east of Albany, New York, near present-day North Adams, Massachusetts. Fort Massachusetts was designed

to protect settlers and traders along the border frontier against regular native raids and possible French Canadian incursions. Of rustic construction, the fort comprised a stockade 60 feet square, a garrison house on a stone foundation surrounded by palisades, redoubts, and outworks. With the possible exception of Fort Darby and Hatfield Fort, it was the most important outpost in the colony.

In the summer of 1746, Fort Massachusetts came under attack by enemy troops consisting of French regulars, Canadian militia, and their Abenaki allies. This assault was in retaliation for the Massachusetts expedition against Crown Point, New York. Heavily outnumbered, the defenders—commanded by Sergeant John Hawks of Deerfield—held out for 28 days before they were forced to surrender. The garrison was taken to Canada, under guarantee of safety, where they were exchanged for French prisoners in British hands. The French subsequently demolished the fort. However, it was rebuilt in the winter of 1746–1747 with added improvements and placed under the command of Captain Ephraim Williams. It remained occupied during the interwar period and for part of the French and Indian War (1754–1763) but saw no more military action. Gradually falling into disrepair, the fortification was finally demolished in 1759.

In 1933, a reconstructed fort was erected on the former site, which operated for several years as a tourist attraction. It was later closed because of vandalism and insufficient operating funds. Today the space once occupied by Fort Massachusetts is the parking lot of a supermarket.

KARL SCHWEITZER

See also

Fort Darby (Massachusetts); Hatfield Fort (Massachusetts); King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Massachusetts; Redoubt

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Fort Massiac (Illinois)

French fortification constructed in 1757 on the lower Ohio River, about 40 miles above its confluence with the Mississippi River. The French erected Fort Massiac to monitor trade and defend against British and enemy Native American attacks. Strategically located near the Tennessee River and Mississippi River, Fort Massiac helped French troops guard the Louisiana colony. Built during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Fort Massiac protected supply convoys on the nearby rivers, as western-grown grains were crucial to feeding troops at eastern forts because Canadian supplies were often inadequate.

In 1745, the Louisiana government had asked engineer Bernard Deverges to plan a lower Ohio River fort but did not support his suggestions. By spring 1757, however, French officials, worried about possible invasions into Louisiana via the Ohio River and Tennessee River, instructed Captain Charles Philippe Aubry to examine a fort site that Deverges had recommended.

Aubry traveled from Fort de Chartres on the Mississippi to a steep bluff topped with swampy land and gullies. Construction on the fort began on Ascension Day, and officials initially called the wooden structure Fort Ascension when it was finished in June 1757. Because the fort had been hastily built, Deverges criticized it as being too small and weak. That autumn, however, the fort's soldiers successfully repelled a major Cherokee assault. Other smaller raids also harassed the fort's occupants but caused only minimal damage.

French losses in the Great Lakes and rumors of possible Native American raids resulted in soldiers reinforcing the fort with terraced ditches in 1759. Officials then renamed the works Fort Massiac to honor marine minister Claude Louis d'Espinchal, Marquis de Massiac (Massac is the anglicized version of Massiac).

The Treaty of Paris (1763) having transferred the region to the British, the French abandoned Fort Massac. As the British were uninterested in maintaining the installation, it was left to the elements and the Chickasaws, who razed it sometime after 1763.

ELIZABETH D. SCHAFER

See also

Cherokees; Chickasaws; Fort Chartres (Illinois); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Illinois; Louisiana; Paris, Treaty of

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Fort Matanzas (Florida)

Small Spanish garrison built in 1569 at the mouth of the Matanzas River, approximately 15 miles south of St. Augustine. In 1564, the French built Fort Caroline at the mouth of the St. Johns River in northern Florida for the purposes of raiding Spanish galleons and providing a colony for their troublesome religious Huguenot minority. The Spanish promptly dispatched Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Florida to eradicate the French encroachment. By the time Menéndez discovered the location of Fort Caroline in 1565, its force of more than 600 Huguenot soldiers was too strong for him to attack. Retreating to a favorable harbor 40 miles to the south, Menéndez founded St. Augustine, where he began plotting his assault on the French. Meanwhile, the French planned to move against Menéndez's position while his fledgling colony was still in its infancy. Thus, a French force of 500 men sailed toward St. Augustine, Thus, a French force of 500 men sailed toward St. Augustine, Thus, a French force of 500 men sailed toward St. Augustine, Thus, a French force of 500 men sailed toward St. Augustine, Thus, a French force of 500 men sailed toward St. Augustine, Thus, a French force of 500 men sailed toward St. Augustine, Thus, a French force of 500 men sailed toward St. Augustine, Thus, a French force of 500 men sailed toward St. Augustine, Thus, a French force of 500 men sailed toward St.

tine, but the fleet was blown off course by a hurricane. Only about half the men were able to struggle ashore, 60 miles to the south of St. Augustine.

Seizing the opportunity, Menéndez launched a successful assault on the now nearly empty Fort Caroline. He then swung south to catch any survivors from the ships. Menéndez intercepted the exhausted and starving French soldiers as they struggled up the shoreline of the Matanzas inlet. The French surrendered without a fight, but Menéndez refused to grant leniency on the grounds that they were heretics. He ordered the French prisoners divided into small groups, taken behind the dunes, and executed. At least 245 men were put to death, giving the stretch of beach its name "Matanzas," Spanish for "massacres." Among those killed was French Huguenot and leader of the doomed expedition Jean Ribault.

The Spanish proceeded to build a tiny fort on the isolated barrier island at the base of the Matanzas inlet to protect their settlement at St. Augustine, which lay 15 miles to the north. The first wooden watchtower of Fort Matanzas was built in 1569. Its sole function was to serve as a lookout post for enemy ships that might be traveling up the coast to attack St. Augustine from its single, vulnerable point. The site was expanded to include a small garrison and blockhouse. In the 1740s, a stone fort was built at the site and still stands today.

DOROTHY A. MAYS

See also

Florida; Fort Caroline (Florida); Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro; Ribault, Jean; St. Augustine

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Fort Matuxon (Virginia)

See Fort Manaskin (Virginia)

Fort Maurepas (Mississippi)

French fort first built in 1699 on Biloxi Bay near present-day Ocean Springs, Mississippi. Following French explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle's, journey down the Mississippi River in 1682, France quickly moved to secure the Gulf Coast and the mouth of the Mississippi. In 1698, French explorer Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville traveled along the coast and scouted for important waterways in the region. In early 1699, he established a small fort along the modern-day Mississippi Gulf Coast, west of the mouth of the Pascagoula River.

D'Iberville named the post Fort Maurepas, after a French colonial minister. The site was to be used as a temporary base of operations for French exploration of the Mississippi River. The location of the fort was not ideal for a permanent settlement, however. The bay was fairly shallow and the land marshy and often covered in fog. Yet, it was suitable for its immediate purpose, which was the garrisoning of French soldiers and the regulation of access to the Mississippi River.

As the French soldiers, sailors, and workers cut timber and hauled supplies from their ships to build the fort, local natives watched with curiosity from a distance. Contact between the Europeans and natives began cautiously. But within months that contact evolved into a peaceful relationship. The French garrison hosted chiefs from nearby villages, including the Pascagoulas, the Biloxis, and the Capinas, in a ceremony lasting three days. These relations showed promise for the survival of the fort and additional French settlement along the coast.

By late April 1699, general construction had been completed. The fort was built according to military fortifications designed by Sebastian de Vauban. The defenses included four bastions, a double palisade, and parapets. Two of the bastions mounted cannon. Within the defensive works stood lodging for soldiers and laborers, a drill ground, a powder magazine, and a warehouse. D'Iberville returned to France shortly after the initial construction was completed, leaving a garrison there of nearly 100 men and officers. These soldiers continued to improve the structure and facilities while familiarizing themselves more thoroughly with the local waterways.

D'Iberville returned to the region in early 1700. Concerned by English encroachment into the Mississippi Valley, he ordered Fort Maurepas reinforced. By the end of 1700, the bastions had been strengthened by ship carpenters. Now, 12 swivel guns and 12 cannon protected the fort. Further, the French built a small outpost on the banks of the Mississippi, about 20 miles from its mouth, to aid Fort Maurepas in controlling access to the river. But this new fort, Fort de la Boulaye (or Fort Mississippi), soon proved to be virtually worthless. Within months, disease and poor access to fresh water weakened the small garrison. Fort Maurepas remained, for the time being, the key French base for the Gulf Coast and the Mississippi River.

By late 1701, disease had effectively weakened Fort Maurepas' garrison. With an ailing garrison there and an interest in establishing a more permanent settlement, d'Iberville led an effort to move French men and material to Mobile. He chose that site for its attractive land and access to friendly native communities. By 1702, Fort Maurepas was abandoned. It was briefly reactivated in 1719 when the French tried to establish a larger settlement in Biloxi.

IAN SPURGEON

See also

Fort Biloxi (Mississippi); Fort de la Boulaye (Louisiana); Le Moyne de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste; Le Moyne d'Iberville et d'Ardillières, Pierre; Louisiana; Mississippi River

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Fort Miami (Michigan)

French post built in 1679 under the order of René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, located at the mouth of the St. Joseph River. The site was strategically located at the junction where the St. Mary's River and St. Joseph River join to form the Maumee River, which then flows into Lake Erie. In September 1679, a small fort was built on the site, the construction of which fell to Henri de Tonti. The initial fortification was little more than a palisade, roughly 40 by 80 feet, which faced the river on two sides. Once completed, the garrison was named for the Miami tribe who inhabited the area at the time.

The first fort was destroyed by a group of French deserters from La Salle's party in the winter of 1680. The site remained abandoned until 1700, when a Jesuit mission and a second fort were erected on the same site. The fort remained a French bastion until the end of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), when it passed under British control. At that point, the British appointed Colonel John Butler to take command of the post. The fort remained in British hands until it fell to a raiding party during Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763. At the end of the uprising, the fort returned to British control. A number of early historians of the Old Northwest, Francis Parkman among them, confused Fort Miami with Fort St. Joseph, which also lies along the St. Joseph River.

James R. McIntyre

See also

Fort St. Joseph (Michigan); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Jesuits; La Salle, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de; Pontiac's Rebellion; Raiding Party

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Fort Michilimackinac (Michigan)

French fort built in 1715 and situated on the south side of the Straits of Mackinac, which connect Lakes Huron and Michigan. Fort Michilimackinac was an important military and fur-trading post throughout the colonial period. With the expansion of the fur trade west in the early 18th century, New France established a series of forts and fur-trading outposts along the Great Lakes. Detroit (Fort Pontchartrain) was founded in 1701.

In the spring and summer of 1715, Constant Le Marchard de Lignery established Fort Michilimackinac at the tip of Michigan's Lower Peninsula. The post at the Straits of Mackinac was perfectly positioned to control access routes west via Lake Michigan. It was also a traditional gathering place for Native Americans who wished to trade furs.

The first fort was a small, rectangular wooden palisade with blockhouses holding cannon in each corner. This design evolved many times over the history of the post until it was a sizable stronghold boasting five walls and six armed blockhouses by the time it was abandoned in the 1780s. The military garrison was housed inside, as were numerous French traders and their families. Fort Michilimackinac also contained a Roman Catholic chapel, a blacksmith's shop, and numerous gardens. A thriving métis settlement grew up outside the fort's walls.

Fort Michilimackinac was most active in the summer, as natives came from the far west to trade beaver skins to the French traders and French *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois* cycled through the fort. French missionaries also traversed the area, usually Jesuits. The winter was a far different scene, as the lakes froze to boat traffic and snow piled up high along the fort's walls. Travel was very difficult, if not treacherous.

In addition to its service as a premier trading post, the military forces at Fort Michilimackinac undertook many important campaigns. The fort served as a staging area for French attacks on unfriendly natives and for French and native attacks on the English, notably during the Fox War and Braddock's 1755 campaign.

With the end of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the British took control of the French forts on the Great Lakes. French officials relinquished control of Fort Michilimackinac on October 1, 1761. Almost as soon as the British established themselves there, tensions occurred between the British and local natives over trading practices. During Pontiac's Rebellion (1763), in June 1763, soldiers there were stunned when a game of lacrosse turned into a diversion for disgruntled local natives to attack and take the post, killing a number of British soldiers in the process. With the end of Pontiac's Rebellion, the British retook Fort Michilimackinac in 1764 and tried to cultivate better relations with the Native Americans of the region.

During the 1760s, the British maintained Fort Michilimackinac as a military and trading post. The traditional way of fort life returned, with busy summers and long, monotonous winters. With the beginning of the American Revolutionary War in 1775, Fort Michilimackinac renewed its purpose as a staging area, this time for joint native-British attacks on Patriot forces. The fort's commander, Patrick Sinclair, was fearful that the Americans might attack the old, wooden fort and that it would not withstand an onslaught. In consequence, the British government bought land on Mackinac Island in the middle of the straits. The garrison and town inhabitants then disassembled the mainland fort and village, and moved it across the water to its new home via boats in the summer and across the ice during the winter. The new, stronger stone fort was situated on a high bluff. The British occupied the new fort, named Fort Mackinac, in July 1782.

See also

Braddock's Campaign; Coureurs de Bois; Fort Buade (Michigan); Fox War; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Fort Mill (South Carolina)

British fort constructed in 1756 within present-day Fort Mill, York County, South Carolina. Construction of Fort Mill was begun under the direction of Lieutenant Hugh Waddell on the order of Hugh Dobbs, royal governor of North Carolina. The year 1756 was perhaps the height of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Although a large number of Native Americans living beyond the frontier fought for the French, the Catawbas and the Cherokees remained loyal to the English. To reward this loyalty, the British promised to build a fort for the Catawbas. Its purpose was to protect Catawba women and children while the Catawba men were off fighting the war.

The palisaded structure was located about one mile south of the village of Fort Mill. It was never completed, probably because it had been promised to the Indians and was soon forgotten. In the 1870s, A. A. White of Fort Mill produced a sketch that provides the bulk of the known information on the fortress. It had two entrances and a 70-foot-deep well that was dug in the center. The post was 200 feet square. White recalled that the original plan called for cannon to be mounted on each of the four corners, although these were likely never installed.

It may be assumed that the frugal citizens of nearby Fort Mill, rather than see the fort's materials rot, used what they could salvage and incorporated the building material into houses nearby. In any case, the fort vanished without a trace. Today the site is delineated by a marker that indicates the fort's location.

THOMAS J. BLUMER

See also

Catawbas; Cherokees; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; North Carolina

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Fort Mississippi (Louisiana)

See Fort de la Boulaye (Louisiana)

Fort Moore (South Carolina)

English post built in 1716 and situated on a 200-foot-high bluff on Beech Island, located on the east bank of the Savannah River near present-day Augusta, Georgia. During the Yamasee War (1715–1717), the government of South Carolina ordered the construction of several forts to provide protection to settlers on the frontier. Among them was Fort Moore, near the headwaters of the Savannah River. The post commanded the area's trading paths and protected northwestern South Carolina from native attacks.

Beech Island had been the location of a thriving Shawnee trading village known as Savannah Town, which would later be settled as New Windsor, several miles south of present-day Augusta, Georgia. Savannah Town was a major rendezvous point where inland native trails met water routes. It also served as a shipping point for hides from the backcountry to Savannah, Charles Town (present-day Charleston), and, eventually, Europe.

Militia captain Gerald Monger supervised construction of Fort Moore, which was named in honor of former South Carolina's Gov. James Moore. The fort was about 150 feet square and was surrounded by a planked wall almost five feet high. Inside the fort were officers' quarters, barracks for a hundred men, a guardhouse, a powder magazine, and other buildings. The structures were very crudely built and required constant maintenance by the garrison because of the humid conditions and vulnerability of wood to insects such as termites. Twice each year the commander of Fort Moore was required to submit copies of the muster roll for pay purposes to the colonial government. The soldiers were encouraged to plant and raise their own provisions in the area near the fort and received pay for contributing to the garrison's subsistence. The remoteness of the site from other colonial settlements is best illustrated by the fact that on occasion people convicted of crimes in Charles Town were exiled to Fort Moore for up to one year duration.

As Augusta developed into a new center for Native American trade, many who lived at New Windsor and Fort Moore relocated to the Georgia side of the river. In 1743, the commanding officer recorded only four residents near Fort Moore, and he questioned the need for the outpost. However, in 1748 South Carolina leaders, worried about another war with the natives, ordered that Fort Moore be completely rebuilt because it had fallen into disrepair. The walls of the new fort were 10 to 15 feet high with a walkway platform attached to the inside wall. Cannon were mounted on four corner bastions and were covered by a shedlike roof to protect the gunners. Normally, the Fort Moore garrison consisted of provincial troops and varied between 14 and 30 men depending on the security situation. They generally had a static mission to guard the fort and man the guns and did not perform ranger duties or patrol the countryside.

Until the late 1740s, most soldiers at the fort were provincial militia. After that time, however, independent companies of regular forces were often garrisoned there. In February 1760, Fort Moore

provided protection during Cherokee raids on white settlers in the Augusta area. During that struggle, Captain Ulrich Tobler was killed and scalped as he tried to lead militia out of Fort Moore.

In 1766, because of settlement farther into the backcountry, the South Carolina Assembly decided to establish a new outpost on the Savannah River about 40 miles north of Fort Moore. Once Fort Charlotte was completed there, Fort Moore was abandoned and its garrison of one officer and 25 soldiers of the 60th Regiment were transferred to the new post. After more than 50 years of service, Fort Moore eventually fell into ruin.

STEVEN J. RAUCH

See also

Cherokee War; Native American Trade; South Carolina; Yamasee War

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Fort Mosé (Florida)

Spanish fort constructed in the mid-1730s as Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mosé and situated two miles north of Spanish-held St. Augustine, Florida. Fort Mosé housed a free African American militia. Although it provided little protection for the residents in St. Augustine, the fort's population of freedmen and Spain's promise of liberty to slaves who escaped from the British colonies created a powerful symbol of freedom.

Fort Mosé's location provided the garrison inside St. Augustine's walls with an early warning system. If an armed force moved against St. Augustine from the north, the advance on the city would first encounter the nearby Fort Mosé militia. Built on the westernmost bend of a small tidal creek, the fort had an earthwork wall and wooden palisade for protection. A three-foot-deep dry moat was dug in front of the walls and was filled with Spanish yucca, also called bayonet cactus for its razor-sharp blades.

Inside the fort, the former slaves enjoyed many privileges denied enslaved African Americans in the British colonies. In exchange for their freedom, the fugitive slaves converted to Catholicism. To facilitate this change, the government at St. Augustine assigned a Franciscan priest to live inside the fort. Fort Mosé's inhabitants controlled the small settlement themselves, save religious observances. Service in the militia was compulsory, and the population chose its own leaders. But Fort Mosé's greatest power came from what the garrison and its residents symbolized.

The use of Fort Mosé as a defensive outpost reflected Florida's fears of British aggression. If arming former slaves helped destabilize South Carolina's plantations, St. Augustine officials believed its unusual policy could help Spain regain lost territory in the southeastern borderlands. Following the slave revolt at Stono, South Carolina,

in 1739, Spanish officials believed Fort Mosé might achieve Florida's lofty goals. However, a heavy British invasion in 1740 destroyed Fort Mosé and rendered Spanish policy ineffective.

SHANE RUNYON

See also

African Americans; Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Florida; Florida, British Invasion of; St. Augustine; Stono Rebellion

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Fort Nassau (New Jersey)

Dutch-built post located on the eastern bank of the Delaware River, near present-day Gloucester, New Jersey, across from Philadelphia. Captain Cornelis May of the Dutch West India Company founded Fort Nassau as a small trading post in 1624, one of several Dutch riverside outposts he established during this time. May led a colonizing expedition from the Netherlands to America that brought about 30 families of settlers. He set most of them ashore at Fort Orange (present-day Albany, New York) on the Hudson River. He left 12 men and 4 women to establish Fort Nassau, which was initially a wooden palisade with five or so small cannon.

Within two years, the Dutch decided to concentrate settlement at New Amsterdam, due in part to concern about Native American attacks. The settlers abandoned the outpost at Fort Nassau in 1626. A single trading vessel anchored near the empty fort served to represent Dutch trading interests.

By the summer of 1633, however, New Netherland faced challenges from neighboring English colonies. The Dutch then reoccupied Fort Nassau to assert their claim to the Delaware Valley in the face of English settlement in nearby Maryland. Arent Corsen led a group of traders who built a house on the site. Soon thereafter a blockhouse was added to the fort. However, the fort frequently lay vacant. Dutch West India Company traders typically occupied the fort only during the summer fur-trading season, and only a handful of settlers lived around the post.

In 1635, about 15 Englishmen from Virginia occupied the vacant fort, but New Netherland authorities soon received word of the incursion and captured them. In the spring of 1636 a 25-man New Netherland garrison arrived under the command of Jan Jansen and Peter May.

When the Swedish established their colony in 1638, the Fort Nassau garrison began challenging New Sweden shipping on the Delaware River. In 1645, Andreas Hudde succeeded Jansen as commander of Fort Nassau. He and Gov. Johan Printz of New Sweden, each under orders to tolerate their neighbor, dined together on at least one occasion and maintained diplomatic relations. Nevertheless, the situation gradually deteriorated, and an exchange of

escalating provocations ensued. Petrus Stuyvesant, governor of New Netherland since 1647, encouraged Dutch ships to ply the Delaware. In response, Printz seized guns from a Dutch ship and purchased land near the fort. And in 1648 the fort fired on a passing Swedish vessel.

Stuyvesant grew dissatisfied with the Dutch position on the Delaware. Swedish settlement and the Delaware River itself cut off Fort Nassau from trade with the natives to the west. The Swedish presence downstream at Fort Christina denied the Dutch access to Delaware Bay and the ocean. Stuyvesant sought to rectify this situation in 1651 by sending a fleet of 11 ships up the river and leading 120 soldiers overland to meet it at Fort Nassau. From there, he proceeded to establish Fort Casimer on the west bank of the Delaware River seven miles downstream of Fort Christina. Thus he gained control of river access and a foothold on the west bank. Fort Nassau's garrison, stores, and guns were transferred to Fort Casimer, and the Dutch freeholders who had settled around Fort Nassau moved with them.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Fort Casimer (Delaware); Fort Christina (Delaware); New Jersey; New Netherland; New Sweden; Printz, Johan Björnsson; Stuyvesant, Petrus

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Fort Nassau (New York)

Fort erected by traders from the Dutch West India Company in 1614, named after a leading Dutch noble family. The fort stood on Castle Island just off the western bank of the Hudson River, just south of present-day Albany, New York. Fort Nassau was easily accessible to Dutch trading vessels and Native American canoes alike. The traders built a small palisaded fort about 58 feet square, with four bastions and surrounded by a moat. It was equipped with two cannon and 11 swivel guns. The redoubt may have been built atop the ruins of a French structure dating back to 1540.

The Dutch traders expected to compete with the French traders on the St. Lawrence River for the native fur trade. Fort Nassau's location made ice less of an obstacle to navigation than it was in New France. The traders' willingness to sell firearms to the Native Americans gave them yet another competitive advantage over the French. However, annual spring floods, which inundated the fort with four to five feet of water, forced the abandonment of the post in 1617 or 1618. The brief existence of this early garrison provided New Netherland a claim to the region predating that of New England. In 1624, traders employed by the Dutch West India Company

built a replacement trading post, called Fort Orange, on the west bank of the Hudson.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Firearms Trade; Fort Orange (New York); Hudson River; New Netherland; Redoubt

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Fort Necessity (Pennsylvania), and Battle of

Event Date: July 3, 1754

Makeshift fort constructed by Lieutenant Colonel George Washington of the Virginia Militia at Great Meadows (near modern-day Uniontown, Pennsylvania) during May–June 1754, subsequently surrendered to the French in July 1754. Fort Necessity was the site of a subsequent battle of the French and Indian War (1754–1763) that pitted 500 British colonial militiamen against 600 French Canadians and 100 American Indian allies.

Following the skirmish at Jumonville's Glen in May 1754, Washington and his small detachment of 46 men regrouped with other units of the Virginia Militia and withdrew toward the colonial frontier. While they awaited reinforcements, the French prepared their own expedition from Fort Duquesne under Captain Louis Coulon de Villiers, who sought to avenge the death of his brother, Joseph Coulon de Villier de Jumonville, who had been killed at Jumonville's Glen.

As Washington collected his forces after the skirmish, he was anticipating a French attack. Using his limited skills as a 22-year-old surveyor, he selected low, open ground in a meadow and there built a small stockade fort, aptly named Fort Necessity. The palisades were about 50 feet in diameter, encircling a storehouse of about 14 feet square, and the whole was surrounded by a shallow ditch.

This position was apparently intended as a rallying point for reinforcements, though Washington claimed it could withstand attack from 500 men. As troops from Virginia and South Carolina slowly arrived in the first weeks of June, Washington planned another advance to Fort Duquesne.

Leaving an independent company behind, Washington set out with about 300 Virginians on June 16. Unlike the party at Jumon-ville's Glen, this larger force was also given the assignment of building a road to the west. This would enable more colonial troops to reinforce the area and make it easier to defend Fort Duquesne once it was taken from the French. This movement was a precursor to the 1755 and 1758 campaigns in which British forces under Major General Edward Braddock and Brigadier General John Forbes, respectively, undertook the same project.

By June 28, 1754, Washington's road stretched roughly 13 miles, past the frontier home of Virginia trader Christopher Gist toward

the Ohio Company blockhouse at Red Stone Creek. On that day, Washington learned that several hundred reinforcements had reached Fort Duquesne, and that some 900 to 1200 French and American Indians were approaching. A council of war recalled the scouts and work parties, and, though Washington initially considered a stand at the Gist house, he decided to retire to Fort Necessity. He would dig in there with his whole force of about 450 men.

Throughout Washington's expedition, he proved a poor logistician, and he paid for this during his retreat. As pack animals died of fatigue and starvation, the Virginians had to move their baggage by hand, and abandon what they could not carry. When they reached Fort Necessity on July 1, the troops were too exhausted for further retreat. Worse still, Washington's fort failed to inspire confidence either in his own men or in his native allies. It could accommodate only 60–70 men; the remainder had to sleep in the shallow trench beyond the walls.

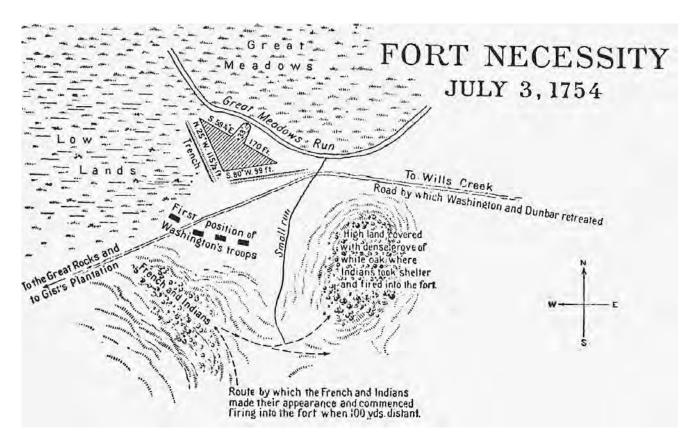
After two days' work, the ditch around Fort Necessity was only slightly deeper, and repairs on the storehouse and palisades were incomplete, at best. Washington's troops suffered a further misfortune on the night of July 2–3, when a heavy rain turned the trenches into a muddy quagmire, ruined the fort's rudimentary sanitation, and fouled the colonials' gunpowder. The following morning, a quarter of Washington's force was sick, and many of the firearms were too wet or dirty for effective use.

Around 11:00 a.m. on July 3, Villiers's force of 600 French Canadians and 100 American Indians arrived. They initially hit a small battle line and drove it back to the fort. There the colonials regrouped and brought one or two cannon to bear. Nonetheless, they were penned within their waterlogged trenches and incomplete palisades and were thus fully exposed to French fire from the surrounding woods and hills.

While the French and their native allies remained under cover of nearby trees, Washington's colonials were bogged down by continuing rain. With limited room for movement, increasingly ineffective firearms, and trenches filling with water, Washington's position gradually decayed during a 10-hour fight.

Over time, discipline crumbled. Eventually some men broke into the rum supply and became intoxicated while others around them were being killed and wounded. Washington was saved only by a relatively lenient French offer for terms of surrender. Though Washington probably could not have known the poor state of French supplies and morale, on July 3 he happily signed the instrument of surrender, part of which was an admission that he had ordered Jumonville's murder.

Washington and his force were allowed to withdraw, but news traveled back to France and England that Washington was responsible, in effect, for opening hostilities in North America. French diplomats suddenly proved less tractable in negotiations on the



Early 20th-century drawing depicting the surrender of Fort Necessity to the French in July 1754. (The Granger Collection)

North American frontier, and the British ministers began to consider how their forces might be bolstered. Ultimately, Washington's expeditions in 1754, and their failure at Fort Necessity, set the stage for large-scale British intervention in North America, starting with Braddock's expedition in 1755.

MATT SCHUMANN

See also

Braddock's Campaign; Coulon de Villiers, Louis; Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville, Joseph; Forbes Campaign; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Jumonville's Glen, Action at; Washington, George

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Fort New Casco (Maine)

English-built fort erected in 1700 near the mouth of the Presumpscot River in Maine (then part of Massachusetts). The construction of Fort New Casco led to the repopulation of Falmouth (later Portland), which had been devastated by a large party of French and allied natives in 1690. That raid had also destroyed Fort Loyal.

Colonel Wolfgang Romer designed Fort New Casco. It included a 70-foot-square palisade with bastions at its northwest and southeast corners. Raised sentry boxes commanded the other two corners. Within the palisade were the commandant's residence, a guardhouse, and a storehouse.

In June 1703, Gov. Joseph Dudley and a group of Abenaki leaders held a council at Fort New Casco to discuss the recent outbreak of Queen Anne's War (1702–1713). Both sides agreed to maintain peaceful relations. This agreement was soon violated, for on August 10, 1703, six Abenaki war parties assembled by the French and totaling some 500 warriors attacked Fort New Casco. The French and native force, led by Chief Moxus, succeeded in tricking the commander of the fort, Major John March, to leave the Fort New Casco, but he was able to return safely. The Abenakis then subjected the fort to a siege, which ended three days later when a Massachusetts ship arrived in the harbor.

In 1705, under the supervision of John Redknap, the English enlarged the fort. The remodeled structure was 250 feet long and 190 feet wide, and included privies, doctors' offices, and a blacksmith's shop. Fort New Casco never again came under attack, and it was dismantled in 1716.

STEVEN DIETER

See also

Abenakis; Fort Loyal (Maine); Maine; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns

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Fort New Korsholm (Pennsylvania)

Swedish log fort located at the mouth of the Schuylkill River, built in 1647 and abandoned in 1653. Though little is known about the fort, it was probably on the south side of Province Island, near Philadelphia.

New Sweden was founded in 1638 after Peter Minuit purchased land from the Delawares (Lenni Lenape) and constructed Fort Christina along the Delaware River near modern Wilmington, Delaware. Under Gov. Johan Printz, New Sweden expanded into what is now Pennsylvania and New Jersey, constructing Fort New Gothenborg near modern Philadelphia and Fort Elfsborg near modern Salem, New Jersey. New Sweden's attempts to keep the English and Dutch out of the Delaware River region is what led to the construction of Fort New Korsholm in 1647 near the mouth of the Schuylkill River on the site of a Dutch trading post that had been abandoned in 1643.

New Sweden's expansion aroused strong opposition from the Dutch. In 1651 New Netherland's Gov. Petrus Stuyvesant went on the offensive, establishing Fort Casimer to the south of Fort Christina, effectively cutting New Sweden off from the sea. When Johan Rising arrived in New Sweden in 1654 to assume command of the colony he found that Fort Elfsborg had been abandoned and Fort New Korsholm had been destroyed by Native Americans. Believing that the Dutch had instigated the destruction of Fort New Korsholm, Rising attempted to remove the Dutch from the area by seizing Fort Casimer. Unable to defend against the unexpected attack, Fort Casimer surrendered on May 21, 1654, and was renamed Fort Trefaldighet (Trinity). Rising's victory proved to be short-lived. By September 1655 Stuyvesant had succeeded in conquering all of New Sweden. Ironically, New Netherland would fall a decade later to the English in 1664 during the Second Anglo-Dutch War.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Fort Casimer (Delaware); Fort Christina (Delaware); Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Minuit, Peter; New Sweden; Printz, Johan Björnsson; Rising, Johan Classon; Stuyvesant, Petrus; Sweden; Swedes in America

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Fort Niagara (New York)

Fort Niagara in New York guarded the portage route around Niagara Falls between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. Control of the portage assured French dominance in the Great Lakes region and excluded English traders from the lucrative trade in beaver pelts. The first documented visit to the site of Fort Niagara occurred in 1669 by a party comprising priests and the explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle.

Traders established a post at the Niagara portage in 1676. Later forts built on the site included Fort Denonville in 1687 and the Magazin Royale erected by the trader Louis-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire in 1720. During the winter of 1725–1726 Joncaire supervised the construction of Fort Niagara as the log palisaded "House of Peace" with cannon hidden above the trading offices. To guard the trade routes between Iroquoia and Canada, the French improved the defenses of Fort Niagara by upgrading the simple log palisades to a regular fort built between 1750 and 1751.

With the outbreak of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the capture of Fort Niagara became one of Britain's main strategic objectives. The capture of Fort Niagara was one element of British major general Edward Braddock's ill-fated 1755 campaign. A column of troops under Massachusetts governor William Shirley and Sir William Pepperrell Jr. proceeded as far as Oswego before the campaign season closed.

Niagara remained in French hands until 1759, when Brigadier General John Prideaux led a combined British and provincial task force to capture the fort, then held by a detachment under Captain Pierre Pouchot. In June 1759, Prideaux marched from Albany to the site of Fort Oswego, which Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm's, French forces had razed in 1756.

In compliance with British major general Jeffery Amherst's orders, Prideaux detached soldiers to rebuild Fort Oswego, and he continued on with 2,000 soldiers and at least 600 Iroquois warriors led by Sir William Johnson. This column traveled by bateaux and whaleboat to the western end of Lake Ontario. On July 6 they landed four miles east of Fort Niagara and invested the fort that night. Pouchot surrendered the fort on 25 July after Johnson repulsed a relief column the previous day.

Following the war, the British made Niagara an important center of trade and diplomacy. Iroquois and provincial traders continued to transact business at the fort. Niagara served as an assembly area for Colonel John Bradstreet's forces to march in relief of Detroit during Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763. It also served as the location for a conference in 1764 when the Senecas repudiated their participation in that war and submitted to the Iroquois Confederacy's Covenant Chain.

With the expulsion of France from North America and the end of Pontiac's Rebellion, Fort Niagara's military significance diminished and its outer defenses fell into disrepair. During the American Revolutionary War, Fort Niagara served as a base for Loyalist partisans, especially those under John Butler, to raid into western New York and Pennsylvania and provided a route for displaced Loyalist refugees to resettle in Canada.

KEVIN SCOT GOULD

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; Chabert de Joncaire, Louis-Thomas; Denonville,
Jacques-René de Brisay de; Fort Conti (New York); Fort Niagara, Siege
of; Fort Oswego (New York); French and Indian War, Land
Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Johnson, Sir
William; Lake Ontario; Little Fort Niagara (New York); Niagara,
Treaty of; Oswego, Battle of; Pepperrell, Sir William, Jr.; Pontiac's
Rebellion; Pouchot de Maupas, Pierre; Seneca, French Attack on;
Shirley, William

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Fort Niagara (New York), Siege of

Start Date: July 6, 1759 End Date: July 25, 1759

British assault on and capture of Fort Niagara from the French during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). In July 1759, following an 18-day siege, British forces secured control of the isthmus between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie and isolated French forces in the Ohio Valley from their Canadian supply lines.

In 1759, the British planned multiple offensives against the French, including taking Fort Niagara. Anglo-American forces under Brigadier General John Prideaux were joined along the way at Fort Oswego by Iroquois warriors led by Sir William Johnson, Britain's northern Indian superintendent. This reinforcement from the previously neutral Iroquois showed the shift in the balance of power in North America from France to Britain.

Prideaux's orders were for him to reestablish a fort at Oswego, capture Fort Niagara, and then advance to the headwaters of the St. Lawrence River in order to threaten Montreal and support Major General Jeffery Amherst's move north on Lake Champlain. In late May, Prideaux moved from Schenectady, New York, up the Mohawk River to Oswego, which he reoccupied and garrisoned on June 27. He then set out along the south shore of Lake Ontario for

Fort Niagara with a force of some 2,500 British regulars and provincial troops, about 1,000 Iroquois, and some artillery. They landed four miles to the east of Niagara on July 6 and immediately laid siege to its garrison of 600 French troops under the command of Captain Pierre Pouchot.

The French, unaware that the Iroquois had abandoned their neutrality, did not expect Fort Niagara to be attacked without substantial warning from their native allies. Therefore, they had detached most of their troops for service at Fort Machault. Pouchot attempted to recall them before the siege closed, but was uncertain of their response. Faced with the new reality, Pouchot sought to separate the Iroquois from the British. But the negotiations failed and he allowed his own Native American allies to leave the fort rather than rely on them to fight against their kin.

Prideaux conducted a traditional European siege, first shelling the fort from across the Niagara River, then building a series of trenches under covering fire. That brought his heavy guns close enough to batter the fort's walls. Although the engineers' plans were subjected to some criticism, the British bombardment put all the French guns out of action and forced a breech in the walls. The French could not make repairs under the constant fire.

On July 20, 1759, Prideaux died when he stepped in front of a mortar about to fire. This left Johnson in command just before the French reinforcements from Fort Machault arrived and attempted to relieve the besieged garrison. Johnson, aware of the approaching enemy, blocked the French advance down the Niagara River from Lake Erie and defeated them at the Battle of La Belle Famille on July 24, 1759. With no further hope of reinforcement, Pouchot surrendered his post on July 25 under guarantees of the safety of his garrison. The British, however, denied the French the military accolades that would have normally accompanied such a valiant resistance, the consequence of the native attack on prisoners that had followed the siege of Fort William Henry in 1757. The Iroquois subsequently plundered the fort and outbuildings but left the prisoners unmolested. Their own low casualties meant that the Iroquois had little need of captives as replacements.

The capture of Fort Niagara left Canada, particularly Montreal, open to British invasion from the west as well as via the St. Lawrence River and upstate New York. It also effectively removed the French from contention for control of the Ohio Valley and the interior of North America.

GRANT WELLER

See also

Fort Machault (Pennsylvania); Fort Niagara (New York); Fort Oswego (New York); Fort William Henry, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Iroquois; Johnson, Sir William; La Belle Famille, Battle of; Pouchot de Maupas, Pierre

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Fort Nicholson (New York)

See Fort Edward (New York)

Fort Nohoroco (North Carolina)

Fort built by the Lower Town Tuscaroras around 1711, located on the east bank of Contentnea Creek (then Catechna Creek) in modern-day Greene County, North Carolina. Known by the Tuscaroras as Fort Nooherooka, Fort Nohoroco was erected on the orders of Chief Hancock, leader of the region's Tuscarora people, at the beginning of the Tuscarora War (1711–1713). The Tuscaroras built the redoubt in the European tradition, helped probably by an escaped slave whom the tribe had taken in.

Fort Nohoroco was a palisaded structure with earthen walls in which holes had been made for firing guns. There was at least one blockhouse, a battery, and structures within the walls designed to protect civilians. Surrounding Fort Nohoroco were a series of trenches and a moat blocking direct access to the redoubt from the landward side. The other sides of the fort took advantage of natural defenses, including a marshy swamp and the steep banks of Catechna Creek. Fort Nohoroco was one of four defensive works that Hancock ordered built during this period.

In September 1711, the Tuscaroras of North Carolina attacked white settlements at New Bern and Bath. Scores of settlers died in the assaults, which signaled the beginning in earnest of the Tuscarora War. South Carolina became embroiled in the conflict when officials there dispatched troops to help their neighbors to the north. Fighting continued, though in early 1712 a lull occurred when South Carolina forces negotiated a short-lived peace treaty with the Tuscaroras. By year's end, however, the war resumed.

In 1713, a force of South Carolina militiamen and allied Native Americans marched north to meet the Tuscaroras head on. Colonel James Moore Jr. headed the expedition. In March 1713, Moore decided to attack Fort Nohoroco, where Hancock had taken up residence. It was also the last well-fortified Tuscarora post.

A pitched battled ensued at Fort Nohoroco that lasted the better part of three days. The Tuscaroras fought to the bitter end, even though they were badly outgunned. The South Carolinians finally seized control of the fort, which they then burned to the ground. Hundreds of Tuscaroras were either killed in the fighting or burned to death in the destruction of the fort, Hancock probably among them. The battle at Fort Nohoroco marked the end of the Tuscarora War.

See also

Blockhouses; Moore, James, Jr.; North Carolina; Redoubt; South Carolina; Tuscaroras; Tuscarora War

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Fort Normanock (New Jersey)

British post erected during December 1755–January 1756 along the Delaware River in northwestern New Jersey (Sussex County), near present-day Newton. Fort Normanock, also known as Namanock, Nomanoc, or Nominack, was situated opposite Namanock Island and was one of several frontier forts built during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). It is believed to have been one of the larger of these installations. It stood on an elevation about a quarter-mile from the river with a view of the opposite bank and was about eight miles north of Fort Johns, the headquarters for the defensive line, on the Old Mine Road.

Late in 1755 the Delawares broke with the Covenant Chain (an alliance dominated by the Iroquois), sided with the French in the French and Indian War, and initiated a series of attacks on English settlements. Sussex County, which had just been formed in 1753, was relatively isolated and had a population of only about 600 people. Thus, in December 1755, the New Jersey legislature authorized four blockhouses and the garrisoning of 250 men along the Delaware River to provide for the safety of the county's residents. By 1757, six blockhouses had been built. Fort Normanock was constructed on property belonging to Cornelius Westbrook.

There were more attacks in 1756, as the Delawares were reportedly encouraged by the fall of Oswego on Lake Ontario. In August 1758, after further attacks, New Jersey officials and the Delawares reached a settlement regarding land claims, and much of the violence ceased. During Pontiac's Rebellion (1763), however, on November 17, 1763, Captain Benjamin Westbrook and 11 soldiers were attacked when they ventured from Fort Normanock to recover abandoned cattle and supplies in Pennsylvania, just across the river. Westbrook and 5 others were killed in the ambush.

The site of Fort Normanock is currently within the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area. An archaeological investigation of the site commenced in 2001, as the particulars of the post's size and physical characteristics are largely unknown.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Blockhouses; Covenant Chain; Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Fort Johns (New Jersey); Fort Walpack (New Jersey); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; New Jersey; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Fort Norris (Pennsylvania)

Pennsylvania post constructed in 1756, located between present-day Kresgeville and Gilbert in Monroe County. Fort Norris was one in a series of provincial fortifications built during the French and Indian War (1754–1763) in western Pennsylvania, which was enabled by the Supply Act of November 1755. It appropriated funds to be spent by seven commissioners for raising troops, erecting forts, and garrisoning installations. The commissioners proposed four posts within the early Northampton County (now Carbon, Lehigh, Monroe, and Northampton counties), north of Blue Mountain. Fort Norris, one of these stockades, was named after Isaac Norris, Speaker of the provincial assembly.

Fort Norris was constructed after Native Americans killed a small band of settlers that soldiers had accompanied to its site. Completed in February 1756, it stood 15 miles east of Fort Allen, a sister post in the chain. Fort Norris contained a cluster of structures in a square stockade that measured 80 feet per side. Four half bastions mounted two swivel cannon each. The surrounding woods were cleared for 400 yards around the post.

A company commanded by Captain Jacob Orndt, one of three detailed to erect Fort Norris, remained as its 50-man garrison. Orndt obtained a fresh appointment in April 1757 and stayed until October. A first-rate soldier, he had built a strong fortification and maintained it well. Yet mutinous troops complained about wages, provisions, and discipline. Consequently, the garrisons of Fort Norris and Fort Allen exchanged places, with Captain George Reynolds replacing Orndt. Fort Norris's troops helped to guard the Easton Conference in July 1757. Shortly thereafter, in September, Fort Norris was abandoned.

RODNEY J. Ross

See also

Easton Conference and Treaty; Fort Allen (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Pennsylvania

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Fort of the Six Nations (New York)

See Fort Ontario (New York)

Fort Ontario (New York)

British fort located on high ground on the east bank of the Oswego River overlooking its junction with Lake Ontario. The post changed hands many times during its existence. Fort Ontario was part of the Oswego fort system originally ordered by Gov. William Burnet in 1728 to provide protection against native attack. Fort Oswego was the first constructed, and was on the east bank of the Oswego River; the other two forts in the system, Fort Ontario and Fort George, were on the west bank of the Oswego. The three forts were built to protect British access to Lake Ontario via the Oswego River.

The British constructed Fort Ontario, also known as the Fort of the Six Nations, in 1755 during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). It consisted of a square log palisade with four bastions, surrounded by a moat. Unfortunately for the British neither Fort Ontario nor the other two forts in the system had been planned or built well.

On August 11, 1756, French major general Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, arrived with a mixed Canadian and Native American force of about 1,500 men. He decided to invest Fort Ontario first. The next day Montcalm's artillery train of 80 guns and roughly 1,300 regular troops came up. Montcalm's men used the cover of a small ridge less than 100 yards from the fort to begin construction of a trench parallel to the fort's eastern wall. They then erected platforms for their guns to enable them to fire point blank into the fort's walls. Recognizing the hopelessness of the situation, British commander Lieutenant Colonel James F. Mercer ordered Fort Ontario abandoned on the 13th, withdrawing its garrison to Fort Oswego.

The French then occupied Fort Ontario and placed a dozen guns on the high ground next to the fort in position so as to be able to fire on the other two British forts. Fort Oswego's guns had been sited to fire in the opposite direction, and Mercer now ordered them reversed on their platforms, but the gunners were unprotected and had to fire over the heads of the friendly garrison to reach Fort Ontario. Early in the sharp exchange of fire that followed on August 14, Mercer was decapitated by a French cannon ball. The new commander, Lieutenant Colonel John Littlehales, surrendered after about an hour. Native Americans killed between 30 and 100 of the British wounded and some unwounded prisoners and made captives of a number of others before Montcalm was able to arrest the butchery. The French then marched approximately 1,700 British prisoners to Montreal.

The French destroyed the Oswego fort system on August 19. French forces now had control over Lake Ontario. They had also strengthened their lines of communication to the western outposts, especially Fort Duquesne.

The site of Fort Ontario remained abandoned until British major general Jeffery Amherst ordered a new pentagonal-shaped fort constructed there in 1759. During the American Revolutionary War, Fort Ontario served as a base for Loyalist raids into New York. The British abandoned the fort in 1777 and in 1778 Patriot forces

destroyed it. In 1782, the British reoccupied the site and did not hand it over to the United States until 1796. During the War of 1812, the British attacked and destroyed the fort, then fallen into disrepair. The star-shaped Fort Ontario that exists today was constructed during 1839–1844 but was never finished. During 1901–1905, the U.S. Army expanded the site and by 1941 there were 125 buildings there. During World War II, Fort Ontario became a refugee center for victims of the Holocaust and in 1946 was transferred to the State of New York. Fort Ontario has since been restored to its 1868–1872 appearance.

KEVIN SCOT GOULD AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; Chabert de Joncaire, Louis-Thomas; Fort Niagara, Siege of; Fort Oswego (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Iroquois Confederation; Johnson, Sir William; Little Fort Niagara (New York); Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Oswego, Battle of

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Fort Oplandt (Delaware)

See Fort Swanendael (Delaware)

Fort Orange (New York)

Dutch post established in 1624, in the upper Hudson River Valley, near the site where Henry Hudson had dropped anchor in 1609 (modern-day Albany). Fort Orange became the first permanent settlement in New York. Captain Cornelis May brought a group of Dutch West India Company traders to the west bank of the Hudson River, where they built a small log structure near the site of the abandoned, flood-damaged Fort Nassau (New York). Among the first settlers were five women, four of whom reportedly were married on the voyage from Europe. They were chiefly refugee Walloons, natives of the southern Netherlands (present-day Belgium), which at the time was occupied by Spain. Under the command of Adriaen Jorise, the settlers were paid employees of the company, and their job was to trade with the native population for furs.

The Mahicans soon approached Fort Orange to open trade relations. By spring 1625, Fort Orange sent some 1,000 otter and beaver pelts to the Netherlands. The Mohawks, one of the Iroquois Nations, moved to monopolize trade with the Dutch by driving off the Algonquian-speaking Mahicans. The company wished to maintain trade with both nations, and at times sold firearms to both, but could not control events. As the two tribes fought to dominate the region, Dutch attempts to intervene only resulted in the murder of several traders.

In 1626, Peter Minuit became director general of New Netherland. Concerned about the safety of Fort Orange's settlers, he ordered them to vacate the fort and move to farms around New Amsterdam, 125 miles downriver. By 1628, most New Netherlanders lived at New Amsterdam, and only a couple dozen traders and a few soldiers remained at Fort Orange.

Because of its location at the crossroads of native trade routes, Fort Orange became the center of the fur trade. The native people eagerly traded with the West India Company because, unlike the French and English, the Dutch were willing to sell them firearms. The fort's traders brought in some 63,000 pelts between 1624 and 1632.

In 1629, Kiliaen van Rensselaer instructed agents to purchase large tracts of native land along the Hudson and surrounding Fort Orange. He established a patronship (a proprietary manor), called Rensselaerswyck. In the meantime, the West India Company ceded its trade monopoly, and individual traders settled around Fort Orange to conduct business. A settlement known as Beverwyck (Beaver Town) grew up around the post and attracted an assortment of European and native traders. The traders of Rensselaerswyck and Beverwyck competed, acrimoniously, for the fur trade, and around 1644 Van Rensselaer employees built a trading post a few miles south of Fort Orange.

By the 1640s, the wooden walls of Fort Orange had decayed from regular flooding and retained little defensive value. And only a token garrison occupied the fort. However, the surrounding traders maintained amicable relations with the Mohawks and the other Iroquois Nations during the Dutch-Indian Wars (1641–1664). The traders continued to distribute firearms and accumulate furs. At various times during the hostilities, New Netherland officials and Native American sachems (chiefs) met at Fort Orange to conclude peace treaties.



Petrus Stuyvesant, governor of New Netherland, near the site of Fort Orange in 1649, ordering that houses in the adjacent village of Beverwyck (later Albany, New York) be pulled down in order to enlarge the fort's defenses. Wood engraving from 1878. (The Granger Collection)

After van Rensselaer's death in 1643 or 1644, his son, Johannes, appointed a new director, Brant Arentse van Slechtenhorst, who arrived in Rensselaerswyck in 1648 and pursued an aggressively expansionist policy. Van Slechtenhorst ordered the construction of new homes encroaching on Fort property. Petrus Stuyvesant, director general of New Netherland, ordered the garrison strengthened and the newly built buildings demolished. After years of contention, in 1652 Stuyvesant jailed the patronship's director and declared Beverwyck the only legal community near the fort.

When the English landed on Long Island in 1664, Stuyvesant recalled the Fort Orange garrison to defend New Amsterdam. After capturing New Amsterdam, English colonel Richard Nicholls sent George Cartwright to secure Fort Orange. Cartwright captured the fort without a fight and made treaties of friendship with the Mohawks and other native peoples. Cartwright changed the name of Beverwyck to Albany, and Fort Orange became Fort Albany. During the brief Dutch reconquest in 1673, Fort Albany received the name Fort Nassau.

Roberta Wiener

See also

Dutch-Indian Wars; Fort Nassau (New York); Mahican; Minuit, Peter; Mohawks; New Netherland; Stuyvesant, Petrus

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Fort Orléans (Missouri)

French garrison built in 1723 on the north bank of the Missouri River, approximately two miles above its confluence with the Wakenda River. Fort Orléans was the first French military post in the Missouri River Valley. The Compagnie des Indes (Company of the Indies) sought to establish a fort on the Missouri River and an alliance with the Comanches against the Spanish. The French hoped that the post would deter the Spanish from making further attempts to invade French territory.

In January 1722, the Company of the Indies instructed Étienne de Vénieard de Bourgmont (also identified as Bourgomond) to lead an exploration party from New Orleans to the Missouri River Valley. Bourgmont was well suited for the job, as he was an adventurer, explorer, frontiersman, and civil and military administrator at various times in his career. In February 1723, the expedition departed New Orleans, traveling up the Mississippi River to the Missouri River, and arrived at the site of the future fort on November 9–10, 1723.

Bourgmont named the site Fort Orléans in honor of the Duc d'Orléans, regent of France. The works were built shortly after the expedition had settled. The fort itself was rather rudimentary in construction, with interior edifices made of wood and mud with thatched roofs. Bourgmont, who supervised construction, remained at the fort for a short time before returning to New Orleans. During this period he made a peace treaty with the Comanches to allow for a safe trade route to New Mexico. In July 1725, Bourgmont arrived in New Orleans with a delegation of representatives from the Oto, Osage, and Missouri tribes who accompanied him to Paris that September.

Fort Orléans remained an active fort for four years after Bourgmont's departure. In 1727, however, the Company of the Indies decided it was an economic failure and ordered the garrison reduced from 15 men to 8. Two years later, the post was abandoned altogether.

THERESA L. STOREY

See also

France; New France

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Fort Oswego (New York)

British trading post and series of fortifications situated along the southeastern shore of Lake Ontario. The Oswego forts represented an English toehold on the French-dominated Great Lakes. Construction on Fort Oswego began in 1727 to counter the French presence at Niagara. New York's Gov. William Burnet ordered a stone blockhouse built on a bluff just west of the mouth of the Oswego River, overlooking Lake Ontario. With tensions with the French increasing in the early 1740s, the English enclosed the blockhouse with a four-foot-thick stone wall with corner bastions. The post, officially called Fort Pepperrell, remained known as Oswego to the English and Chouhagen to the French.

In 1755, after the start of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Gov. William Shirley of Massachusetts occupied Oswego with provincial forces in preparation to attack Fort Niagara. Concerned about Fort Oswego's relative weakness, especially heights to northeast and southwest overlooking the original post, Shirley ordered additional fortifications constructed. To the north, across the river, the men constructed Fort Ontario (the East Fort). It was a roughly 200-foot-square log stockade enhanced by additional outworks centered on each wall, giving it an octagonal appearance. To the southeast, the men began Fort George (Fort Rascal or the West Fort), a 170-foot-square earthwork that was never completed or equipped with artillery. Meanwhile, Shirley's 1755 Fort Niagara campaign faltered and plans for an offensive the following year stalled.

While the English sat idle at Oswego, Canadian leaders persuaded the French commander, Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, to shift forces to Lake Ontario and eliminate the English presence. On August 10, 1756, more than 3,000 French



Illustration of Fort Oswego, New York. Located on the southeastern shore of Lake Ontario and constructed by the English in 1726, the fort was captured by the French in 1756 and razed, but was later rebuilt by the English. (www.canadianheritage.ca ID #10163, National Archives of Canada C-9418)

troops, militiamen, and Native Americans landed near Oswego. Focusing on Fort Ontario, French artillery quickly made the British position untenable. The fort's commander, Colonel James Mercer, ordered his men to abandon the post. This decision gave the French a position that overlooked the other works. Facing the inevitable, the garrison at Fort Oswego surrendered on August 14, 1756. The French took nearly 1,600 prisoners. Rather than occupy the post, Montcalm's forces razed it.

The British reestablished their presence at Oswego in late August 1758. At that point, Lieutenant Colonel John Bradstreet occupied the old fort's location and then launched a daring attack against Fort Frontenac. After destroying the French post, Bradstreet's 3,000 men returned to Oswego. The following year, while preparing for a campaign against Fort Niagara, British forces under Brigadier General John Prideaux constructed a new pentagonal fort, some 190 feet square, on Fort Oswego's site. Though Niagara fell in July, it proved impossible to redeploy the army to assault the St. Lawrence Valley. In August 1760, Major General Jeffery Amherst and an army of some 10,000 men left Oswego for an offensive down the St. Lawrence River. This, combined with two other British advances, crushed New France.

With the fall of New France, Fort Oswego became little more than a way station for forces en route to the western posts. Though Oswego did not play a major role in Pontiac's Rebellion (1763), Sir William Johnson and Native American leaders signed a final peace treaty at Oswego in July 1766, officially ending that conflict. The post later played a significant role in the American Revolutionary War.

STANLEY J. ADAMIAK

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; Blockhouses; Bradstreet, John; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Fort Frontenac (Ontario); Fort Niagara (New York); Fort Niagara, Siege of; Fort Ontario (New York); Lake Ontario; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Oswego, Battle of; Shirley, William

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Fort Pelham (Massachusetts)

One of four forts built by the colony of Massachusetts between the Connecticut River and the New York border during King George's War (1744–1748). Fort Pelham was completed in early 1745. Massachusetts officials hoped that the posts would prevent French and Native American raiding parties from reaching the more southern and eastern settlements. They also saw them as places of refuge for local settlers.

Fort Pelham was constructed on the site of modern-day Rowe, Massachusetts, during the winter of 1744–1745. The location was chosen for its proximity to one of the main routes that might be used by natives in raiding other settlements. Previously, settlers had built fortified homes at their own expense, where they and their neighbors could take refuge. These improvised forts were of no use in halting raiding parties, however. When he learned of war between France and Great Britain in May 1744, Gov. William Shirley of Massachusetts ordered four forts to be built and paid for with public funds. Fort Shirley was constructed between August and October 1744 under the supervision of Captain William Williams.

After completing Fort Shirley, Williams supervised construction of Fort Pelham, only six miles away. Both posts were garrisoned by Massachusetts provincial troops. The normal garrison for Fort Pelham, which was named after the English minister Henry Pelham, was approximately 20 men.

Fort Pelham was similar in construction to Fort Shirley. Workers cut white pine trees in the area down to logs approximately 6 inches thick and 14 inches high. They laid them in courses one on top of the other and secured the logs with oak pegs, until they formed a wall 12 feet high. They then dovetailed the walls together at the corners for added strength. They were proof against muskets, but would not have been able to withstand cannon fire. To provide an enfilading fire, two watch boxes 12 feet square and 7 feet high were erected at opposing corners. The area enclosed by the walls amounted to approximately one and a half acres. A ditch surrounded the entire fort.

Up to 350 militiamen garrisoned Shirley's defensive line, including Fort Pelham. Each fort was within view of the next, and groups of soldiers patrolled regularly between them. Fort Pelham did not come under attack during King George's War, and after the war its garrison dwindled to a single watchman. The fort was allowed to deteriorate, and by the early 1750s the English had abandoned it altogether.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Fort Shirley (Massachusetts); King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Massachusetts; Shirley, William

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Fort Pentagouet (Maine)

French garrison constructed in 1635 and located at the mouth of the Bagaduce River on Penobscot Bay, near present-day Castine, Maine. The French built Fort Pentagouet to secure their control over the local fur trade and to assert their territorial claim to Maine north of the Kennebec River.

In 1633, King Charles I of England ceded the eastern portion of the Maine coast to France. In 1635, French entrepreneurs, anxious to cement their title to the land and its trading revenue, erected Fort Pentagouet, a complex of stone and earthen fortifications, on the site of an earlier English trading post. The fort's mission was to defend the river and nearby French settlements from attack, but its usefulness was vitiated by its location, which had been chosen for commercial potential rather than defensibility. Fort Pentagouet was square in shape with four stone and earth bastions. It enclosed a 60-foot parade field.

In 1654, at the opening of the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1654–1667), English forces captured Pentagouet and maintained a garrison there over the following decade. At war's end, England returned Acadia to the French, who took possession of the fort in 1670. Although Pentagouet was now to be Acadia's capital, French king Louis XIV failed to support the fort with serious commitment of money or men. As such, Dutch privateers captured it in 1674; later that year Massachusetts soldier Samuel Mosley and his band of militiamen drove the Dutch out and razed the fort. French officer Jean Vincent de Saint-Castin took control of the area for the French around 1677. Aware of the site's deficiencies, he abandoned the ruins of Fort Pentagouet and established a new settlement farther up the Bagaduce River.

Andrew Miller

See also

Acadia; Anglo-Dutch War, Second; France; Maine; Mosley, Samuel; New France

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Fort Picolata (Florida)

Spanish garrison built in 1734 on the banks of the St. Johns River, approximately 20 miles west of St. Augustine. Although the post was not named until the 18th century, a Spanish garrison had occupied a crude outpost in the same area since the late 17th century. Fort Picolata was constructed in anticipation of both English and Native American offensives into Spanish Florida. When completed, the fort boasted a barracks, a blockhouse, and storehouses. It also mounted a few small cannon. The Spaniards assigned a garrison of 10–12 soldiers to the post. To bolster Fort Picolata's defenses, the Spaniards constructed Fort San Francisco de Pupo on the opposite bank of the river.

Fort Picolata's location granted the Spaniards a military presence on the route between St. Augustine and Apalachee Province. Because Fort Picolata never housed more than a dozen soldiers and often fewer than eight, the outpost demarcated Spanish territory more than providing protection for Spanish interests in the area.

When James Oglethorpe of British-held Georgia prepared to invade Florida in the final months of 1739, Fort Picolata became the site of the first attack in the British invasion. While on a reconnaissance mission, British soldiers stumbled upon Fort Picolata and attempted to rout the Spanish unit. According to a report, 7

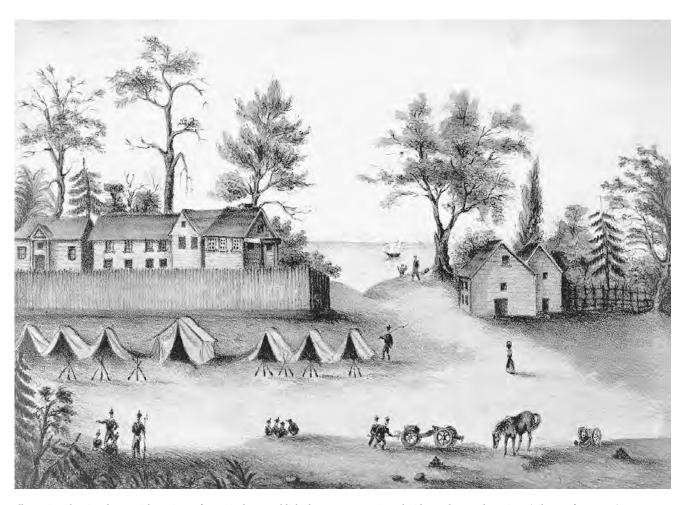


Illustration showing the Spanish garrison of Fort Picolata, established near St. Augustine, Florida, on the St. Johns River. (Library of Congress)

Spaniards deflected an attack by nearly 50 British soldiers and Native Americans. In January 1740, the British returned with a larger force and destroyed the fort. The destruction of Fort Picolata and its sister outpost, Fort San Francisco de Pupo, marked the only victories in Oglethorpe's Florida campaign.

In 1755, the Spanish rebuilt the fort, only to neglect the outpost shortly thereafter. When the British assumed control of Florida in 1763, Fort Picolata fell into a state of complete disrepair. Today the site of the former fortification has been the subject of several archaeological excavations.

Shane Runyon

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Florida; Florida, British Invasion of; Fort San Francisco de Pupo (Florida); Oglethorpe, James Edward; St. Augustine; St. Augustine, Battle of

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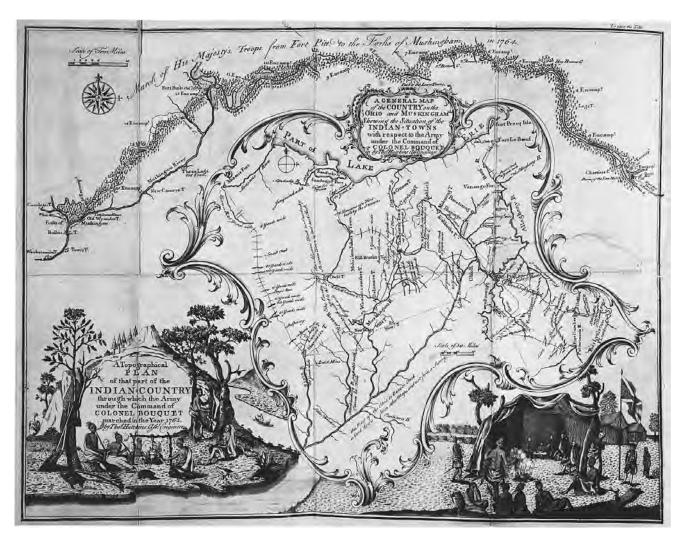
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Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania)

British fort named for political leader William Pitt, established in 1759, at the Forks of the Ohio River. The construction of Fort Pitt began soon after Brigadier General John Forbes's successful 1758 march across Pennsylvania during the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and the subsequent French abandonment of Fort Duquesne. Fort Pitt controlled the Forks of the Ohio and its protection attracted traders and settlers to the area, which ultimately became the city of Pittsburgh.

Unlike its predecessors, Fort Prince George, built by the Ohio Company, and Fort Duquesne, built by the French but abandoned and destroyed in the face of Forbes's approach, Fort Pitt was a massive pentagonal fort with five bastions, a ditch, a glacis, and very strong and thick walls. A garrison of more than 1,000 men and more than 20 field cannon could be accommodated within the fort's walls. The careful engineering of Fort Pitt demonstrated British resolve to retain the post no matter what.

Although Fort Pitt's strength deterred the French from attempting to descend the Allegheny River to repossess the Forks of the



Contemporary map of the Ohio and Muskingham rivers area showing Native American towns and forts in 1764. (Library of Congress)

Ohio, it remained logistically vulnerable at the end of Forbes's long road from Carlisle. From June to August 1763, in the early stages of Pontiac's Rebellion, native warriors subjected the fort to a loose siege. Whereas British garrisons farther west were surprised or tricked into losing their posts, alert colonials at Fort Pitt picked up signs of trouble before the war began. Contact with other British outposts was maintained through fast riders, and Fort Pitt became a refuge for survivors of British military reverses along the frontier as well as settlers whose presence in the area had done so much to provoke the fighting. The garrison of regulars commanded by Captain Simeon Ecuyer, the militialed by trader William Trent, and the refugees from the surrounding countryside were saved from eventual starvation by Colonel Henry Bouquet's victory at Bushy Run.

Fort Pitt proved less resistant to the rivers than to enemy forces, however. The fort flooded in both 1762 and 1763, and the damage was never fully repaired. Native Americans, lacking the siegecraft of European soldiers, were unable to take advantage of these weaknesses. Fort Pitt remained at the center of Pittsburgh as the town

grew into a city, at least until the fort's military purpose became obsolete as the frontier line moved west. It was largely abandoned in 1772, only to be reactivated in 1774 as Fort Dunmore.

GRANT WELLER

See also

Bouquet, Henry; Bushy Run, Battle of; Ecuyer, Simeon; Forbes Campaign; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Pitt, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Pontiac's Rebellion; Trent, William

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Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania), Siege of

Start Date: June 1763 End Date: August 1763

The siege and relief of Fort Pitt, which took place during June–August 1763, were pivotal events in the eventual failure of Pontiac's Rebellion (1763). Built near the site of an earlier French post (Fort Duquesne) at the confluence of the Monongahela River and Allegheny River, the British installation was a much larger complex of five bastions, protecting two acres of land within its curtain walls. The fort's commanding position above the Forks of the Ohio River made it a key strategic site for both European and American Indian peoples. Additionally, the military base was headquarters for the first battalion of the 60th (Royal American) Regiment of Foot, which provided manpower for other garrisons scattered along Forbes Road and throughout the Great Lakes watershed.

When warriors overran satellite detachments at Sandusky, Presque Isle, Venango, and Le Boeuf in May and June 1763, the survivors withdrew to Fort Pitt. Captain Simeon Ecuyer, commander of Fort Pitt, immediately undertook preparations for the post's defense. These included razing outside buildings, sowing the expansive glacis and ditches with antipersonnel devices, establishing regular watches, and placing the 540 people inside the fort on short rations.

Fort Pitt's extensive defenses and artillery made a direct assault by risk-averse warriors an unlikely event. Instead, the attacking Delaware and Shawnee warriors conducted night attacks to keep the garrison on edge. They also used their control of the country-side to great advantage by driving off pastured livestock and then engaging any forage parties who appeared from the fort. Invitations to parley with the besiegers frequently followed close on the heels of their furtive strikes in attempts to crush both the defenders' resistance and morale. British delegates were informed at these conferences that no aid would arrive because neighboring detachments had already been destroyed by superior numbers soon to be arrayed against them.

The Native American negotiators proffered assurances of an unimpeded withdrawal down Forbes Road in return for surrender. Having already learned about the terrible fate of other British forces who had surrendered, however, Captain Ecuyer used the same strategy as the opposing chiefs to exaggerate his strengths and spread misinformation about army intentions. He once even distributed to those threatening the lives of his dependents smallpox-infected blankets disguised as presents.

Covert pathogens apparently had no detrimental effect on war parties, whose strength and aggressiveness increased throughout the summer months. Finally, near the end of July, the Native Americans launched a sustained attack on the fort over five successive days. They inflicted little real damage to the post, however, and American Indian tactics changed thereafter. A screen of tribesmen remained in position around the fort, while a powerful cohort of 110 braves was detached to prevent British reinforcements from reaching Fort Pitt.

As in earlier irregular actions, the initiative lay with warriors waiting at Bushy Run who sought to destroy the relief column led by Colonel Henry Bouquet and thereby force the garrison either to starve or surrender. Bouquet's victory over the warriors ended their blockade, as they precipitously lifted the siege and went in search of easier targets.

The American Indian failure to destroy Fort Pitt and its garrison had major repercussions for Shawnee and Delaware communities the following year. Fort Pitt became the logistical and administrative center for Bouquet's 1764 Ohio offensive, which forced the native insurgents to sue for peace.

ALEXANDER V. CAMPBELL

See also

Bouquet, Henry; Bushy Run, Battle of; Ecuyer, Simeon; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania); Ohio Expedition (1764); Pontiac's Rebellion

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Fort Pleasant (West Virginia)

British post constructed in 1756, situated along the South Branch of the Potomac River, at the present-day site of Old Fields, West Virginia, close to the town of Moorefield. Fort Pleasant was one of a chain of forts constructed by the Virginia government in 1756. The forts were designed to protect the colony's northwestern border after the defeat of British forces under Major General Edward Braddock in 1755 during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Fort Pleasant played an important role in providing security for local settlers against Native American raids and as a civil and economic center during the Colonial Period.

Following Braddock's defeat, Colonel George Washington assumed command of the Virginia Regiment and began constructing a line of forts to protect Virginia's northwestern border. In early 1756, Washington ordered Captain Thomas Waggener to take a company from Fort Cumberland to the South Branch of the Potomac. Washington had conducted a survey of the area when he was a teenager. Waggener consulted with local residents about the best locations for two forts. Waggener constructed Fort Pleasant, also known as Fort Van Metre, on the site of the home of Isaac Van Metre, a local landowner who had built a rude fortification there in 1744 to protect his property from Native American attack. The location provided a good view of the surrounding territory.

Work on Fort Pleasant began in late January or early February 1756 and was completed by May of that same year. Washington had instructed Waggener to follow the pattern of earlier forts in its construction. Surviving plans indicate that the fort was a rectangle with sides between 60 and 90 feet long. At each corner there was a bastion to allow enfilading fire on any enemy force attacking the walls. The walls were built of upright logs about 10 feet high, with loopholes cut in them to allow the garrison to fire on attackers. Several cabins within the walls served as barracks and storehouses. The fort's garrison numbered approximately 60 men.

During the French and Indian War, Fort Pleasant also served as the center of government for Hardy County. Court was held within the walls, and legal documents were recorded and preserved inside. When Native American raiding parties were rumored to be in the neighborhood, local settlers took shelter in the fort. In theory, the garrison patrolled the region and chased after raiders. However, personnel shortages usually prevented aggressive actions.

In the late summer of 1756, a group of militiamen from a neighboring fort chased after a group of raiders and the natives managed to trap the militia against the Potomac River. Although the fighting was clearly audible at Fort Pleasant, Captain Waggener refused to allow members of the garrison to lend aid. At least one story claims that he refused to open the gates to two survivors. This Battle of the Trough was the most important military action near Fort Pleasant.

After the capture of Fort Duquesne, the danger from Native American raiding parties declined. Enterprising merchants cut a road from Fort Pleasant to Patterson Creek, so supplies could be shipped more easily to the garrisons in western Pennsylvania. Fort Pleasant subsequently became a collection center for agricultural products and an important economic center for the region. The town of Moorefield eventually took over the civil and economic functions of Fort Pleasant. The English abandoned Fort Pleasant in February 1762. Its fortifications were allowed to fall into ruin, although in 1770 fortifications were again constructed at the site for local militia.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Braddock's Campaign; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Washington, George

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Fort Pontchartrain de Detroit (Michigan)

See Fort Detroit (Michigan)

Fort Prince George-Keowee (South Carolina)

Garrison built in 1753 across the Keowee River from the Cherokee Lower Town of Keowee, now the site of Clemson, South Carolina. Named for the Prince of Wales who later became King George III of Great Britain, Fort Prince George (also called Fort Keowee) functioned as the primary military and trading post to the Cherokee Lower Towns during the period 1753–1768. This post played a key role in British, South Carolinian, and Cherokee diplomacy throughout its existence.

Fort Prince George consisted of a guardhouse, barracks, a kitchen, a storehouse, and the commandant's quarters. It was approximately 200 feet square and had earthen walls crowned with a palisade of logs. Diamond-shaped bastions armed with mounted, swivel cannons protruded from the four corners of the fort and a five-foot-deep ditch surrounded the entire complex.

Fort Prince George played a pivotal role in the Cherokee War of 1759-1761. Responding to isolated attacks by Cherokees on the South Carolina frontier in 1759, Gov. William Henry Lyttelton placed a Cherokee peace delegation in chains, assembled an army of provincial troops and militia, and then marched to Fort Prince George in a show of force intended to intimidate the Cherokee Nation. The captive Cherokees, headed by Oconostota, had gone to Charles Town (present-day Charleston) in a good-faith attempt to prevent open warfare. On arrival at Fort Prince George, Lyttelton and his army were confronted by a smallpox outbreak in the Cherokee town of Keowee. Faced with growing desertions, Lyttelton freed some of the Cherokee captives, including Oconostota, but held the rest hostage until all the warriors that had raided the Carolina frontier were turned over to the garrison. Lyttelton then declared the Cherokees chastised, disbanded what was left of his army, and marched back to Charles Town in triumph.

Under the leadership of Oconostota, the Cherokees attempted to free the remaining captives in Fort Prince George. They ambushed its commander, Richard Coytmore, and attempted to take the fort by surprise, but ultimately failed in this endeavor. The death of Coytmore, however, sealed the fate of the Cherokee captives, who were slaughtered by the fort's garrison. This act led to an intensification of the Cherokee War, which lasted until 1761. Fort Prince George came under periodic attack during the remainder of the war. It also served as the launching pad for two major campaigns against the Cherokees in 1760 and 1761. These campaigns were conducted primarily by British regular troops, and these expeditions eventually led to the end of the war.

South Carolina rebuilt Fort Prince George during 1756–1765. The fort was manned by provincial troops known as the South Carolina Independent Companies. The South Carolina colonial government had formed these units out of Major General James Oglethorpe's 42nd Foot Regiment, which was disbanded in 1749. Afterward, the ranks of the Independent Companies were filled out by recruits from South Carolina. The fort was evacuated in 1768.

DIXIE RAY HAGGARD

See also

Cherokees; Cherokee War; Lyttelton, William Henry; Oconostota; Oglethorpe, James Edward; Provincial Troops; South Carolina

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Fort Prince George-Palachacola (South Carolina)

British fort built in 1723 on a bluff overlooking the Savannah River, about 50 miles from the river's mouth. Fort Prince George, also known as Palachacola Fort, guarded the main route to Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) from the south and southwest. The fort was also the site of sporadic trading.

The Yamasee Native Americans had acted as a defensive buffer in the southern and western parts of South Carolina until they rebelled in the Yamasee War (1715–1717). Thus, Captain William Bellinger established Fort Prince George in 1723 at the site of the former Native American village of Palachacola to help bolster the colony's defenses after the Yamasee lands had been confiscated. He also hoped to control unscrupulous traders of the sort that had provoked the Yamasees to rebellion.

At the time, the Carolinians were less concerned with the Spanish military threat than with the recent appearance of French forts and trading posts along the Gulf of Mexico and in Creek Country in Alabama. Carolina Rangers, a semiprofessional military unit that guarded the southern frontier with mounted patrols, manned the fort. Fort Prince George was overshadowed by Fort Moore farther upstream when it came to trade.

The new colony of Georgia, chartered in 1732 and encompassing the territory south of the Savannah River, had been claimed for some time by South Carolina. Settlement began there in 1733, and Georgia took possession of the fort in 1735. Apparently, the fort was abandoned in 1742 during the Anglo-Spanish War of 1739–1744, by which time the site would have lost much of its frontier defensive value and troops would have been needed on the Georgia-Florida frontier.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Fort Moore (South Carolina); Georgia; South Carolina; Yamasees; Yamasee War

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Fort Prince William (Georgia)

English fort built in 1740 and located on the southern end of Cumberland Island to protect Cumberland Sound, Amelia Channel, the St. Mary's River, and the inland waterway approach along the Georgia coast. Named for Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, the structure was often referred to simply as Fort William. It was completed in April 1740, during the Anglo-Spanish War of 1739–1744, under the direction of Georgia governor James Oglethorpe.

Fort Prince William was part of an integrated network of defensive positions to protect against the Spanish threat from Florida. Fort St. Andrew was located at the opposite end of Cumberland Island and along with Fort William provided shelter for various ranger garrisons and artillery batteries to protect the coastal waterways. Fort Prince William has been described as a weak structure designed with a stockade and bastions at each corner for eight cannon. It was garrisoned by a small detachment of British rangers who carried messages between Fort William and Fort St. Andrew and patrolled the beaches on guard for Spanish ships.

On June 22, 1742, these troops spotted a fleet of 52 Spanish ships and boats poised to attack British possessions on St. Simons Island, north of Cumberland. The guns of Fort William exchanged fire with those of the Spanish vessels for more than an hour, but the Spanish ships were able to sail north toward St. Simons Island.

Following their subsequent defeat on land in the Battle of Bloody Marsh, the Spanish determined to destroy as many British outposts as possible as they withdrew back to St. Augustine. On July 16, a messenger from Fort St. Andrew ran the length of Cumberland Island to warn the 70 British soldiers and rangers at Fort Prince William of an impending Spanish attack. Two days later on the 18th the Spanish attempted to land 200 soldiers on the beach to destroy the fort. However, eight British rangers took positions behind sand dunes outside the fort and opened fire on the landing boats. The cannon of Fort Prince William also joined in. During an hour-long exchange of fire the fort sustained only some damage to the stockade. Frustrated at the effective British defense, the Spanish abandoned their attack and continued on toward St. Augustine.

In 1742, the English improved Fort Prince William by adding logs to retain a thick wall of sand. Two large guns were mounted on mobile carriages in a ravelin in front of the fort to provide added firepower. Unlike many fortifications of the period, which saw no activity for which they were designed, Fort Prince William passed the tests of effective location, protection, and firepower during the Spanish invasion of Georgia.

STEVEN J. RAUCH

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Bloody Marsh, Battle of; Florida; Fort St. Andrews (Georgia); Georgia; Oglethorpe, James Edward; St. Augustine

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Fort Raleigh (North Carolina)

Fort Raleigh is the 21st-century term used to describe the system of fortifications associated with Sir Walter Raleigh's unsuccessful English colonization efforts on Roanoke Island, on the Outer Banks of present-day North Carolina. Construction of Fort Raleigh began in 1585 and was apparently completed by the end of August of that year, but the colony and associated fortifications were abandoned suddenly in 1587. Ralph Lane, a veteran of Queen Elizabeth's Irish misadventures of the late 16th century, designed the garrison and supervised its construction. Lane had previously designed and oversaw the construction of a fort used by the adventurers during a stopover in Puerto Rico.

The first documented mention of the fort is Lane's September 3, 1585, letter that gave his location as "the new fort in Virginia" to the noted advocate of colonization Richard Hakulyt the Elder.

When John White led an attempt to reestablish a community on the Outer Banks in 1587, he found that the fortifications on Roanoke Island had deteriorated. They were quickly repaired. White's group of colonists became legend as the "Lost Colonists." When White searched for the colonists in 1590, he reported that the fort was in ruins. And the colonists had vanished. It is quite likely that they fell victim to a Native American attack.

Archaeological examination of the site indicates that Fort Raleigh was actually a series of earth and wooden works rather than one single fortification. The main fort may have been square, set askew to take on a more star-shaped appearance. Each side was thought to have been 100 feet or less in length. Bastions extended out on its sides. Evidently the fort contained at least one structure. The fortification was not a small simple earthwork, but rather a complex interconnected system that was designed and built by combat veterans.

CHRISTOPHER L. McDaid

See also

Drake, Sir Francis; Roanoke Island (North Carolina)

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Fort Reading (North Carolina)

Fort Reading was the fortified plantation of Lionel Reading, located on the banks of the Pamlico River across from modern-day Wash-

ington, North Carolina. The plantation served as the most western fortified position on the Pamlico River and was used as a base of operations against the Tuscaroras during the Tuscarora War of 1711–1713. Its position was ideal for the settlers of the Bath Colony because it was situated across from Chocowinity Bay.

The position was initially fortified as a result of the massive Indian attack on September 22, 1711. Then Chief Hancock of the Tuscaroras led 250 warriors from six different tribes in an offensive to destroy every plantation in the Bath County. During this attack, the colonists abandoned their homes and concentrated at several fortified plantations. The Reading plantation was one of a few plantations that survived the initial attack, and it then became a staging point for the colonial counterattack against the native tribes in northeastern North Carolina.

Fort Reading became the base for Captain John "Tuscarora Jack" Barnwell's South Carolina forces and his native allies in their campaign against Chief Hancock. It was the staging point for Barnwell's assault of the Tuscarora town of Narhantes on January 29, 1712, and it was later the site for the arranged peace in May 1712. South Carolina forces under Colonel John Moore also used the fortification when they moved north into Albemarle County to fight the Tuscaroras during 1712–1713.

WILLIAM H. BROWN

See also

Barnwell, John; Fort Hyde (North Carolina); Native Warfare; North Carolina; Tuscaroras; Tuscarora War

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Fort Redstone (Pennsylvania)

See Fort Burd (Pennsylvania)

Fort Richmond (Maine)

British fort built in 1719 along the west side of the Kennebec River, some 25 miles from the coast near the modern-day city of Richmond, Maine (then part of Massachusetts). Fort Richmond was designed to protect English settlements along the lower Kennebec River from attacks by Native American raiding parties. The post was enlarged during Dummer's War (1722–1727) and again before King George's War (1744–1748). Fort Richmond housed an important trading post that allowed Native Americans to exchange furs for European products. Its greatest service was as a staging area for a 1724 raid against the Abenaki tribe that killed Father Sébastien Râle (Battle of Norridgewock).

The Massachusetts colonial government authorized the construction of the palisaded Fort Richmond to protect the growing settlements downriver. Earlier conflicts, such as Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), had demonstrated these settlements' vulnerability to attacks by the Abenakis. Although the garrison at Fort Richmond numbered only around 20 men, it nevertheless provided safe refuge for local settlers.

When Dummer's War began between Massachusetts and the Abenakis in 1722, most English colonists blamed Râle for inciting the natives to violence. In 1723, Massachusetts officials enlarged and further fortified Fort Richmond. Although it never came under direct Abenaki attack, native warriors were often observed in the area. The fort served principally as a forward base for operations against the Abenakis. In January 1723, an expedition of 300 Massachusetts militiamen under Colonel Thomas Westbrook attacked Râle's mission. Although the Jesuit escaped, the buildings were looted and burned. Retaliation by the natives led Massachusetts leaders to mount another expedition. In August 1724, 200 men left Fort Richmond and rowed up the Kennebec River in 17 boats. Catching the Abenakis off guard, they killed Râle. At least 80 Abenakis also died in the raid, and the militia burned the village of Norridgewock, ending the Abenaki threat to English settlements along the Kennebec.

After the end of Dummer's War, merchants established a trading house at Fort Richmond. It served as the center of trade along the Kennebec River for the next 30 years. The fort was rebuilt in 1740 to replace rotting wood fortifications. Area settlers had come to believe that Fort Richmond was necessary to block a water route from Quebec to Massachusetts. After scouting expeditions proved that no such route existed, the fortifications were allowed to deteriorate. In 1754, Fort Western was built 15 miles farther upstream from Fort Richmond. The garrison then moved to the new fort and Fort Richmond was abandoned.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Abenakis; Dummer's War; Fort Western (Maine); King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Maine; Norridgewock, Battle of; Râle, Sébastien; Westbrook, Thomas

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Fort Rosalie (Mississippi)

French fortification erected in 1716 along the Mississippi River, some 180 miles upstream from the river's mouth. During the first two decades of the 18th century, French explorers had traveled all along the Gulf Coast in hopes of establishing trade with local natives. Concerned with encroaching Spanish and English settlers

and traders, the French began constructing forts and communities from Mobile (Alabama) west to the Mississippi River. Trade with Native Americans became the most significant French interest in the region. Not only was such trade vital for colonial development and survival, but it quickly became an attractive means of profit. Deerskins found a large market in France and soon became Louisiana's most important export.

Their extensive trade network led the French to establish outposts along the Mississippi River. In 1714, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville ordered a storehouse built among the Natchez, roughly 180 miles from the mouth of the Mississippi River. Within two years, however, tension and conflict with the Natchez led the French to construct a fort at the site. They hoped this would help assert French hegemony in the region. Thus, in 1716 Fort Rosalie became one of the most important French trade settlements with natives along the Mississippi.

The main fortification was in a pentagon shape, roughly 200 feet across, surrounded by a stockade, moat, and fortified embankment. Within the central defenses stood barracks, a guard house, and armory. An outer stockade surrounded the fort in an irregular pattern, enclosing other structures and providing some security for the French community there. The garrison's main water and food supplies, however, lay beyond the fort's defenses.

Although Fort Rosalie was vital for French trade interests in the Natchez region, persistent tension and conflict with the local Natchez tribe plagued French settlement. In 1722, several Natchez men were killed inside the fort during a dispute over corn. In retaliation, Natchez warriors conducted raids against French colonists and property for a year.

A subsequent brutal French campaign against Natchez villages forced the natives to sue for peace. Over the next few years, relative calm and peace descended on the fort and neighboring Natchez. However, the change of governorship in Louisiana brought the appointment of Captain Sieur de Chepart to command Fort Rosalie. His abrasive personality and lack of tact with the Natchez led to disaster. In 1729, a coordinated Natchez revolt nearly wiped out the local French population and led to the Natchez War (1729–1733).

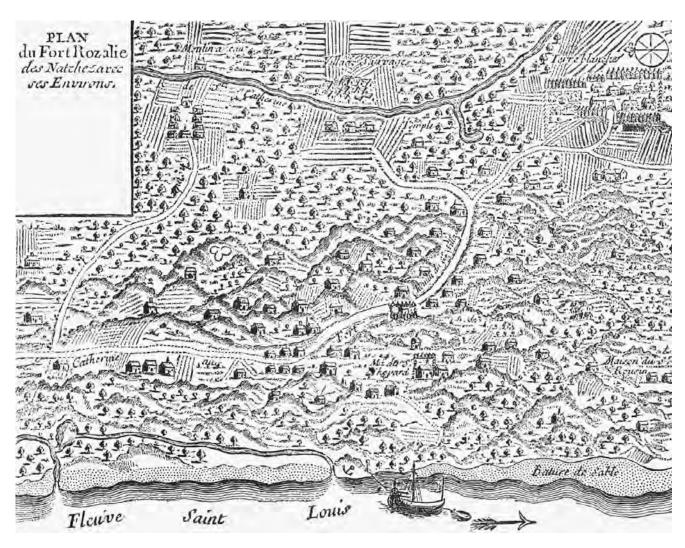
Following the destructive Natchez War, the French presence around Fort Rosalie was minimal. The French maintained a small garrison at the damaged fort until 1763, when the English took control under terms of the Treaty of Paris (1763).

The British then stationed a small detachment of men at the site, renamed the installation Fort Panmure, and repaired the defenses in the 1770s. The fort changed hands again in 1779, when the Spanish took possession of the region. The fort was passed to its final owner, the United States of America, after the Pinckney Treaty of 1795 with Spain.

IAN SPURGEON

See also

Le Moyne de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste; Mississippi River; Natchez; Natchez War; New France



An 18th-century illustration depicting Fort Rosalie on the Mississippi River, built by the French in 1716 among the Natchez Native Americans. (North Wind Picture Archives)

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Fort Royal (Virginia)

English fort constructed in 1645, located roughly 1.5 miles southeast of present-day West Point, Virginia, along the Pamunkey River. Sometimes referred to as Fort Mattapony, Fort Royal was designed to garrison militia troops. In 1645, a year after the outbreak of the Third Anglo-Powhatan War, the Virginia Assembly sought to create enhanced defenses to ward off future native attacks. Accordingly, it appropriated funds to construct three forts—Fort Royal, Fort Charles, and Fort James. All were located in

south-central and southeastern Virginia. In 1646, a fourth redoubt—Fort Henry—was erected near the falls of the Appomattox River (present-day Petersburg).

Fort Royal was a palisaded post that included at least one blockhouse. It was capable of garrisoning as many as 100 men, and during its first years of use its garrison was maintained at full strength. Those manning the garrison were militia troops as well as indigent laborers who would have found the regular pay associated with garrison duty a considerable benefit. Members of the garrison were expected to patrol and take part in offensive operations against the Pamunkeys, who had instigated the 1644 attacks.

Fort Royal became the base for an ambitious campaign to capture the Pamunkey chief Opechancanough during 1645–1646. When the chief sent word to Virginia's Gov. William Berkeley that he sought a peace settlement, Berkeley agreed to meet him at Fort Royal. He also planned to capture or kill Opechancanough when he arrived at the post. The chief arrived at the appointed time, and several men of the garrison attacked and killed the chief's entourage.

But the wily Opechancanough somehow managed to escape. When the plot to secure Opechancanough failed, Berkeley and a force of some 60 men from Fort Royal set out to track him down. They finally apprehended the Pamunkey chief and took him to the capital at Jamestown, where Opechancanough was then shot to death by an overzealous soldier. Fort Royal was abandoned sometime in the 1650s.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, Third; Berkeley, William; Opechancanough; Pamunkeys; Powhatan Confederacy; Powhatans; Redoubt; Virginia

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Fort Sandusky (Ohio)

Fort controlled by first the British and then the French, subsequently regained by the British. It was located on the north side of Sandusky Bay on the southern shore of Lake Erie (west of present-day Sandusky, Ohio). In 1745, the British established a fortified blockhouse on the site to protect British traders operating in the Ohio Country. The French seized the post in 1751 and built a more extensive structure, which they named Fort Sandusky. They abandoned it in 1754. The British regained it in 1761, and Major General Sir Jeffery Amherst ordered a new blockhouse built on the site of the former French works. This refurbished outpost was viewed by the local Wyandot tribe as an unwelcome indicator that the British, unlike the French, were there to establish authority and expand settlement on native lands.

During Pontiac's Rebellion (1763), Fort Sandusky was one of the first targets for the native uprising designed to destroy British frontier settlements. On May 16, 1763, seven Wyandots sought a council with Sandusky's commander, Ensign Christopher Paully. For more than two years, Paully and his men had lived among the Wyandots who frequently visited the fort to obtain trade goods, rum, or medical attention. Paully had no indication that this visit from men he knew was going to be any different. He also did not know that Detroit was already under siege and that what was about to happen at Fort Sandusky would occur simultaneously at other British outposts along the frontier.

When the warriors were admitted into the fort, they suddenly seized Paully. Before the gate guards could react, more natives poured through the entrance. They quickly set fire to the fort and slaughtered every British trader or soldier, save Paully. In addition, they seized more than 100 horse loads of trade goods as well as many guns and much ammunition before departing.

The Wyandots subjected Paully to beatings and other tortures as they journeyed toward their rendezvous at Detroit. He expected to be killed, but an Ottawa woman claimed the right to adopt him in place of her husband. After being bathed in a river, his head was shaved, his face painted, and Paully was accepted as an Ottawa warrior. However, Paully subsequently managed to smuggle a letter with a French trader who reported to Henry Gladwin at Detroit the fate of Fort Sandusky. Paully eventually escaped his captors and made his way to join Gladwin and the defenders under siege at Detroit.

Fort Sandusky was one of eight forts that fell to direct native attack in the spring of 1763. In less than two months, the natives of the Northwest had reduced the British presence in the region from almost 20 outposts to just the strongholds at Fort Pitt and Fort Detroit.

STEVEN J. RAUCH

See also

Blockhouses; Fort Detroit, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Ohio Country; Pontiac's Rebellion; Sandusky Bay (Ohio)

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Fort San Francisco de Pupo (Florida)

Spanish fort first erected in 1714 along the west bank of the St. Johns River in northern Florida (La Florida), and west of St. Augustine. Fort San Francisco de Pupo and Fort Picolata both guarded the mouth of the St. Johns River. The nearby Florida-Georgia border contained highly prized trees for ship mast timbers, and so for that and strategic reasons, the area became a highly contested one between the Spanish and English.

Fort San Francisco de Pupo was originally located at Walkill Ferry as a wooden fort of unknown dimensions. In 1734, the Spanish rebuilt it with two imposing 30-foot towers of coquina masonry (native shell construction). The post was roughly 60 feet square in size and was surrounded by a shallow moat. The fort featured barracks, a blockhouse-style building, and storage facilities. Its nineman garrison had a few small cannon.

In 1739, the Anglo-Spanish War of 1739–1744 erupted as part of the larger competition for colonial empires, mostly between English Georgia and Spanish Florida. In December 1739, Georgia founder and governor James Oglethorpe set out to capture St. Augustine with 150 men and several war sloops. His west flank was protected by the friendly Creeks, Cherokees, and Chickasaws, who kept Spanish reinforcements from Pensacola under watch. Oglethorpe invaded Florida and captured the twin forts of San Francisco de Pupo and Picolata in January 1740, leaving a garrison of the Georgia Militia and a sloop at San Francisco de Pupo. Twelve Spanish soldiers died in the campaign. From May until June, Oglethorpe besieged St. Augustine's citadel, the Castillo di San Marcos, halting operations only when Spanish reinforcements threatened his rear.

A Spanish counterattack subsequently captured Georgia's Fort Frederica. In the meantime, the Spanish retook San Francisco de Pupo in May 1740.

After the French and Indian War (1754–1763) between England on one side and France and Spain on the other, Fort San Francisco de Pupo came under English control. It reverted to Spanish control in 1783 as part of the Treaty of Paris that ended the American Revolutionary War. The fort was little more than a crumbling curiosity noted in the logs of passing ships when it was ceded to the United States in 1821.

CHRISTOPHER HOWELL

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Florida; Florida, British Invasion of; Fort Frederica (Georgia); Fort Picolata (Florida); Fort San Mateo (Florida); Georgia; Oglethorpe, James Edward; St. Augustine

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Fort San Juan (North Carolina)

Fort San Juan was constructed by Spanish explorers in 1566 in an area known as Worry Crossroads some 50 miles east of modern-day Asheville, North Carolina. The Spaniards were members of Captain Juan Pardo's expedition, which was attempting to discover a route from the Spanish port of Santa Elena (modern-day Parris Island, South Carolina) to the gold mines in Mexico.

It is believed that 30 soldiers garrisoned the fort initially, and this force mounted a smaller expedition to eastern Tennessee as Captain Pardo returned to defend Santa Elena. Pardo soon returned with an additional 120 men and prepared to push farther beyond present-day northern Georgia. He soon abandoned that attempt because of the possibility of a massive Native American attack against his men. The Spaniards stayed at this post for some 18 months during 1566–1568. Archaeologists believe that the Spaniards at the post passed along infectious diseases such as smallpox to the local Native American population. These diseases eventually decimated the local Indian population.

Much of the information on the fort and its garrison was derived from the journal of Juan de la Vandera, who was a scribe on the Pardo expedition. In addition, artifacts discovered on the site include examples of Spanish pottery and molten lead shot. Members of Warren Wilson College and the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology are currently examining the site.

WILLIAM H. BROWN

See also

Pardo, Juan; Santa Elena (South Carolina); Spain

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Fort San Mateo (Florida)

Spanish-held redoubt erected by the French as Fort Caroline and located at Beacon Hills on the St. Johns River near present-day Jacksonville, Florida. The Spanish captured Fort Caroline and renamed it Fort San Mateo in 1565. It was intended to protect the region north of St. Augustine. Based on 16th-century drawings, Fort San Mateo was a large, triangular-shaped, palisaded structure replete with five-foot earthen embankments and a moat. The original site was washed away in an 1880 flood.

At first European contact, the Timucuan peoples occupied the St. Johns River area. Spanish expeditions by Juan Ponce de León (1513), Hernando de Soto (1539–1542), and Tristán de Luna (1559) failed to permanently colonize the area. However, the French did so under Huguenot leaders Jean Ribault in 1562 and René Goulaine de Laudonnière in 1564. It was Laudonnière who established Fort Caroline.

Spain's response to the French encroachments was swift. Commanding five ships from Puerto Rico, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés arrived at Fort Caroline in 1565, just as Ribault was returning to supply the starving French. Ribualt's fleet succumbed to a hurricane, and Menéndez established St. Augustine to the south on September 8, 1565. The Spanish also captured Fort Caroline, killing all of its inhabitants. France recaptured Fort San Mateo in April 1568, slaughtering all the Spanish inhabitants. The Spanish used the opportunity to rebuild Fort San Mateo closer to St. Augustine.

The presence of Fort San Mateo failed to deter English attacks on St. Augustine in 1586, 1702, and 1740. Turned over by the Spanish to England in 1763, the post reverted to Spain in 1783 before being ceded to the United States in 1821.

CHRISTOPHER HOWELL

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Castillo de San Marcos (Florida); Drake, Sir Francis; Florida; Florida, British Invasion of; Fort Caroline (Florida); Georgia; Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro; Moore, James; Redoubt; Ribault, Jean; St. Augustine

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Fort Saraghtoga (New York)

Short-lived British fort built in 1704, located in Washington County on the site of present-day Easton, New York. The fort was situated on the east side of the Hudson River, directly across from Fort Saratoga. The British constructed Fort Saraghtoga to protect the military road to Fort Edward (also known as Fort Nicholson) during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713).

The fort measured 150 feet by 140 feet and was built to accommodate a garrison of 450 men. Reportedly it was armed with six 12-pounder and six 18-pounder cannon. Fort Saraghtoga was demolished at the conclusion of Queen Anne's War in 1713 and was never rebuilt.

Anna Vallis

See also

Fort Edward (New York); Fort Saratoga (New York); Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns

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Fort Saratoga (New York)

British military post erected in 1702 on Fish Creek, south of Schuylerville in New York. Fort Saratoga was originally built as a supply and military depot, replacing Fort Vroomen, which had been built by Bartolomeus Vroomen in 1689 and razed by the French in 1695. Fort Saratoga was later rebuilt by Philip Livingston in 1721. Livingston's post was a palisaded, square-shaped structure and contained a blockhouse equipped with several cannon. Manned chiefly by militiamen, the garrison was an important military post facing north, following the failed invasions of Canada during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713). Fort Saratoga was substantially rebuilt and refurbished in 1739, but was destroyed by the French and their Native American allies of the Abenaki and Caughnawaga tribes in 1745 during King George's War (1744–1748). The attack killed more than 30 British inhabitants.

In 1746, the British rebuilt the fort and renamed it Fort Clinton, after New York's Gov. Charles Clinton. This fort was twice as large as the one it replaced and included large storehouses and 12 cannon. Its garrison numbered some 300 men.

Native Americans made several attempts to destroy Fort Clinton, and in 1747 an expedition by the French and their native allies

set out to crush both Fort St. Frederic and Fort Clinton. On June 30, 1747, the French and natives attacked the garrison at Fort Clinton, resulting in the scalping of 45 of the defenders. Later that same year, the British dismantled and burned the fort.

Fort Clinton was later rebuilt in 1757 and renamed Fort Hardy, after Gov. Charles Hardy. This installation served as the location of Major General John Burgoyne's surrender following the pivotal Battle of Saratoga in 1777 during the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783). Fort Hardy was quite large, covering some 15 acres, and featured two large barracks and three storehouses.

Anna Vallis

See also

Abenakis; Blockhouses; Caughnawaga (Kahnawaké since 1980); King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; New York; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Saratoga, Battle of

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Fort Sault Ste. Marie (Michigan)

French garrison constructed between 1750 and 1752 by Louis Legardeur, Chevalier de Repentigny, on the south shore of the St. Mary's River, where he and Captain Louis de Bonne de Missègle had been granted a seigneury. Fort Sault Ste. Marie's location was designed to hinder Ojibwa communication with the English, reinforce the French presence in the region, and protect the fur trade in the upper Great Lakes. When finished, the fort was approximately 110 feet square with 12- to 15-foot high pickets and three interior buildings. The post, also known as Fort Repentigny, was garrisoned by a small number of Troupes de la Marine during the 1750s.

The fort's most important role was as a staging area for France's American Indian allies. Outside the pickets, Repentigny granted a small farm to Jean-Baptiste Cadotte that, with the labor of enslaved Native Americans, would produce corn for the military and native trade. With the fall of New France, British troops occupied the fort in 1762. It was abandoned after a fire destroyed a portion of the stockade and provisions in the late fall of 1762, forcing British troops to withdraw to Fort Michilimackinac. After its abandonment Cadotte removed the stockade and occupied its buildings. In 1821 the U.S. military constructed Fort Brady on the grounds of the former Fort Sault Ste. Marie.

KARL S. HELE

See also

Ojibwas; Fort Michilimackinac (Michigan); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; New France

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Fort Saybrook (Connecticut)

English garrison built in 1636, located at the mouth of the Connecticut River on Long Island Sound. Late in 1635 Fitz-John Winthrop, son of the Massachusetts governor, sent an advance party to the mouth of the Connecticut River. There they were to begin building a settlement at once in order to forestall Dutch intentions to settle the area. A group of Puritan investors, whom Winthrop had met in England, appointed him to establish and govern a new colony that was to be independent of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Winthrop's men landed at a site on the river's west bank—called Kievet's Hook by the Dutch—and promptly tore down a sign bearing a Dutch coat of arms that claimed the area for New Netherland. Winthrop himself sailed from Boston in March 1636 to supervise construction of the new settlement and its fortification. Accompanying him was Lieutenant Lion Gardiner, an English mil-

itary engineer trained in the Netherlands, who was to design, build, and then assume command of the fort. The new settlement and fort was named Saybrook after two of the colony's investors, Lord Say and Sele, and Lord Brook. Fort Saybrook came to play a leading role in the tangled native-English affairs of southern New England. Indeed, it became a clearinghouse for information, a venue for negotiations, and a rallying point for New England troops.

During the Pequot War of 1636–1638 the Pequots attacked Fort Saybrook in September 1636 and kept it in a state of siege until April 1637, picking off anyone outside the fortifications. And they killed, captured, and tortured men who ventured from the fort to harvest crops. In April, the fort received reinforcements from Massachusetts, and the Pequots shifted their attacks to more vulnerable areas. The Pequots continued to harass the garrison, however, paddling past the fort and taunting the occupants by displaying clothing taken from English victims.

The fort was a focal point of the war against the Pequots. Shortly after Connecticut's May 1637 declaration of war, Captain John Mason assembled his recruits at Fort Saybrook. From there they advanced on their objective, the Pequot village on the Mystic River, and they reassembled at the fort after the attack. At the same time, natives wishing to ally themselves with the English came to the fort



Sir Edmund Andros, royal governor of New York, arriving at Saybrook in an unsuccessful attempt to take control of Connecticut in 1675. (North Wind Picture Archives)

to offer their support. Gardiner demanded that they demonstrate their loyalty by presenting proof that they were killing Pequots. The warriors complied by returning to the post bearing severed Pequot heads as well as living captives.

In 1645, Captain John Mason assumed command of the fort. The original fort burned down in 1647, but within a year the colonists had built a replacement fort nearby. Nearly 30 years later, Sir Edmund Andros, royal governor of New York, claimed that New York rightfully included western Connecticut and extended to the Connecticut River. Believing that Connecticut was vulnerable to threats while it prepared for another war with Native Americans, Andros seized the opportunity to press home his point. Thus, on July 8, 1675, Andros arrived at Fort Saybrook with two shiploads of soldiers. Connecticut's governor, however, had anticipated the expedition and fully manned the fort, leaving Andros little choice but to withdraw. Although Connecticut restored the fort at the beginning of the American Revolutionary War, it saw no further military action.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Andros, Edmund; Connecticut; Gardiner, Lion; Mason, John; Mystic Fort Fight; Pequot War; Pequots; Winthrop, John (Fitz-John)

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Fort Schuyler (New York)

See Fort Anne (New York)

Fort Seybert (West Virginia)

British post built between 1755 and 1757 on the south fork of the southern branch of the Potomac River, roughly 12 miles northeast of modern-day Franklin, West Virginia. At the time, the fort was on Virginia territory. Fort Seybert was one of a line of forts intended to protect Virginia's northwestern frontier from Native American raiding parties during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Colonel George Washington supervised the construction of the forts. Local settlers built Fort Seybert, which consisted of several log buildings forming a hollow square. The fort was named after prominent landowner Jacob Seybert, who led the colonists as captain of the local militia.

On April 28, 1758, a war party of Shawnees attacked Fort Seybert. Although they had destroyed neighboring Fort Upper Tract several days previously, the local inhabitants were unaware that the Shawnees were nearby. Many of the men, accompanied by women

and children, had crossed Shenandoah Mountain the day before, fetching supplies from the eastern settlements. Many of the remaining families had moved into Fort Seybert for greater protection during the party's absence. The first intimation of an attack was the sound of gunfire, when natives killed or captured those outside the fort.

Approximately 30 people were trapped inside the fort. The native leader, Killbuck, offered to let the settlers go. He insisted, however, that they surrender and turn over any money and goods. Despite his son's objections, Seybert agreed and opened the gates. When the people emerged, Killbuck struck down Seybert. The Shawnees killed and scalped the aged and weak, totaling 20 people. Ten others were forced to accompany the Shawnees back to their village, near present-day Chillecothe, Ohio.

Before they departed, the Shawnees set Fort Seybert afire. One man who had hidden inside the fort managed to escape and spread the story among the other settlers. The destruction of Fort Seybert and continued raids by natives forced the Virginia Assembly to replace the fort with one supported by public funds. Fort Seybert was later rebuilt and became the site of a small town.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Fort Upper Tract (West Virginia); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Shawnees; Washington, George

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Fort Shantok (Connecticut)

Native American fort erected around 1636 that enclosed the main Mohegan village located on the west bank of the Thames River, in modern-day New London County, Connecticut. Fort Shantok's strategic location allowed the Mohegan sachem Uncas to control people of other tribes that joined the Mohegans. It also served as a major trading post with the English and as a production center for wampum.

An earlier Native American fort had been located at the same site. However, the Mohegans had used it only in times of war. Fort Shantok included a village surrounded by palisaded walls. As with other Native American fortifications, the walls consisted of logs placed upright in the ground. The lower three feet were buried, and another 10 to 12 feet stood above ground.

Loopholes provided the means to shoot arrows, and later firearms, at attackers. Fort Shantok was roughly rectangular in shape, with sides measuring 600 feet by 300 feet. The fort's site on a raised promontory between Shantok Creek and the Thames River helped ensure access to water and a degree of control over traffic on the waterways.

Fort Shantok was built by Uncas, the best known of Mohegan leaders. He recognized the growing power of the English colonists and sided with them against his Native American rivals. When Uncas became leader, the Mohegans numbered between 400 and 600 people. Uncas supported the English in their war against the Pequots (1636–1638). After the Pequots were virtually annihilated, Uncas received some captives as new members of the Mohegans. Members of other tribes also joined the Mohegan community. They recognized that Uncas was under the protection of the English and could provide a safe refuge.

New members of the Mohegan tribe settled in five villages located along the Thames River south of Fort Shantok. There Uncas and his loyal supporters could watch them. At different times, when Uncas was closely pressed by his rivals, English soldiers helped garrison Fort Shantok.

The most serious attack on Fort Shantok took place in the spring of 1645, when the Narragansetts attacked the Mohegans in revenge for Uncas's murder of their leader, Miantonomo. Uncas and his supporters were besieged in Fort Shantok. He then sent messengers to Fort Saybrook, requesting English aid. In July, Thomas Leffingwell and a number of Englishmen managed to secretly sail up the Thames River to Fort Shantok, carrying with them much-needed supplies. When the Narragansetts realized that they could not starve the Mohegans out, they retired to their own lands.

Fort Shantok was not only a refuge but an important part of the Mohegan economy. It was not only the center for the production of wampum but also the chief site through which English trade goods flowed to natives in the region. Trade in weapons was especially important for Uncas. The domestic activities at Fort Shantok have provided much information about life and culture of the Native Americans in the region. During the 20th century, archaeologists excavated much of Fort Shantok to learn how interaction with Europeans affected local culture.

The Mohegans abandoned Fort Shantok after Uncas's death in 1684. Although it was later reoccupied by the Mohegans, the loss of their sovereignty caused the fort to be abandoned once more. It now forms part of Fort Shantok State Park.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Connecticut; Firearms Trade; Miantonomo (Miantonomi); Mohegans; Narragansetts; Pequot War; Pequots; Uncas; Wampum

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Fort Shirley (Massachusetts)

British fort built in 1744 during King George's War (1744–1748) and located in western Massachusetts near present-day Heath in

Franklin County. Fort Shirley was one of a line of four forts built during King George's War to defend Massachusetts settlements between the New York border and the Connecticut River. The three other redoubts were Fort at Number Four, Fort Massachusetts, and Fort Pelham.

By the time war officially began between France and Great Britain in March 1744, Massachusetts authorities were aware that settlements in the western part of the colony were vulnerable to native raids. Private individuals had already erected fortified houses at their own expense. However, these extemporized forts were not very effective in stopping raiding parties. Thus Massachusetts's Gov. William Shirley ordered the construction of a line of forts at public expense. The first fort to be built was Fort Shirley. On July 20, 1744, Shirley ordered Captain William Williams to construct the fort according to specific directions.

Williams duly constructed an enclosure 60 feet square from local white pine. Logs were hewn 6 inches thick and 14 inches high. Workers then laid them on top of each other to form walls 12 feet high. Oak dowel pins secured each course of logs to the one below. The corners were dovetailed together for greater strength. At two of the corners stood towers 12 feet square and 7 feet high. Buildings within the walls provided barracks and storage space. Workmen dug a well inside one corner of the enclosure to ensure fresh water in the event of a siege. Construction occurred during the period of August to October 1744.

Williams officially took command of Fort Shirley on October 30, 1744, with a garrison of the Massachusetts Militia. Around March 1, 1745, he sent 14 of his men to Boston to take part in the Louisbourg Expedition. Later that spring, Williams took 74 soldiers from the Connecticut River Valley to Louisbourg as reinforcements. At that point, Captain Ephraim Williams replaced him as commander of Fort Shirley. By the fall of 1745, Ephraim Williams had become commander of the line of forts in the region.

Although Fort Massachusetts served as regional headquarters for a time, its destruction in August 1746 meant that command returned to Fort Shirley. Approximately 350 men manned the forts. For greater security, groups of soldiers patrolled between the forts.

To provide for the soldiers' spiritual well-being, Rev. John Norton served as chaplain to the garrisons. He made Fort Shirley his base and ministered in other forts as needed. When Norton was captured at the fall of Fort Massachusetts, his wife and children remained for a year at Fort Shirley.

Following the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the garrison at Fort Shirley was reduced. By 1752, a single caretaker, paid by the Massachusetts treasury, maintained the fort. British authorities recognized that the fort's location failed to block the French and their native allies in their raids, and it was therefore abandoned after 1754.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Fort Massachusetts (Massachusetts); Fort at Number 4 (New Hampshire); Fort Pelham (Massachusetts); King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Louisbourg Expedition; Massachusetts; Redoubt; Shirley, William

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Fort Shirley (Pennsylvania)

British post built in 1755 at the site of Indian trader George Croghan's home and trading post, along the Aughwick Creek and near the junction with the Juniata River in Pennsylvania. Fort Shirley was the most westerly fort built by the colony of Pennsylvania at the time of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). It was to serve two purposes. First, it was to provide a defense for the settlers west of the Susquehanna River. Second, it was designed to block French and native raiding parties from attacking eastern Pennsylvania.

Croghan, who had lived in the frontier region since 1742 and was well known to both natives and colonists, built Fort Shirley. He had located his trading post on one of the main routes to eastern Pennsylvania, to serve as a clearing house for products from both east and west. During the 1750s, French expansion into the Ohio River Valley reduced Croghan's trade and led to increasing tensions between English settlers and natives. Croghan thus fortified his trading post and recruited a small company of about 40 men to defend his property.

The failed expeditions of Colonel George Washington in 1754 and Major General Edward Braddock in 1755, however, laid the Pennsylvania frontier open to attack. They also convinced many tribes to turn against the English. Croghan began building a stockade around his trading post in October 1755 for greater security. When Pennsylvania officials authorized defensive measures for the frontier, they consulted Croghan. In December 1755, they commissioned Croghan a captain and charged him with organizing the colony's western defenses.

Croghan's fortified trading post became Fort Shirley, named after Massachusetts governor and British major general William Shirley, commander in chief in North America following Braddock's death. Croghan selected sites for and built three more forts. These were to form a defensive line with Fort Shirley and provide safety for settlers on the frontier. Croghan enlisted 300 men to provide 75-man garrisons for each fort. He became commander of Fort Shirley, then the most westerly point in the defenses.

Shortages of weapons, supplies, and sporadic pay plagued the garrison at Fort Shirley. Croghan repeatedly asked the government for money, complaining that his best men were leaving because they were not being paid. Hostile natives routinely prowled outside the fort and captured a number of unwary soldiers and settlers. Worse

yet, native raiding parties bypassed the small garrison and struck at settlements farther east.

Croghan resigned his commission in March 1756. Captain Hugh Mercer replaced him as commander on March 6. Eventually, Croghan received payment for his property.

Mercer also complained of recruitment problems for his company. On May 11, 1756, the garrison became one of seven companies in the 2nd Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong. Following the capture and burning of nearby Fort Granville by Delaware warriors, Armstrong prepared secret plans to retaliate against their main settlement at Kittanning on the Allegheny River. Supplies were gathered at Fort Shirley for the expedition. In late August 1756, 300 men from all seven of Armstrong's companies gathered at Fort Shirley.

On August 29, the advance force departed, followed by the main force the following day. Before leaving, Armstrong had the gates to Fort Shirley removed, effectively making it untenable. Following the Battle of Kittanning on September 8, most of Armstrong's party returned to Fort Lyttelton.

In October, Gov. William Denny toured the western defenses. Acknowledging that Fort Shirley was too isolated to resist a French and native attack, Denny ordered it destroyed and the garrison transferred to Fort Morris at Shippensburg. The town of Shirleysburg was later established at the site of the former fort.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Armstrong, John; Croghan, George; Fort Granville (Pennsylvania); Fort Lyttelton (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Kittanning, Battle of; Ohio Expedition (1755); Ohio River Valley; Pennsylvania

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Wainwright, Nicholas B. *George Croghan: Wilderness Diplomat.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959.

Fort St. Andrews (Georgia)

British fort established by Georgia leader James Oglethorpe on April 18, 1736, at the northern tip of Cumberland Island to provide for defense of the Frederica and Darien settlements along the Georgia coast. Naming the fort for the patron saint of Scotland, Oglethorpe himself established the outline of the fort on a high neck of land overlooking the Inland Passage, today known as Terrapin Point. He charged Captain Hugh Mackay with the construction of the fort, for which he employed more than 30 Scottish Highland indentured servants and 10 rangers.

Fort St. Andrews was designed in a star shape with four points that served as bastions. The northern points were shorter than the two southern points, and the inside dimension of the fort was about 65 by 130 feet. It was constructed using frames made of double walls

of timber that were then filled with sand to provide a solid defense against cannon fire. A palisade of logs was placed into a moat where natural springs provided fresh water. A single-story frame house was situated inside with a powder magazine and storehouse in the cellar below. Below the fort, another small, triangular earthen battery was built in which to mount cannons to protect English river traffic on the Inland Passage.

Fort St. Andrews played an important role in the complex system of defenses Oglethorpe established to protect Georgia from Spanish invasion. The fort saw much military activity, including a short mutiny on the part of disgruntled troops that was put down by Oglethorpe himself, who demonstrated personal courage and leadership during the incident.

In June 1742, Spanish governor Juan Francisco de Güemes ordered Manuel de Montiano to attack English settlements on St. Simons Island. They arrived with a fleet of 52 ships and almost 2,000 men. During the course of the invasion, Oglethorpe abandoned Fort St. Andrews so he could better consolidate his troops for the defense of St. Simons. However, the fort was evacuated so quickly that several cannon were left behind as well as more than 50 horses held in a corral.

After the defeat of the Spanish in the Battle of Bloody Marsh, they retreated down the Inland Passage back toward St. Augustine. On July 15, 1742, they moved their forces from the southern end of

Jekyll Island to Cumberland Island. There they destroyed Fort St. Andrews and killed the horses.

Following the repulse of the Spanish, Oglethorpe made no attempt to rebuild Fort St. Andrews. The location later served as a temporary post for Highland Rangers through 1744.

STEVEN J. RAUCH

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Bloody Marsh, Battle of; Fort Frederica (Georgia); Fort Prince William (Georgia); Fort St. Simons (Georgia); Georgia; Montiano, Manuel de; Oglethorpe, James Edward; St. Augustine

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Fort Stanwix (New York)

British fortification constructed beginning in 1758, located at the headwaters of the Mohawk River, near modern-day Rome, New York. Fort Stanwix was crucial in British colonel John Bradstreet's 1758 expedition against the French-held Fort Frontenac. The post protected the portage between the Mohawk River and Wood Creek,

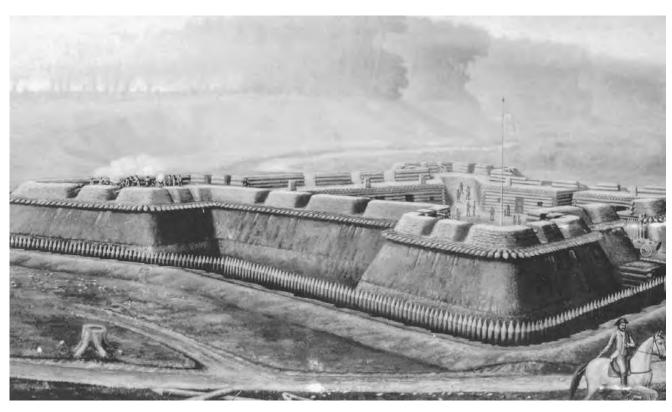


Illustration depicting Fort Stanwix, New York. Located at the head of the Mohawk River and constructed by the British beginning in 1758, it played a prominent role in the American Revolutionary War. (The Granger Collection, New York)

and because Wood Creek connected to Lake Ontario by way of Lake Oneida and the Oswego River, this entire route was an important avenue of approach for French forces attacking the New York frontier or for British forces moving against Lake Ontario. During the American Revolutionary War, the rebel garrison at Fort Stanwix stopped British lieutenant colonel Barry St. Leger's 1777 expedition, which was to link up with that of Major General John Burgoyne at Albany.

The British had constructed a series of fortifications to protect the Mohawk River–Wood Creek portage in 1755 to support Gov. William Shirley's abortive expedition against Fort Niagara. The next year, when French forces under Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, destroyed the British Oswego forts on Lake Ontario (approximately 50 miles west of the portage), the British abandoned the portage forts. In 1758, as Bradstreet moved on Fort Frontenac, the British reoccupied the portage, building several forts to include Fort Stanwix. Named for Brigadier General John Stanwix, who technically commanded the Bradstreet expedition, the fort was a formidable work. Although constructed of earth and wood, it was of European design, complete with angled bastions, dry moat, and outworks.

In addition to the fort's significant role in the American Revolutionary War, it was also the site of the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix. This agreement saw Sir William Johnson successfully negotiate the ceding of Native American lands south and east of the Ohio River to Great Britain. Fort Stanwix caught fire and was destroyed in 1781.

THOMAS A. RIDER II

See also

Bradstreet, John; Fort Frontenac (Ontario); Fort Niagara (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Johnson, Sir William; Lake Ontario; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Shirley, William

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Fort St. Charles (Minnesota)

French outpost constructed in 1732 at the top of the Northwest Angle in Angle Inlet of Lake of the Woods in present-day Minnesota. It was the second in a chain of French forts in the region and, when built, was the most northwesterly French settlement in North America.

Fort St. Charles was constructed in 1732 on the orders of enterprising French Canadian fur trader and explorer Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de La Vérendrye. The fort was built by his nephew, Christopher Dufrost de La Jemeraye, and the eldest of four sons, Jean-Baptiste de La Vérendrye. The fort soon became the focal point for the French fur trade and exploration in the West. Its location served to divert the Native American fur trade away from the British posts on Hudson's Bay.

Fort St. Charles consisted of a palisade made of a double row of cedar posts 100 feet long and 60 feet wide. In the enclosure were a chapel, houses for the commandant and missionaries, quarters for soldiers, a warehouse, and a powder magazine. Gates were located at the north and south ends of the structure.

Using Fort St. Charles as his principal base, La Vérendrye and his sons explored much of present-day Manitoba and into Saskatchewan. They also traveled to the Great Plains and explored the upper Mississippi River. They were also the first white men to reach the foothills of the Big Horn Mountains of northern Wyoming.

In 1736, 19 *voyageurs* from the fort, led by Jean-Baptiste de La Vérendrye, departed for Fort Michilimackinac for supplies. The party met with a grim end. A group of natives massacred them on an island in the Lake of the Woods, but their remains were later recovered and taken back to Fort St. Charles and buried beneath the fort's chapel. The discovery of these remains helped determine the fort's exact location later.

In 1742, two of La Vérendrye's sons again traveled west and, in a trip of more than a year's duration, explored beyond the Missouri River and reached the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. La Vérendrye was forced in 1743 to return to Montreal to pay outstanding debts, however. His sons remained at the fort, which was abandoned during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Over the next century, nonetheless, the site figured quite conspicuously in the displacement of the Dakotas by the Ojibwas in Minnesota and North Dakota. An archaeological dig in 1908 unearthed remnants of the fort, which was reconstructed in 1950. It is on Magnussen's Island at the mouth of Angle Inlet. The location became an island following the raising of lake levels. The fort is included in the National Register of Historic Places.

STEVEN DIETER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

New France; Ojibwa-Dakota Conflict; Ojibwas

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Fort Ste. Marie (Louisiana)

See English Bend (Louisiana)

Fort St. Frédéric (New York)

French fortification constructed from 1734 to 1737 at the head of Lake Champlain at the site known to the British as Crown Point. Until the construction of Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) in 1755, Fort St. Frédéric represented the southern limit of French control in the Champlain Valley. The French destroyed Fort St. Frédéric in 1759, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763) to prevent its seizure by the British.

At Crown Point, Lake Champlain narrows significantly, making the site ideal for controlling movement on the lake. The French first took advantage of this strategic location in 1731, when they constructed a log stockade on the eastern shore.

The French soon realized, however, the need for more permanent works and began construction of a stone fortification on the lake's western shore. Initial plans called for a single, four-story tower or redoubt, octagonal in shape and with openings in the floor of projecting parapets to protect the tower's base. Very quickly, this tower became part of a larger, European-style, angled-bastion fortress, complete with dry moat and light artillery.

Although well designed, Fort St. Frédéric suffered from deficiencies in location and construction. Louis Antoine de Bougainville noted in 1756 that Fort St. Frédéric was "badly located, there being several heights which command it." Additionally, although Crown Point commanded the lake, the French had failed to build the fort where it could best observe ships approaching from the south. In 1739, they constructed a redoubt to the east to rectify this problem. By the early 1750s the fort's walls had deteriorated and were in need of significant repairs. Given these shortcomings, the French shifted their focus on Lake Champlain southward to Fort Carillon.

During King George's War (1744–1748) and the French and Indian War, Fort St. Frédéric acted as a staging area for raids against the British colonies of New York and New England. In 1755, British major general William Johnson led a combined expedition of provincials and Native Americans in a planned attack against the fort. He reached the southern end of Lake George where he defeated the French on September 8, 1755, but stopped to build Fort William Henry instead of continuing the operation.

Although Fort St. Frédéric became less significant with the construction of Fort Carillon beginning in October 1755, provincial rangers continued to conduct raids and reconnaissance missions against the French garrison from there. When Major General Jeffery Amherst forced the French to abandon and destroy Fort Carillon in 1759, they retreated to Fort St. Frédéric, then blew it up. This ended French occupation of the area. In 1760, the British refortified Crown Point and garrisoned it until 1773.

THOMAS A. RIDER II

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; Bougainville, Louis Antoine de, Comte de Bougainville; Crown Point (New York); Fort Ticonderoga (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Johnson, Sir William; King George's War, Land Campaigns; Lake Champlain; Lake George, Battle of; Redoubt; Shirley, William

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Fort St. George's (Maine)

English post constructed about 1719 along the St. George River in Maine (then part of Massachusetts), now the present-day site of Thomaston, Maine. English settlers first settled on lands along the St. George River around 1719. The settlement was the easternmost English outpost in Maine, and threatened both Abenaki and French interests.

To protect the settlers, the colony of Massachusetts built two blockhouses and enclosed them with a palisade wall. A covered walkway ran from the blockhouses to the river, permitting the safe arrival of reinforcements during a siege. Authorities expected attacks on Fort St. George's because it provided the first English military presence on Penobscot Bay.

In 1722, at the beginning of Dummer's War (1722–1727), the Abenakis made Fort St. George's one of their first targets. On June 12, 1722, a native war party attacked the post. The Abenakis captured a sloop and burned it; they also took several citizens hostage. The garrison and the raiders exchanged fire, but the warriors soon left with their captives. Two months later, another group of Abenakis attacked St. George's. They killed 5 settlers and besieged the blockhouses for 12 days. The natives eventually gave up and returned home. About 60 Abenakis again attacked the fort on December 25, 1723. They surprised 2 provincial soldiers outside the walls and learned about conditions within the fort. The outnumbered garrison managed to withstand a 30-day siege, however, thanks mostly to the will of its commander. A relief force under Colonel Thomas Westbrook finally arrived and the Abenakis departed. An Abenaki attempt to burn the fort in 1724 failed when the garrison extinguished boats loaded with combustible materials.

In 1725, John Gyles took command of Fort St. George's. He participated in many of the negotiations to end the war, which were held at the fort. A peace treaty was finally signed in 1727.

After Dummer's War, Fort St. George's became the site of a major trading post owned and operated by Massachusetts. The Abenakis brought in furs and received tools, weapons, and other goods in exchange. An armorer employed by the colony repaired Native American guns. Private traders protested the threat to their profits, but the post provided honest exchanges and refused to sell hard liquor to the natives. The colonial government also recognized

the continuing military importance of Fort St. George's and added another blockhouse to the fortifications.

The added blockhouse proved useful during King George's War (1744–1748). On July 19, 1744, a combined French and Native American raiding party attacked St. George's. Most buildings outside the fort were burned, but the local population remained safely inside. In September 1747 the French and natives again attacked Fort St. George's. In an unusual move, they undertook regular siege operations. The besiegers tried tunneling under the walls while keeping the blockhouses under sporadic fire. Heavy rains, however, caused the tunnels to collapse, bringing the siege to an end.

The Abenakis and the French launched two more serious assaults on Fort St. George's during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The first came in 1755, but it had little effect. The second was in August 1758, when a 400-man raiding party of Abenakis, led by French officers, attacked Fort St. George's. Early intelligence about French plans, however, permitted the garrison to be reinforced and the assault failed. As the war wound down, the threat from the Abenakis and the French declined. Fort St. George's was abandoned in 1762.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Abenakis; Blockhouses; Dummer's Treaty; Dummer's War; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Maine; Westbrook, Thomas

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Fort St. Inigoes (Maryland)

English fort built in 1644 near the mouth of St. Inigoe's Creek, approximately three miles south of St. Mary's City, Maryland. In the late 1620s, the Calvert family arranged with the English Crown to establish a colonial refuge for loyal Catholics. In 1633, one group of Catholics departed for North America in an expedition of two ships, the *Ark* and the *Dove*. They originally settled on St. Clement's Island, near the mouth of the Potomac River. In defending their settlement, they relied on the help of nearby Fort St. Mary's.

The settlement soon expanded, however, and Fort St. Mary's fell into disrepair. The settlers then erected a new fortification at Fort Point, at the junction of the St. Mary's River and St. Inigoe's Creek. This post became known as Fort St. Ignatius, also known as Fort St. Inigoes.

Fort St. Inigoes served to defend the expanding settlement of English Catholics, including the St. Ignatius Church, founded in 1641 by Jesuit Father Andrew White. This fort, like many others on the early colonial American frontier, served not only as a defense against attack by the natives, but it also served as a point of contact with the Jesuits' new neighbors. In particular, it functioned as a bastion of Catholicism in what was then the American wilderness (entirely Protestant). Pastors routinely performed conversions and heard confessions in a wide area, from Virginia to Pennsylvania.

As with its predecessor, Fort St. Inigoes appears never to have been attacked. In the 1650s it fell into disrepair in its turn. The church continued its work, however, and the Jesuit community expanded along the lower Potomac. Today, St. Ignatius Church claims to be the oldest continuous Jesuit establishment in North America.

MATT SCHUMANN

See also

Jesuits; Maryland

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Fort St. Joseph (Michigan)

French post first built in 1691 on the St. Joseph River, near present-day Niles, Michigan. The French established a Jesuit mission on the site to strengthen their ties with the Miami tribe. This outpost was located along the Great Sauk Trail, the principal trading route from the Great Lakes to the upper Mississippi Valley. In 1697, the Marquis de Denonville, governor-general of New France, ordered that a trading post and fortification be built there to support the mission. He named the collective establishment Fort St. Joseph. The fort was situated on a bluff above the river and commanded the portage between the St. Joseph River and Kankakee River. It was also located between the villages of the Miamis on the right bank of the river and the Potawatomis on the left bank. Because of these factors, Fort St. Joseph became an important rendezvous point for native and French fur traders.

A small group of French soldiers under the supervision of Ensign Augustin Legardeur de Courtemanche constructed Fort St. Joseph near the Jesuit mission. It began as a crude palisaded enclosure with a few iron cannon. Over the years, the French continued to improve and renovate the facility, which became a keystone for French influence in the region.

In October 1761 during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), British ensign Francis Schlosser led a detachment of 14 soldiers of the 60th Royal American Regiment to garrison the post, which had been ceded by the French. The British presence disturbed the balanced relationship established by the French and native inhabitants at Fort St. Joseph. Schlosser's high-handed poli-

cies also did not help matters. This youthful commander alienated the French and particularly the Potawatomis.

Native enmity was demonstrated on May 25, 1763, when Fort St. Joseph became a major target of Pontiac's Rebellion (1763). A delegation of Detroit Potawatomis had arrived to visit those in the village near the fort. Schlosser, not knowing the war had already begun at Detroit, allowed the delegation admittance to the fort. Once the delegation was inside, other Native Americans rushed through the gate and killed 11 of the garrison before Schlosser could react. Schlosser was taken captive along with 3 other men who were all taken to Detroit. They were later exchanged for some Potawatomi prisoners.

The fate of Fort St. Joseph was shared by at least seven other British outposts that had been captured using a ruse and coup de main to eject British influence from the Northwest. The British did not assign a garrison to the fort again. Fort St. Joseph would later be the scene of activity during the American Revolutionary War, including a raid by the Spanish from St. Louis, who successfully captured the post from the British and held it until the end of the war.

STEVEN J. RAUCH

See also

Fort Detroit, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Fort St. Leon (Lousiana)

See English Bend (Louisiana)

Fort St. Louis (Texas)

French fort established in 1685 by the French explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, on the Texas coast. The post was situated on the west bank of Garcitas Creek (modern-day Victoria County, Texas), a tributary of Matagorda Bay.

Originally, La Salle had no intention of building a fort at that location. Instead, he hoped to establish a line of forts along the Mississippi River as staging areas from which to invade New Spain. The French organized an expedition with 280 colonists, including 100 soldiers to establish the forts on the Mississippi. Misfortune and poor maps, however, caused the expedition to miss the river by 400 miles. It made landfall at Matagorda Bay, in Spanish territory. The colonists encamped on Matagorda Island while La Salle searched for a more secure location inland. There he ordered the construction of Fort St. Louis. Little is known about the physical structures of the post other than the fact that they were made mostly of wood.

La Salle and his colonists found themselves in difficulty when their supply ship *Belle* became stranded on a sandbar and sank. Disease, fatigue, and desertions added to their problems. Because La Salle overworked the colonists, their numbers were reduced by half in a matter of months, from both illness and defections. With most of Fort St. Louis complete, La Salle, believing they were not far from French Louisiana, began to explore the surrounding area to find French settlements. His last expedition, an attempt to find the distant French forts in the Great Lakes region, began in early 1687 and ended with his death at the hands of his disgruntled men.

Fort St. Louis soon fell prey to raids against it by the Karankawa tribe in late 1688 or early 1689. The Karankawas killed all of the colonists except for five children, whom they adopted. The Spanish rescued them several years later.

Fort St. Louis fell into ruin and was probably razed by the Spanish in 1690. In 1721, the Spanish built Presidio Nuestra Señora de Loreto de la Bahia on its remains.

CHARLES D. GREAR

See also

Fort La Bahia (Texas); Karankawas; La Salle, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de; Louisiana; Texas

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Fort St. Louis at Pimiteoui (Illinois)

French fort constructed in 1691–1692 on the northwestern shore of Lake Peoria (Pimiteoui) above where the lake empties into the Illinois River. The last of three 17th-century forts built by the French in Illinois Country, Fort St. Louis at Pimiteoui was also known as Fort Pimiteoui, Fort Illinois, Fort Peoria, and Fort St. Louis Number 2.

The post's site was not far from the site of Fort Crèvecoeur, built by René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, in January 1680. That redoubt was destroyed within the year by deserting employees. La Salle's associates, Henri de Tonti and François La Forest, built Fort St. Louis at Pimiteoui during the winter of 1691–1692. The two had previously supervised the construction of Fort St. Louis at Starved Rock in 1682. However, that site eventually proved undesirable because of hostility from the Fox and Iroquois tribes and depletion of firewood and game.

Tonti and La Forest consulted with the Illinois about a suitable building place, and the chiefs chose the lower end of the lake. Tonti gained authority to transfer the concession of Fort Crèvecoeur after

La Salle's death, and he and La Forest were thus able to proceed with the move.

As with its predecessor, Fort St. Louis at Pimiteoui was named after King Louis XIV. The fort's defenses consisted of a square wooden palisade with bastions in each corner. Within the walls were a number of log buildings used for stores and barracks. In April 1693, Jesuit Father Jacques Gravier reestablished the Mission of the Immaculate Conception just outside the fort's walls.

In 1702, Tonti and La Forest lost their concession because of new trade restrictions. As a result, French fur traders abandoned Fort St. Louis. Still, trading continued, with Tonti's nephew remaining in the area until 1711.

In 1717, the territory was transferred from New France to Louisiana, but this had little effect on the fort's operations. Fort St. Louis retained some military importance and maintained a small but temporary garrison. There are no records of skirmishes during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). After the French defeat in the war, Fort St. Louis passed into English possession. When the British arrived in the area, they found a layout fairly similar to the original structure. By 1773, however, the stockade had been destroyed by fire. By 1826, all that remained of the fort were burned pickets and heaped earth.

STEVEN DIETER

See also

Fort Crèvecoeur (Illinois); Fort St. Louis at Starved Rock (Illinois); Illinois; Jesuits; La Salle, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de

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Fort St. Louis at Starved Rock (Illinois)

French garrison built in 1683 overlooking the Illinois River, not far from modern-day Utica, Illinois. Starved Rock is a 125-foot-high sandstone cliff and the most prominent geographical feature on the Illinois River. Early French explorers of the region named this landmark "La Roche" (The Rock). The Rock, as it was often referred to on contemporary maps, possessed a natural value as a highly defensible point. The French and various Native American groups made use of it as a bastion at different times.

In the 1680s, French explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, selected the high point on the Illinois River as the site for a fort, named St. Louis. La Salle assigned Henri de Tonti the task of constructing the fort, which was completed in 1683. The structure Tonti erected consisted of an irregularly shaped wooden palisade with 22-foot-high walls where the cliff sloped downward and 15-foot walls facing the river. There was also a chapel, a warehouse or magazine, and several other smaller buildings designed for housing and to facilitate trade transactions. Because it was built atop a promontory, the fort was virtually impregnable on three sides, with

the fourth approachable only by a narrow, winding path. For several years, Fort St. Louis played an important role in the French trade network up and down the Illinois River. This was not a permanent state of affairs, however, and the French abandoned the fort in 1691 for a new fort farther downstream.

Throughout the 18th century, various Native American tribes used the site of the abandoned French fort as a defensive bastion in times of need. Reportedly, one such occasion in the early 1770s gave Fort St. Louis and vicinity its other name of Starved Rock. Apparently, a party of Potawatomi warriors pursued a group of the Illinois tribe to the site. The reason for the pursuit was the belief among the Potawatomis that the Illinois were responsible for the murder of the native leader Pontiac after the failure of his uprising in 1763. In desperation, the Illinois entered the old fort, seeking protection from their adversaries, and were there besieged. During the siege, the Illinois used buckets attached to a cord to try to secure water, but the Potawatomis cut the cords. After days of siege, the Potawatomis overcame the starving Illinois and killed them. Most 21st-century historians view this account as legend rather than fact.

JAMES R. McIntyre

See also

Illinois; La Salle, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Fort St. Peter (Mississippi)

French fort built about 1714 on bluffs above the Mississippi River, near Vicksburg, Mississippi. The French erected Fort St. Peter as part of a defensive cordon against English expansion in North America. The fort also functioned as a trading post. Fort St. Peter's location by the Mississippi was strategic by water but indefensible by land. Little is known of the structure's physical description other than the fact that it was palisaded.

During the Natchez War (1729–1733), on January 2, 1730, the Yazoos ambushed and then massacred the 20-man French garrison at Fort St. Peter. After Spain took control of the area by treaty in 1763, the Spanish built nearby Fort Nogales in 1783 to replace aging Fort St. Peter. The two forts were taken by U.S. troops in 1798 and renamed Fort McHenry before the 1803 Louisiana Purchase.

CHRISTOPHER HOWELL

See also

Mississippi River; Natchez War

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Fort St. Simons (Georgia)

British fortification built in 1738 on the order of Georgia's founder, James Oglethorpe, on the southernmost point of St. Simons Island. The garrison was designed to guard coastal Georgia from Spanish attacks and was crucial in reinforcing English colonial claims and interests in Georgia. Fort St. Simons was within 400 yards of Fort Delegal and 6 miles from Fort Frederica. Fort St. Simons and Fort Delegal were designed to protect the sound from invaders and guard the access road to Fort Frederica. Manned by the 42nd Regiment of Foot, which alternated soldiers stationed at Fort Frederica, Fort St. Simons had cannon and trenches. Little more is known about the garrison's particulars.

On June 28, 1742, soldiers stationed at Fort St. Simons sighted 36 Spanish ships heading northward. Spanish governor Juan Francisco de Güemes had ordered Manuel de Montiano to attack St. Simons Island. By July 5, Montiano's fleet had sailed into the sound, despite resistance from the fort. Several thousand Spaniards disembarked at Gascoigne Bluff, almost two miles north of Fort St. Simons.

Oglethorpe ordered the defenders of Fort St. Simons to evacuate the fort and remove any vessels. Before they departed for Fort Frederica, the soldiers destroyed all vessels they could not bring off. Spanish troops moved south the next day and seized now-abandoned Fort St. Simons. They employed the fort as their head-quarters in planning an attack on Fort Frederica.

English forces, supported by their Yamasee allies, ultimately defeated the Spanish in ambushes on the island's military road and in the Battle of Bloody Marsh on July 7. The Spaniards then retreated to Fort St. Simons and planned two unsuccessful raids on Fort Frederica. Following these, Montiano instructed his troops to raze Fort St. Simons and depart the island. The Spanish had departed by July 15. The British never rebuilt the fort.

ELIZABETH D. SCHAFER

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Bloody Marsh, Battle of; Fort Frederica (Georgia); Fort Prince William (Georgia); Fort St. Andrews (Georgia); Georgia; Montiano, Manuel de; Oglethorpe, James Edward; Yamasees

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Fort Swanendael (Delaware)

Ill-fated Dutch outpost constructed in 1631 and located along the western coast of Delaware Bay, near modern-day Lewes, Delaware. In 1629, Gillis Hossitt, a seaman acting for a group of Dutch investors, purchased land from the Delaware people to establish New Netherland's first patroonship. Samuel Godyn was the leading investor, joined by Kiliaen van Rensselaer, Samuel Blommaert, Johannes DeLaet, David DeVries, and others. Hossitt set up a furtrading post, located on the seacoast at Lewes Creek (called Hoorn or Hoere Kill) and called the land Swanendael (or Zwaanendael in modern Dutch), meaning valley of the swans.

Hossitt returned to Amsterdam with a valuable cargo of furs while Godyn organized an expedition to settle the area. The expedition arrived in spring 1631. DeVries captained the ship *Walvis* (Whale), carrying 28 men along with trading goods, livestock, building materials, and farming and whaling equipment. The investors hoped to harvest whale oil as well as trade in furs.

Under Hossitt's supervision, the men built a brick blockhouse and cookhouse. The structures were surrounded by a four-sided wooden palisade. They called it Fort Oplandt. Five men from New Amsterdam joined them there. After the *Walvis* returned to the Netherlands, the investors planned a second expedition, also under command of DeVries.

In early 1632, a neighboring Delaware Native American removed the metal coat of arms from its stake outside the Dutch trading post. Metal was almost unknown to the natives, and the man intended to make a tobacco pipe of it. The Dutch saw this as the theft of an important symbol of authority and vigorously protested. Fearing the traders' anger, several natives executed the thief and brought his head to the trading post. The traders were reportedly distressed, having expected a less severe punishment. The dead man's friends, too, were upset, and took revenge. They approached the house supposedly bearing furs to trade and then killed the two men inside. They then approached the men working in the fields and killed them one by one. Only one man escaped.

News of the massacre made its way to the Netherlands before the second expedition sailed. The investors abandoned their plan to send more settlers and recast the voyage as a whaling expedition. Two vessels arrived off Cape Henlopen in December 1632. DeVries found the blockhouse destroyed, the skeletons of 32 men, and the bones of their horses and livestock. Even the watchdog had been shot through with 25 arrows.

DeVries saw no point in trying to find the perpetrators and take revenge. Thus, he made peace with the natives and reestablished trade. His men set up a camp on the beach, but the whaling did not go well and food supplies soon dwindled. DeVries then decided to abandon the venture at Swanendael, and in the spring of 1633 he began the return voyage to Holland. The settlement's leading shareholder, Godyn, died in September 1633, and interest in Swanendael

died with him. The investors had sold the land to the Dutch West India Company by 1635.

The existence of Fort Swanendael and its episodic occupation by the Dutch during the period 1631 to 1633 permitted the Dutch to retain title to the area when challenged by the English of Maryland. Permanent Dutch settlers eventually occupied the area around 1659.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Delaware; Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Netherlands; New Netherland

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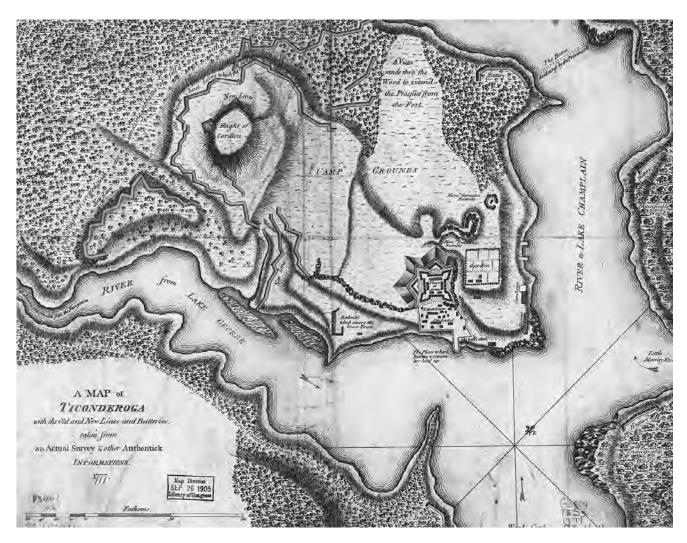
Fort Swanendael Massacre (1632)

See Fort Swanendael (Delaware)

Fort Ticonderoga (New York)

French garrison built during 1755–1756, strategically situated along the southern coast of Lake Champlain in New York on a rugged peninsula that juts into the lake from the west, narrowing the northward-flowing lake to a few hundred yards. The site overlooks the La Chute River, a short waterway that links Lake George, to the southwest, to Lake Champlain.

Since 1689, Lake Champlain had been an important military north-south water route through the northern wilderness for both the French and British and their Native American allies. English armies gathered in Albany, New York, and traveled up the Hudson River 40 miles to Fort Edward and portaged the 12 to 15 miles north-



Plan of Fort Ticonderoga and its surrounding fortifications during the American Revolutionary War. Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain, was a key installation during the French and Indian War and the American Revolutionary War. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

ward to either Lake Champlain's source 25 miles south of Ticonderoga or down Lake George and across the 2-mile portage around the La Chute River's falls to Lake Champlain. Both routes converged at Ticonderoga. Sixty miles to the north, Lake Champlain emptied into the Richelieu River that ultimately emptied into the St. Lawrence River Valley, the heart of New France. In the 1730s, the French built Fort St. Frédéric at Crown Point, 10 miles north of Ticonderoga. But during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), a new French post at Ticonderoga, Fort Carillon, blocked that strategic junction.

After stopping Sir William Johnson's provincial army in the September 1755 Battle of Lake George, French troops directed by Michel de Lotbinière began to build a fort at Ticonderoga. Lotbinière chose a site atop a rocky finger of land running along the southern edge of the peninsula. Constructed of squared oak timber cribs filled with debris, this fort, which the French called Fort Carillon, was square shaped with four corner bastions. It reportedly mounted more than 20 cannon. Because an opponent could only attack easily from the west across the heights or move under the fort's guns across the broad plain to the north, two detached triangular bastions, known as demilunes, bolstered the western and northern walls. Three barracks built of stone could maintain at least a 400-man garrison. Gradually, the original wooden walls received a stone facing. Simultaneously, the English constructed Fort William Henry at Lake George's southern end, 30 miles to the south. Both sides continuously scouted and raided each other's installations.

The French and Indian War returned to Lake George and the Champlain Valley in 1757. In August 1757, Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, launched an offensive from Fort Carillon that captured and destroyed Fort William Henry. The following year, Major General James Abercromby led a massive, 13,000-man British force down Lake George toward Fort Carillon. Outnumbered at least three to one, Montcalm realized the fort could not withstand a siege and he ordered his men to construct a stacked log wall about 6 feet high, complete with firing steps and loopholes, across the western approaches, half a mile from the fort. Montcalm deployed the bulk of his 4,200 men along this line. Abercromby's men assaulted the French position at least six times on July 8, 1758, but the attacking British troops became entangled in abatis, the mass of sharpened tree limbs the French had arranged before their defenses. Inexplicably, Abercromby never brought up his artillery. Having sustained nearly 2,500 casualties, compared to only 400 for the defenders, Abercromby withdrew.

The next year, in July 1759, Major General Jeffery Amherst methodically moved an army of 5,800 regulars and some 5,000 provincials toward Ticonderoga. Fort Carillon's 400-man garrison under Captain Louis-Philippe Le Dossu d'Hebecourt bluffed Amherst into deploying for a siege, but then withdrew to Fort St. Frédéric just four days after the English arrival to join its strong garrison under Brigadier General François-Jean de Bourlamaque. Before departing Fort Carillon, however, the French lit a fuze to the powder in the main magazine under the southeast bastion. When it went off, it effectively destroyed the fort. Amherst entered what remained of

Fort Carillon on July 27 at a cost of only 5 dead and 31 wounded. The French soon abandoned and destroyed Fort St. Frédéric as well, withdrawing north to Île-aux-Noix, on the Richelieu River.

Amherst rebuilt the fort along its original plan, finishing its stone exterior. Now officially called Fort Ticonderoga, it served as a relay point for Brigadier General William Haviland's 1760 offensive down the Champlain Valley and Richelieu Valley.

After the end of the French and Indian War in 1763, Ticonderoga maintained a token garrison, being overshadowed by the new and larger Fort Crown Point. After Crown Point's accidental destruction by fire in April 1773, main operations shifted back to Ticonderoga. By 1775, however, Ticonderoga was in ruins. The hastily built stonework buckled each winter, the roofs leaked, and part of the east wall had collapsed. For Colonel Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys and Captain Benedict Arnold, surprising and capturing Ticonderoga's 43-man garrison on the morning of May 10, 1775, took little effort, but the fort's past reputation gave their deed tremendous weight as one of the opening blows of the American Revolutionary War. The artillery captured by the Patriots at both Ticonderoga and Crown Point had a major impact on the war. The fort continued to play a significant role throughout the war before being abandoned shortly thereafter.

STANLEY J. ADAMIAK

See also

Abatis; Abercromby, James; Amherst, Jeffery; Bourlamaque, François Charles de; Fort St. Frédéric (New York); Fort Ticonderoga, Battle of; Fort William Henry (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Haviland, William; Johnson, Sir William; Lake Champlain; Lake George; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de

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Fort Ticonderoga (New York), Battle of Event Date: July 8, 1758

The last major French victory in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The Battle of Ticonderoga confirmed the martial reputation of French major general Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm. Although a spectacular triumph in its own right, the French victory did little to forestall the eventual fall of New France. That process began in earnest that same year through the loss of both Louisbourg and Fort Duquesne.

The French built Fort Ticonderoga in 1755 to defend the southern approaches to Canada through the Lake George–Lake Champlain corridor. It effectively deterred British offensive operations against the St. Lawrence settlements during the first years of the conflict. French troops used this forward operational base to great effect, keeping British forces on the defensive even though the latter possessed numerical superiority in the region. As such, under the strategic oversight of William Pitt the Elder in London, Ticonderoga became a principal British Army target in the 1758 campaign. The British assigned to the task of reducing Ticonderoga a formidable force of 6,300 regulars, including the 42nd Highlanders, and some 9,000 provincial troops. Taking the fort was to be a preliminary step to an advance on Montreal. Montcalm could muster only 3,500 men at the southern tip of Lake Champlain to stop the British advance.

Major General James Abercromby, the Earl of Loudoun's successor as commander in chief of the British forces in North America, led his troops up Lake George beginning on July 5, 1758. The resourceful Montcalm had not been idle while Abercromby's troops carried out their slow advance. Believing that his forces were outnumbered by at least five to one, Montcalm hoped to deny his opponents the opportunity to bring their full strength against Fort Ticonderoga in a conventional siege.

To thwart the British, the French threw up a strong barricade fronted by an abatis, a wooden entanglement of felled trees, on the strategic high ground where the British would want to deploy their artillery. A British reconnaissance party observed these newly constructed defenses on the morning of July 8. However, the British failed to discern the true design of the loopholed entrenchment, characterizing it as a flimsy barrier that could be easily penetrated. This miscalculation, in addition to faulty intelligence suggesting that a relief force of 3,000 additional French troops would soon make an appearance, led Abercromby to order his men to storm the barrier without the benefit of artillery support.

Abercromby's decision to overrun the suspect breastwork by a coup de mousqueterie was unorthodox. In a tactical situation requiring speed, this maneuver obliged troops to march forward to the enemy position before discharging their weapons and breaking through the palisade. The unified and deadly advance of such an assault was designed either to cause defenders to flee or die behind their parapets.

Following established military procedure, the British commander first established an advance screen of 50 men from each regiment, known as a picket. These soldiers were to protect the remainder of the army while it deployed for battle. They were supported by seven grenadier companies who preceded the main regular force, which was divided into three brigades.

This mammoth British tidal wave of regulars did not roll across the French entrenchment as Abercromby had envisioned. Instead of overwhelming the defenders by a combined frontal assault, the redcoats' orderly advance was impeded by a 100-yard obstacle course of pointed tree trunks and branches, underbrush, and stumps. The French obstacle prevented any coordinated British assault.

The critical first British attack launched in the early afternoon of July 8 turned out to be a clumsy affair, with each of the six line regiments engaging the French only in piecemeal fashion. In consequence, the defenders were not deluged by onrushing soldiers but were allowed to concentrate their fire as each unit appeared. Meanwhile, they reinforced vulnerable parts of their entrenchment at Montcalm's discretion.

Confusion reigned as some British troops were pinned down by French fire while other battalions withdrew. Only with great difficulty were regular officers able to bring their bewildered men to order. The assault regrouped throughout the afternoon. At British headquarters, Abercromby received conflicting reports about the attack. Only after repeated advances were arrested did he order, just before nightfall, the exhausted men to retire.

The dispirited British regulars left the battlefield behind a screen of provincial troops. They then embarked the next morning for their base camp at the southern edge of Lake George. British casualties in the assault on Fort Ticonderoga numbered 1,944, French casualties only 372. Montcalm's brilliant victory did not result in a strong counteroffensive because of the paucity of his resources. He thus had to be content with maintaining a defensive posture for the remainder of the year.

ALEXANDER V. CAMPBELL

See also

Abatis; Abercromby, James; Fort Ticonderoga (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Lake Champlain; Louisbourg, Siege of; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Pitt, William, the Elder, First Earl of Chatham

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Fort Tombeché (Alabama)

French fortification built in 1736 on a high bluff along the Tombigbee River to stage military attacks against the English and the Chickasaws. Wanting to secure French power from Canada throughout the Mississippi River Valley, French officials sought to keep British traders from settling and claiming territory adjacent to the Gulf Coast. That land linked Fort Toulouse and trade centers with the Mississippi River. The French encouraged alliances with natives, especially the Choctaws, who despised the English for enslaving natives. The Chickasaws, however, sided with the British and protected the Natchez tribe, which had massacred French settlers in 1729 at Fort Rosalie.

As English traders increased their activity north of Mobile, French officials hoped to reinforce Choctaw allegiances to impede British trade and wage war with the Chickasaws. To accomplish this, the governor of Louisiana, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, ordered construction of a fort to supply military troops at the confluence of the Tombigbee River and Warrior River. In spring 1736, an advance group traveled 30 miles past the confluence. They selected for the fort a strategic site atop 80-foot-high White Rock Bluff, named for its chalky limestone. Named Fort Tombeché, the site was almost 150 miles north from Mobile in Choctaw territory, near Chickasaw lands. Trade routes also passed nearby.

While the advance party built the fort, using the bluff and adjacent creek as natural defenses, Bienville assembled a force of approximately 500 French, Swiss, and black soldiers at Fort Condé. Those troops departed for Fort Tombeché on April 1, 1736. Choctaw allies accompanied them on the almost month-long trek north to the fort where they readied for battle. At Ackia, the Chickasaws victoriously resisted the French assault, forcing Bienville's troops back to Fort Condé. Meanwhile, at Fort Tombeché, workers were completing a storehouse, guardhouse, powder magazine, prison, and officers' quarters. When finished the fort featured bastions, earthworks, and a moat. Workers used cedar wood in the construction, which is more durable than pine. Fort Tombeché had the capacity to accommodate a garrison of up to 50 men.

The French retained a garrison at Fort Tombeché for almost three decades, reinforcing and enlarging the fort and trading weapons and goods for deerskins and crops. During the Choctaw-Chickasaw War (1752), troops from the fort fought anti-French Choctaws. The 1763 Treaty of Paris officially transferred Fort Tombeché to the British, who renamed it Fort York and manned it for five years.

After Spain's 1780 seizure of Mobile, Louisiana's Gov. Don Bernardo de Galvez sent soldiers to the abandoned Fort Tombeché to defend Spanish lands from settlers and guard river trade on the Gulf Coast. Renamed Fort Confederation, it remained under Spanish control until Pinckney's Treaty (1796) transferred it to the United States. The fort's site is located in modern-day Sumter County, Alabama.

ELIZABETH D. SCHAFER

See also

Ackia, Battle of; Chickasaws; Choctaw-Chickasaw War; Choctaw Civil War; Choctaws; Fort Condé (Alabama); Fort Rosalie (Mississippi); Fort Toulouse (Alabama); Le Moyne de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste; New France

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Society, Ste. Geneviève, May 1986, edited by Philip P. Boucher and Serge

Courville, 133–153. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988.

Fort Toulouse (Alabama)

French military outpost built in 1717 among the Upper Creek peoples, situated at the confluence of the Coosa River and Tallapoosa River, 10 miles north of present-day Montgomery, Alabama. More commonly referred to as the "Alabama Fort," Fort Toulouse was one of several French settlements on the Gulf Coast, the first of which began at Mobile in 1702. Indeed, the French saw an opportunity to establish a strategic outpost among the Creek in the aftermath of the Yamasee War (1715–1717), when anti-English sentiment was at its strongest. In response to the desire by the Creeks for trade, the French erected a small fort more notable for its diplomatic role than for its military potential. They hoped Fort Toulouse could win Native American allies and connect French colonies on the Gulf Coast to the Great Lakes, effectively encircling the British and limiting their westward expansion.

In many ways, Fort Toulouse's relatively small size made it more influential than intended. The original fort and its 1751 successor were nearly identical. Each boasted wooden palisades, roughly 150 feet square, with bastions at the four corners. The garrison never numbered more than 50 men, although in the later decades of the fort's life, a small community of former soldiers and their families lived nearby.

The fort was rebuilt in 1751, and then contained several buildings that included a powder magazine, two barracks, and a small chapel. The bastions were outfitted with swivel guns and both 4-and 6-pounder cannon.

The fort relied on trade in foodstuffs with local natives for most of their provisions, while the natives brought English guns and tools to the fort for the French blacksmiths to repair. The trade at the fort reinforced amicable relations between the French and Native Americans. The French governors at Mobile and New Orleans also took advantage of the fort's convenient location for talks with American Indian headmen and the distribution of gifts. The Creeks never received enough in trade from Fort Toulouse to supplant the large quantities of goods brought by English traders, but nevertheless found the French presence advantageous, as this tended to forestall British aggression.

From the British perspective, Fort Toulouse was a threat greatly out of proportion to its size. The British feared the influence of the French garrison there over the Native Americans of the southeast, and were certain that French diplomatic overtures would convince the Creeks and possibly the Cherokees to storm the British colonies of South Carolina and Georgia. Although they long desired to destroy Fort Toulouse, the British could never win adequate native support for such an attack. The French, because of their paucity of trade goods, never led any native armies from Fort Toulouse. Thus the imperial contests in the southeast remained mostly diplomatic in nature. Fort Toulouse was finally abandoned in 1763, when the Treaty of Paris ceded all French claims east of the Mississippi River

to the British and the Creeks refused to allow the British to garrison the fort.

ROBERT PAULETT

See also

Cherokees; Creeks; Fort Tombeché (Alabama); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Louisiana; Yamasee War

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Fort Trent (Pennsylvania)

British fort erected in 1754 at the Forks of the Ohio River. Fort Trent marked the first English effort to establish a permanent military presence at the Forks of the Ohio. Although a small and rudimentary structure, the post could have controlled the junction of the Allegheny River and Monongahela River. The French capture and destruction of Fort Trent in 1754 provided the immediate spark for the French and Indian War (1754–1763) in North America.

By 1753, Virginia land speculators in the Ohio Company had claimed ownership of land in the Ohio River Valley. This assertion conflicted with French claims of ownership of the territory west of the Allegheny Mountains. In November 1753, Virginia's Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie sent Major George Washington with a letter demanding that the French abandon their forts in the area. When the French refused, Dinwiddie issued colonial commissions to British traders in the region and took other steps to prevent further French encroachment.

William Trent, an experienced trader, received a commission as a captain in the Virginia provincial troops. Dinwiddie ordered Trent to raise a company of volunteers and to build a fort at the Forks of the Ohio. Meanwhile, Washington, promoted to lieutenant colonel, organized a larger force to occupy the area. The Virginia House of Burgesses accepted Dinwiddie's plan on February 14, 1754, but it demanded oversight of the spending of £10,000 authorized to pay for the fort and its garrison.

Trent was not able to enlist as many men as he had hoped. He named John Fraser as his second-in-command and Edward Ward, his brother-in-law, as ensign. Fraser was a trader who owned a post on Turtle Creek, six miles above the Forks of the Ohio, and he was more interested in his business affairs than in the new fort. Trent was only able to enlist 33 soldiers and 8 artisans for the garrison, along with a few local natives. They arrived at the Forks of the Ohio on February 17, 1754, and began construction of a fort.

Tanaghrisson (Half-King), a native chief friendly to the British, laid the first log. Trent based the building on a fortified storehouse he had constructed earlier for the Ohio Company at Redstone Creek. Ward later described the fort as "a strong square long house with loop holes sufficient to have made a good defence with a few men and very convenient for a store house, where stores might be lodged in order to be transported by water." Work proceeded rapidly, thanks to a ready supply of timber.

Trent's greatest problem was a shortage of supplies. Local natives refused to sell provisions, even at high prices. When he received reports in early April of a large French force approaching, Trent hurried back to Wills Creek to speed Washington's troops forward. Ward took command after Fraser refused to come to the fort, citing business concerns. A palisade of upright pointed posts was hurriedly built around the storehouse, and a gate was hung on April 17, just as 500 French soldiers and natives arrived.

The commander of the French troops, Captain Claude Pierre Pécaudy, Seigneur de Contrecoeur, demanded the fort's immediate surrender. Otherwise, he said he would employ his 18 cannon to destroy it, along with everyone inside. With fewer than 50 men and no supplies, Ward capitulated.

On April 18, Ward and his men took their arms and tools and marched back to Virginia territory. Pécaudy used the timbers from Fort Trent to begin the construction of a larger, more powerful structure. It became Fort Duquesne.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Dinwiddie, Robert; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Ohio Company; Ohio Country; Ohio Expedition (1754); Pécaudy de Contrecoeur, Claude-Pierre; Tanaghrisson (Half-King); Trent, William; Washington, George

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Fort Trinity (Delaware)

See Fort Casimer (Delaware)

Fort Upper Tract (West Virginia)

British fort built in 1756 and located near the south branch of the Potomac River, the site of modern-day Upper Tract, West Virginia. Following King George's War (1744–1748), British and French

expansion into the Ohio River Valley created a new area of conflict between the two colonial empires. Following the defeat of Major General Edward Braddock and his British forces in 1755 during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Virginia's frontiers contracted. They went from the Ohio River and shrank east to the western extremities of the Potomac.

In March 1756, Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie authorized construction of a chain of forts along the Allegheny frontier, from North Carolina to Pennsylvania. Under the supervision of Colonel George Washington, these outposts were hastily built and garrisoned by small detachments of the Virginia Militia. In northwestern Virginia alone, the English colonists built more than 20 forts between 1755 and 1756, one of them being Fort Upper Tract. Captain Thomas Waggoner of the Virginia Militia supervised two of the forts.

Fort Upper Tract or Waggoner's Upper Fort, was a 90-foot-square stockade with four blockhouses. It complemented Fort Buttermilk, or Waggoner's Lower Fort, a stockaded fortification about 11 miles to the northeast. Between these two redoubts were several other forts of various descriptions, most of them housing 50 or fewer militiamen. The overall chain of forts varied in size and shape from a cave and palisade at Edes' Fort to the barracks, stable, officers' quarters, magazine, and four blockhouses at Fort Pleasant.

A Delaware raiding party leveled Fort Upper Tract on April 27, 1758. Nearby Fort Seybert suffered the same fate a day later. Although the latter was rebuilt and improved, what remained of Fort Upper Tract became the town of Upper Tract. The area was thereafter protected by John Justus Hinkle's stockaded fort, built a few miles to the southwest.

MATT SCHUMANN

See also

Braddock's Campaign; Delaware; Dinwiddie, Robert; Fort Pleasant (West Virginia); Fort Seybert (West Virginia); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Redoubt; Washington, George

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Fort Walpack (New Jersey)

British fortification built in 1755 on the New Jersey frontier during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Situated in Walpack Township, Sussex County, Fort Walpack was one of a series of four forts constructed to protect the northern frontier of the colony stretching 60 miles along the Delaware River. Royal Governor Jonathan Belcher ordered construction of the forts in December 1755.

Sources identify Fort Walpack as a palisaded structure, 50 feet square with a wooden church and small blockhouse. The church was

most likely the Dutch Reformed Church of Walpack Township (built in 1737), located six miles between Van Campen's Fort and Fort Johns overlooking a strategic bend in the Delaware River. Also identified as Fort Number Three in this series of forts, Fort Walpack was the smallest. It did not have a family in residence, as did the area's other forts and required only 10 men to defend it. Although no record of any hostile action against the fort exists, Delaware warriors did actively raid in the surrounding area and on the Pennsylvania shore opposite the fort throughout the French and Indian War.

The fort remained intermittently active during the American Revolutionary War and carried the distinction of reporting the last known Native American raid on the New Jersey northern frontier in May 1782. Captain Emanuel Hover, who owned the lands surrounding the fort, pursued the raiding natives with a small company of militia, but with an unknown result. The church ceased to function as a fort after the war ended, but was still used for religious services by the Dutch Reformed Church and German Reformed Church until it was abandoned in 1898.

BRAD WINEMAN

See also

Fort Johns (New Jersey); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; New Jersey; Pennsylvania

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Fort West (Virginia)

An early, short-lived outpost built in 1609 on a small island near the falls of the James River, at present-day Richmond. At the time of its construction, a palisaded Powhatan village stood atop a nearby hill.

In August 1609, hundreds of new settlers arrived in Jamestown, which was already threatened with hunger because of short food supplies. Captain John Smith, president of the colony, decided to disperse part of the population in groups large enough to defend themselves but small enough to provide their own food. Thus, Captain Francis West departed with 120 men to the island at the falls and established West's Fort (or Fort West). At the time, some of the colonists were promoting West, the 22-year-old brother of Thomas West, Baron de la Warr, to take Smith's place as president.

Smith later visited the site, in West's absence, and determined that it was far too prone to flooding. He also promised the Powhatans a quantity of copper and protection against their rivals (the Monacans) if they would sell him their village, which he dubbed Fort Nonsuch. He then ordered West's settlers to relocate to the native village. The settlers objected, possibly in the mistaken belief that the riverside site controlled the route to the Pacific. They refused to leave and then rebelled. As a result, Smith and his sailors seized their supplies, whereupon the settlers attacked the natives

and stole their supplies. Attacked in turn by the natives, the settlers then finally submitted to Smith's authority. He arrested six or seven and relocated the rest to the hilltop village. West, however, moved the settlement back to the river site when he returned.

With the coming of winter, the settlers abandoned Fort West and returned to Jamestown, having lost several of their number to repeated Native American attacks. Indeed, they charged that Smith had "incensed and [a]nimated the Savages" against them. The Powhatans, according to Smith, complained that the settlers were worse than the Monacans.

The colonists established a trading post at the Fort West site in 1637. Richmond was laid out 100 years later, in 1737.

SCOTT C. MONIE

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, First; Jamestown; Powhatans; Smith, John; Virginia

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Fort Western (Maine)

Rectangular palisaded outpost built in 1754 along the Kennebec River at what is now Augusta, Maine (then part of Massachusetts). Fort Western served as the forward supply base to Fort Halifax, a second palisaded fort located approximately 20 miles upriver. Fort Western was also the jumping-off point for an expedition up the Kennebec at the opening of the French and Indian War (1754–1763) to find a rumored French fort being built at the assumed headwaters of the Kennebec River. Later, Fort Western served as the staging area for Colonel Benedict Arnold's grueling winter expedition to Quebec in 1775 at the beginning of the American Revolutionary War.

Located below the falls at the head of maritime navigation of the Kennebec and at the site of an early 17th-century Plymouth trading post known as Cushnoc, Fort Western was constructed under the direction of the Kennebec Proprietors, a group of wealthy Boston investors as part of their attempt to patent and settle lands in the region. Additionally, Massachusetts authorities desired to solidify their influence in the area by weakening French ties with the Abenakis by constructing Fort Halifax as a military base and trading post, and to counter increasing threats from the French, who did not concede British dominion over Maine.

Although neither French nor Native American forces directly attacked the post itself, Fort Western played an important logistical role during the French and Indian War and was close to the scene of active hostilities on the Massachusetts frontier. The installation consisted of a stockade and several buildings, including two blockhouses that included artillery.

In 1755, one of the garrison's soldiers was captured by hostile natives while acting as a courier to Fort Halifax and spent four years in captivity before he was released. On one occasion in 1757, several of the garrison's boatmen came under hostile fire as they ferried supplies upriver to Fort Halifax.

Because of its location at the head of navigation, supplies shipped up the Kennebec from Boston were unloaded at the fort and transferred to flat-bottomed boats, following which the supplies were rowed upstream by soldiers to Fort Halifax. Captain James Howard's Company of Massachusetts Provincials manned the fort from 1754 to 1767. Howard's command included his sons and a dozen or so other men, many of whom had originally garrisoned Fort Richmond, several miles downstream.

On the French surrender to British forces at Montreal in 1760, fighting in the region ceased and Fort Western's garrison was consequently reduced. Nevertheless, a post was maintained there by provincial authorities until sometime in 1767. At that point, Captain Howard acquired the fort and nearby lands. There he opened a store and engaged in the timber business for many years.

In 1775, during the American Revolutionary War, Arnold used the fort as the staging area for his expedition against Quebec. His forces gathered at Fort Western as his troops and carpenters constructed numerous bateaux and collected supplies there. Arnold's officers at the fort included such notables as Daniel Morgan, Aaron Burr, and Henry Dearborn.

The fort reverted to a store after the American Revolutionary War. Opened to the public in 1922 as a museum, Fort Western's main house is the oldest surviving wooden military structure in the Unites States.

JOHN MAASS

See also

Abenakis; Blockhouses; Fort Halifax (Maine); Fort Richmond (Maine); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Maine

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Fort Whorekill (Delaware)

See Fort Swanendael (Delaware)

Fort William (Massachusetts)

English fort constructed in 1655 on Winter Island in Salem Harbor, Massachusetts. Fort William was one of the earlier defensive works in the colony of Massachusetts. As with other early defensive posts, it was a municipal fortification, and not, like the later Northfield forts, a buffer between the frontier and the eastern settlements.

The first fortification in Salem was the Salem Fort, built in 1629 and meant to protect the landward side. Fort William faced out to sea, and protected both Derby Wharf and the Salem Neck. Together with Fort Sewall to its south, it also commanded the small stretch of sea between Salem and Marblehead, one of the earliest natural harbors in use by Massachusetts settlers. Along with the Gloucester forts, it helped to protect the sea lanes stretching southwest to Boston.

In addition to its port defense function, Fort William was also well suited for docking ships. Indeed, in modern times the site served as a repository for depth charges and a small base for the U.S. Coast Guard. In its day, it may also have served as a last bastion of refuge, had Massachusetts settlers been driven from their coastal settlement.

From its foundation in 1655, Fort William saw relatively little service. It was not threatened either with native attack or by the naval forces of other European powers. In 1703 it was upgraded and renamed Fort Anne in honor of England's new queen. Captured by Patriot forces in 1775 during the American Revolutionary War, it was renamed Fort Number Two.

MATT SCHUMANN

See also

Fort Gloucester (Massachusetts)

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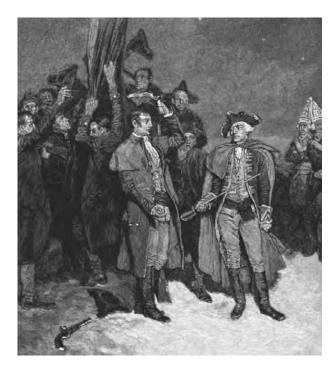
Fort William (Pennsylvania)

See Fort Lebanon (Pennsylvania)

Fort William and Mary (New Hampshire)

British garrison erected around 1632, originally called the "Castle," which served as the primary defense for Portsmouth Harbor, New Hampshire, throughout the colonial period. Fort William and Mary began as little more than an earthen redoubt aimed at providing a modicum of protection for the fledgling seaport. But as Portsmouth grew and prospered, the community recognized the need to improve its defenses, especially against the threat of French privateers and naval warships. A wooden blockhouse was added in the 1660s and, during King William's War (1689–1697), a breastwork was built to accommodate extra cannon. It was also at this time that the community renamed the structure "Fort William and Mary" to honor the new English monarchs, whom residents saw as protectors of their political liberties and Protestant faith.

War against the French in the 18th century often spurred officials to make further improvements to Fort William and Mary's fortifica-



The capture of Fort William and Mary at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in December 1774 by Patriot forces under Major John Sullivan, a member of the First Continental Congress. Wood engraving from 1886, after Howard Pyle. (The Granger Collection)

tions. In 1705, amid Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), stone walls went up around the fort and a well was dug to provide fresh water for the garrison. Typically, only a handful of soldiers guarded the structure, although reinforcements were added in times of emergency.

Although the fort's prominent position overlooking the harbor may have been militarily advantageous, it also exposed it to ocean storms that forced frequent maintenance. Repairs were made in the 1750s along with the addition of more guns in response to the French and Indian War. Other breastworks and batteries were built around Portsmouth Harbor, but Fort William and Mary remained the centerpiece of the area's coastal defenses.

If victory over the French made the fort seem somewhat superfluous after 1763, colonial tensions with the British Crown would increase its importance in the following decade. As the seat of royal authority in New Hampshire, Portsmouth was unable to avoid the political issues that drew the colonies toward revolution in the 1770s. Incidents such as the 1770 Boston Massacre put Portsmouth residents on edge, which manifested itself in more improvements to Fort William and Mary. The addition of a barbette battery and embrasures through which cannon could be fired from behind a substantial stone wall made the fort more sophisticated than ever before. The year 1771 saw the construction of Portsmouth's first harbor light at Fort William and Mary, used to guide merchant vessels and British warships safely into the seaport. Events would soon

show the wisdom for such improvements, as developments in Boston increasingly attracted attention to Fort William and Mary.

In response to the Boston Tea Party of December 1773, the next year Parliament ordered the port of Boston closed to commercial traffic, which redirected maritime trade toward other coastal communities such as Portsmouth. At the same time, growing concern about the potential for violence prompted rumors that British officers planned to transfer Fort William and Mary's munitions for use in Boston. As a result, Portsmouth's Patriot leaders resolved to raid the lightly guarded fort and carry off the supplies before the British could carry out such a plan. The scheme was executed without bloodshed on the night of December 14–15, 1774, after which British warships arrived to secure the fort and eventually remove its remaining stores before it was abandoned.

JONATHAN M. BEAGLE

See also

Blockhouses; Boston Massacre; Boston Tea Party; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; New Hampshire; Redoubt; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns

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Fort William Henry (Maine)

English outpost built in 1692 and located near Pemaquid (present-day Bristol), Maine (then part of Massachusetts). Built at tremendous expense, Fort William Henry was the first stone fort in New England. It was also one of the most remote posts in British-held territory.

In 1689, at the opening of King William's War (1689–1697), Abenaki warriors razed Fort Charles, New England's easternmost fort. Gov. Sir William Phips of Massachusetts then resolved to build a new fort on the site that would intimidate the Abenakis and their French allies. The result was Fort William Henry, built in the summer of 1692.

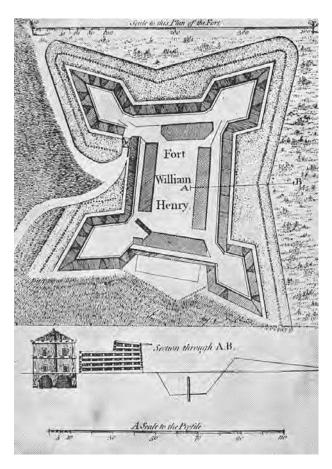
Contemporaries estimated that the fort required 2,000 cartloads of stone and cost £20,000 to construct. Fort William Henry had 6-foot-thick stone walls, a sizable bastion, a tower rising 29 feet in the air at one corner, and two smaller towers. A formidable structure for its day, reportedly it mounted 18 cannon.

In August 1696 a combined French-Abenaki force besieged the fort. For all of its cost, Fort William Henry's design and construction were fatally flawed, and those shortcomings now became apparent. The fort's well lay outside the walls, making a protracted siege almost certainly successful. And although workmen had imported stone for the walls from Massachusetts, they had made mortar from the sand

and clay of the nearby beach. This makeshift mortar held poorly. When the defenders fired the fort's cannon against the besiegers, the tower holding the cannon cracked and swayed. French messengers warned the fort's commander, Pasco Chubb, that they would breach the walls with cannon fire, leaving the defenders to the mercy of the Abenakis. Chubb, terrified of this prospect, surrendered the fort to the French and their native allies, who promptly destroyed it.

The ruins of the fort lay undisturbed until 1729, when Colonel David Dunbar, royal surveyor, established a new town at Pemaquid, ostensibly to serve as a bulwark against the Acadian French. He promised to rebuild the ruined fort, which he renamed Fort Frederick. Though he submitted a bill for its reconstruction, other records attest that he merely hoisted a flag over Fort William Henry's collapsed structure. Local English inhabitants, dismayed by Dunbar's encroachments, challenged his right to settle the area. The Crown decided in their favor and Dunbar and his men departed in 1733.

Massachusetts declined to improve the fort, though it retained a small garrison there until 1759. The departing soldiers removed the fort's remaining cannon to Boston. The fort itself continued to deteriorate. In 1775, the townsmen of Bristol voted to destroy Fort Frederick to deny it to the British, but there is no record that they actually did so. Perhaps by then the fort's condition was such that to pull it down would have been redundant.



Plan of Fort William Henry on Lake George, New York, 1763. (The Granger Collection)

Andrew Miller

See also

Abenakis; Acadia; Chubb, Pasco; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Le Moyne d'Iberville et d'Ardillières, Pierre; Maine; Phips, Sir William

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Preservation Commission, 1994.

Fort William Henry (New York)

Constructed in 1755 on Lake George's southern end, Fort William Henry evolved as a forward base for a British thrust into the Champlain Valley. The fort gained notoriety for its destruction in August 1757 during the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

In the aftermath of Sir William Johnson's victory at the September 1755 Battle of Lake George, he established a fort near the battle site. Beginning in October, Captain (later Major) William Eyre, a British Army engineer, directed the construction. Johnson named the fort William Henry for two of George II's grandsons. Simultaneously, 30 miles to the north at Ticonderoga, the French constructed Fort Carillon.

Eyre selected a site on Lake George's southwestern end. Protected by marshes to the east and south and the lake to the northeast, the earthwork fort could only be easily approached from the northwest. To better defend the site and provide shelter for troops beyond the fort's 500-man garrison, Eyre reinforced Johnson's entrenched camp on a southeastern hill overlooking the site. Roughly 400 feet square with four angled corner bastions, the fort's 30-foot-thick walls consisted of local timber secured into square cribs filled with earth. The walls narrowed to 12 to 18 feet thick to allow a firing step for the fort's 10 artillery pieces.

French forces under François-Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil raided the fort before dawn on March 19, 1756. Vaudreuil and his 1,500 men had traveled southward from Fort Carillon on Lake George's ice. They burned a number of boats and storehouses. However, without artillery, Vaudreuil could do little but besiege the post for four days before retiring northward. That summer, the fort prepared for a campaign that never materialized. Stockpiled supplies included 10 heavy guns that the garrison incorporated into its defense.

While English forces massed for operations elsewhere in 1757, Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, led a large French force across Lake George against the English outpost, which fell on August 9. Rather than press an attack against Fort Edward, Montcalm then destroyed Fort William Henry and withdrew to Fort Carillon.

Stanley J. Adamiak

See also

Fort Edward (New York); Fort Ticonderoga (New York); Fort William Henry, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Johnson, Sir William; Lake George; Lake George, Battle of; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de

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Fort William Henry (New York), Siege of

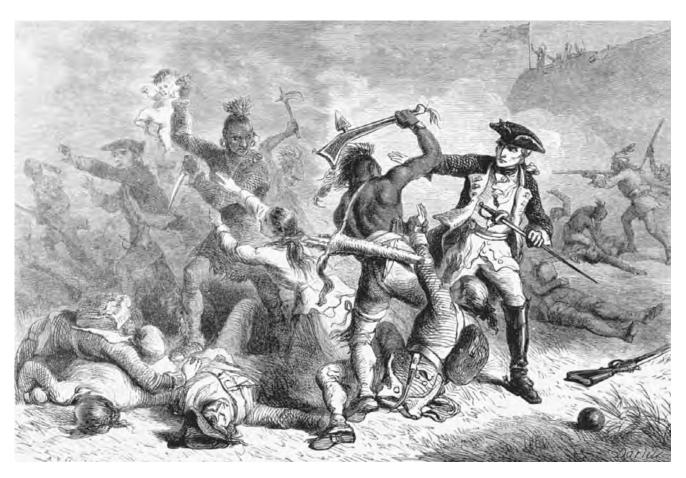
Start Date: August 3, 1757 End Date: August 10, 1757

August 1757 siege of Fort William Henry (New York), situated at the head of Lake George. Best remembered through James Fenimore Cooper's thrilling, albeit inaccurate, *Last of the Mohicans* and its various adaptations, the siege of Fort William Henry and the subsequent "massacre" of the Anglo-American garrison there demonstrated the limitations of both French and British power in upstate New York and the difficulties of fighting alongside allies from an alien culture. This event occurred at the height of the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

Left with a reduced garrison by John Campbell, Lord Loudoun, who was concentrating his forces for an attack on Louisbourg, and damaged by a surprise winter attack, Fort William Henry in 1757 was not in a particularly good position to resist a siege. Although the fort's strong walls could only be breached by cannon and it was impractical to bring cannon overland, the winter attack had destroyed the nearby British boats and ships. With them removed as a threat, the French could transport artillery to the fort via Lake George.

Meanwhile, Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, had decided that Fort William Henry and the chain of British posts stretching south would be his primary targets for 1757. As such, Montcalm gathered 6,000 French regulars, Canadian militiamen, Troupes de la Marine, and almost 2,000 Native American allies drawn from as far away as Wisconsin and Iowa. Language barriers frequently hampered Montcalm's control of this multinational force, as did the fact that the natives came as allies to the French force, not auxiliaries.

At the same time, Lieutenant Colonel George Monro prepared to defend Fort William Henry with some 1,500 mixed British regulars and colonials, and a battery of 18 heavy cannon. An initial reconnaissance in force to ascertain French intentions ended in disaster when it was ambushed at Sabbath Day Point. The local commander, Major General Daniel Webb, beat a hasty retreat to Fort Edward, promising support for his soon to be besieged subordinate.



Depiction of the attack by Native Americans on the English column departing Fort William Henry. The attack occurred on August 10, 1757, following the surrender of that place to the French and a promise of safe conduct. (Library of Congress)

Montcalm's forces began the siege on August 3, 1757. He followed European practices, building a series of trenches that moved his batteries ever closer to the fort. British efforts to disrupt the French advance became increasingly ineffective as the fort's own cannon burst one by one under the pressure of sustained use. Monro's casualties mounted, both because of his own defective cannon and French high-angle fire into the fort. On August 7, 1757, Montcalm passed to Monro an intercepted message from Webb declining to send reinforcements. With his walls crumbling under the French fire he could no longer effectively return and the final breaching battery in place, Monro sought cease-fire terms on August 9, 1757.

Montcalm offered terms including safe passage to Fort Edward and the retention of both personal effects and a symbolic field cannon. Fort William Henry's stores would thus become the property of France. These terms were intended to honor the British for their courageous defense, but Montcalm failed to consult his allies in issuing them. The Native Americans accompanying his expedition had done so in pursuit of personal honor, reflected in captives, scalps, and booty, rather than any love of the French cause. This failure to communicate set the stage for trouble even worse than that between Montcalm and his native allies at Fort Oswego the previous year.

It is unclear exactly how well the terms of surrender were conveyed across the language barriers to the assorted tribes. It is possible that the French traders serving as translators, no more satisfied with the terms than the natives themselves, failed to pass them on accurately or covertly encouraged the warriors to violate them. Many natives saw the terms not only as a betrayal by Montcalm but also as a conspiracy between whites.

Following the British evacuation of Fort William Henry, several Native Americans entered the fort and scalped the wounded and ill who were left behind as unable to travel. French sentries and missionaries were able to save only a few of them. The night of August 9–10, 1757, was spent in terror by many of the British, as the natives' unhappiness with Montcalm's terms became clear.

As the British column began the march to Fort Edward, some warriors demanded personal possessions as booty of war. Panicking soldiers and civilians handed over their packs, which precipitated a chaotic crisis. The majority of the natives had not been involved in the initial seizures, but quickly joined in when they realized that there was booty to be had after all. Many in the British column panicked, fleeing in all directions as warriors began seizing captives as well as booty. Panic fed panic along the British column, and the heavily outnumbered French escort proved reluctant to intervene. Montcalm,

hurrying to the scene, actually made matters worse as natives, seeing that Montcalm was attempting to deprive them of their captives, scalped them to retain these second-best trophies.

By historian Ian Steele's count, between 69 and 184 British died in the confusion, with the remainder becoming permanent captives in Canada and beyond. Many more were held temporarily and ransomed or exchanged. Hundreds made their way to Fort Edward where their stories, exaggerated by panic and confusion, stunned the British who then expected an immediate attack. Instead of attacking, however, Montcalm burned Fort William Henry and returned north. His forces were substantially reduced as his native allies, who had obtained their purpose in accompanying him, returned home rather than follow on south.

Montcalm was deeply distressed by the violation of his terms of surrender and thereafter minimized Native American participation in his campaigns, which substantially weakened the defenses of New France. Montcalm's allies were also weakened by smallpox contracted from their captives. The British eventually recovered from the shock of the incident, although thereafter British commanders denied surrendering French garrisons the honors of war in retaliation for the supposed betrayal at Fort William Henry.



Reconstructed blockhouse from Fort Wolstenholme, Virginia. The fort was originally built in 1619. (The Granger Collection)

See also

Campbell, John, Earl of Loudoun; Captivity Narratives; Captivity of Europeans by Indians; Cooper, James Fenimore; Fort Edward (New York); Fort William Henry (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Lake George; Louisbourg, Siege of; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Oswego, Battle of; Scalping; Troupes de la Marine; Webb, Daniel

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Fort Wolstenholme (Virginia)

English fort built in 1619 on the James River, nine miles to the east of the Jamestown settlement. Fort Wolstenholme was the administrative center of Martin's Hundred Plantation between 1618 and 1625. In 1618, London investors sent 220 settlers to Martin's Hundred to capitalize on the tobacco boom. This new James River plantation had been part of territory belonging to the Powhatan Native Americans, but was deemed "unoccupied" by the English.

The central fort, erected sometime in 1619, and named for one of the investors, Sir John Wolstenholme, was home to about 40 of Martin's Hundred settlers. It was both an administrative center for Martin's Hundred and a refuge for the scattered settlers of the plantation during an attack. The structure was roughly 130 feet long and 85 feet wide. The fort contained four watchtowers, cannon, and platforms for musketeers. Significantly, however, these were oriented toward the river, not the land, because the settlers were more concerned about Spanish ships than the Powhatans, with whom they had enjoyed friendly relations since 1614.

The colonists' outlook on the Powhatans changed forever on March 22, 1622, when the Powhatans mounted a well-organized surprise attack on several English settlements simultaneously. Their chief motivation was concern over the growth of the English colony both in terms of population and geographical extent. About 350 settlers, fully one-fourth of the colony's population, died that day. Martin's Hundred was hardest hit. There between 50 and 70 settlers died and several others were taken captive. The survivors fled to Jamestown. A year later, about 50 settlers returned to Fort Wolstenholme, but they suffered greatly from starvation and disease, and the fort was abandoned around 1625.

JENNIFER BRIDGES OAST

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Jamestown; Powhatans; Virginia

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Fort Zwaanendael (Delaware)

See Fort Swanendael (Delaware)

Fox

Native American tribe that inhabited the western Great Lakes area at first European contact in the late 17th century. The Fox tribe is best known for the two wars it fought with the French in the 18th century in order to prevent the French from trading with their traditional enemies, the Dakota (Santee) Sioux. The Fox spoke a dialect of an Algonquian language they shared with the Sauks, the Kickapoos, and possibly the Mascoutens. More than likely these four groups lived together as one people long before the arrival of Europeans to the western Great Lakes. The Fox developed a cultural pattern that reflected their life in the area between the Eastern Woodlands and the western prairies that eventually fades into the Great Plains.

A French missionary, Father Claude Allouez, made first contact with the Fox between 1665 and 1667. A smaller group than most of the other tribes in the region, they therefore attracted few traders to their villages. From the beginning, the Fox opposed the extension of the French trade to their traditional enemies to the west, the Dakota Sioux. The French wanted to open up trade relations with the Dakotas because of their direct connections with the Plains tribes and because they were such a large group. Not only would trade with these new groups bring in beaver pelts from the distant Rocky Mountain region, but the Sioux could also provide the French with buffalo skins. As a result, the French paid little heed to the wishes of the Fox tribe. Over the years, simmering tension between the Fox and the French grew into open hostilities.

In 1712, the French incited a group of friendly tribes to attack a group of Fox and Mascoutens that had moved to the area near Detroit. The French commander accused the Fox of planning to destroy the fort. After being besieged in their town for 19 days and fighting a contested retreat, some of the Fox made it back to Wisconsin. From their home west of Lake Michigan, the Fox began a series of attacks and ambushes on French traders that eventually forced the French to mount a counter offensive in the form of a force to attack the Fox in their home territory. Eventually in 1716 the Fox and French signed a peace treaty that ended hostilities between the two for a decade.

Still unhappy with the constantly expanding French trade network, in 1728 the Fox began to assemble an alliance intent on limit-

ing French influence in the western Great Lakes. In an effort to end this threat once and for all, the French launched a war of extermination against the Fox with allied Dakotas, Ojibwas, Potawatomis, Winnebagos, and Wyandots. Initially, the former allies of the Fox, the Kickapoos and the Mascoutens, also joined the war against them. After the defeat of a large group of Fox south of Lake Michigan in 1730, the Fox sought protection among the Sauks near Green Bay in 1733, and asked the French to accept their surrender. Bent on the genocide of the tribe, however, the French refused. Eventually, the Sauk and Fox tribes immigrated to the area of present-day Iowa to escape the French. In 1737, The French then agreed to conclude peace with both the Fox and the Sauks, permanently ending these hostilities.

In 1766, both the Sauks and the Fox temporarily returned to Wisconsin, but by the end of the century, both peoples had again removed to Iowa. From the time when the Sauks gave refuge to the Fox, both tribes remained in a close alliance, although each retained its separate status. In the early 19th century, the U.S. government removed both tribes from Iowa to the Indian Territory, although some tribal members did manage to avoid removal and remain in the Iowa and Illinois area. Today most Fox tribal members live in Oklahoma, Missouri, Iowa, and Illinois, and most of these are affiliated with the Sauk and Fox Nation of Oklahoma, which is officially recognized by the U.S. government.

DIXIE RAY HAGGARD

See also

Beaver Wars; Cahokia-Fox Raid; Fox Fort (Illinois), and Siege of; Iroquois; Kickapoos; Ojibwas; Sauks and Fox

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Fox Fort (Illinois), and Siege of

Start Date: August 4, 1730 End Date: September 9, 1730

Fox Fort was a defensive fortification built by the Fox tribe (Mesquakie, Outagami) in eastern Illinois, which was besieged by

a large Native American and French coalition during August–September 1730. According to contemporary French drawings, Fox Fort covered a little more than an acre of land. It featured a loose palisade except on the south, where the riverbank formed a natural barrier. Trenches were dug along the palisade, and a screen of branches allowed the fort's defenders to shoot between the palisade poles while protected from the view of their enemies. Within the fort were subterranean shelters consisting of burrows four feet deep and covered with reed mats and soil. A series of shallow ditches connected the shelters to one another and to the river. Trees provided shade from the summer sun. The exact location of the fort has long been disputed, but it is believed to have been near the headwaters of the Sangamon River.

In 1729, toward the end of the war between the Fox and the French and their pro-French native allies, a group of belligerent young Fox warriors, members of the warrior society known as Kiyagamohag, killed a pair of Kickapoo and Mascouten hunters over a minor grievance. As a consequence, both the Kickapoos and the Macoutens, long-term allies of the Fox, turned against them and sided with the French. Other past friends, such as the Winnebagos, seeing the Fox cause as increasingly hopeless, joined the coalition against them. Fox leaders tried unsuccessfully to persuade their allies to remain at their side, but in the end, they found themselves completely isolated among the Native Americans in the region.

Seeing no other solution to their dilemma, the entire Fox Nation undertook to relocate to the territory of the Senecas (a tribe of the Iroquois Confederation) in western New York, with whom they had long cooperated in the fur trade. In order to avoid their adversaries in the upper Great Lakes region, the Fox proceeded to the south, abandoning the familiar woodlands of Wisconsin for the open grasslands in the Illinois Grand Prairie. Their progress was slow because they had with them many elderly people and young children.

Near the Illinois River, the Cahokias (a tribe of the Illinois Confederation) spotted the Fox and reported their presence to the Lakes Indians. The Cahokias trailed the Fox as they continued their trek. Then, on August 4, 1730, the Fox decided to make a stand in a grove of trees by a small river. The Cahokias harassed them there until the arrival of Kickapoo, Mascouten, and Potawatomi war parties. Unable to escape any farther, the Fox constructed Fox Fort around the grove.

As the month of August passed, the siege was reinforced by more Illinois, Sauk, Miami, Wea, and Piankashaw war parties and by French soldiers and Creole traders from Fort Chartres, Fort St. Joseph, and Fort Ouiatanon. During the siege, the attackers constructed a siege tower, guard posts, and a trench. The Fox had hoped that the Sauks, the Weas, and the Piankashaws, closely related tribes, would come to their assistance. When they joined the siege instead, the Fox initiated negotiations, both openly with their enemies as a whole and quietly with the groups related to them. The Fox released those Illinois whom they had taken captive and asked to be allowed to continue to Seneca territory, but to no avail. They also offered to surrender and to be divided among the Sauks, the Weas, and the Piankashaws, who would teach them to make peace

with the French. One French commander was receptive to this proposal, but two others dismissed it as a ruse and an attempt to corrupt the other natives. Quietly, the Fox persuaded the Sauks and the Weas to take most of the Fox children out of the fort. The Sauks and the Weas also shared with them some of their surplus food and ammunition. These side deals, when discovered, spurred the Illinois and the French to maintain sporadic gunfire on the fort so as to discourage any further secret meetings.

By early September, the Fox were boiling clothing and moccasins for food. On the other side, more reinforcements arrived—Hurons, Potawatomis, and Miamis under a French commander—with orders from the governor-general of New France forbidding any negotiated solutions. Then, on September 8, after weeks of heat and humidity and near-starvation, the Fox escaped in the dark of night under the cover of a fierce and sudden thunderstorm and made their way southwest across the prairie.

Exhausted, malnourished, still accompanied by their elderly and some of their children, the Fox were not difficult to overtake. On September 9, about 12 miles from Fox Fort, they confronted a force of nearly 1,200 attackers and were quickly vanquished. Estimates of the Fox dead include 200–300 warriors and 300–600 women and children. About 50 warriors escaped, some of whom were later captured, tortured, and burned to death.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Fort Chartres (Illinois); Fort St. Joseph (Michigan); Fox; Fox War; New France

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Fox Wars

Start Date: 1712 End Date: 1737

A series of armed conflicts among the Fox Indians (also known as the Mesquakies or Outagamis), New France, and French Native American allies between 1712 and 1737. The Fox War officially began when the French, the Potawatomis, the Odawas, the Ojibwas, and the Wyandots destroyed a Fox-built fort and settlement at Detroit in 1712. It ended when a delegation of Great Lakes tribes traveled to Quebec in 1737 to request that the governor of New France have mercy on his defeated foe. The war became a genocidal conflict as the French sought to essentially exterminate the Fox Nation. By

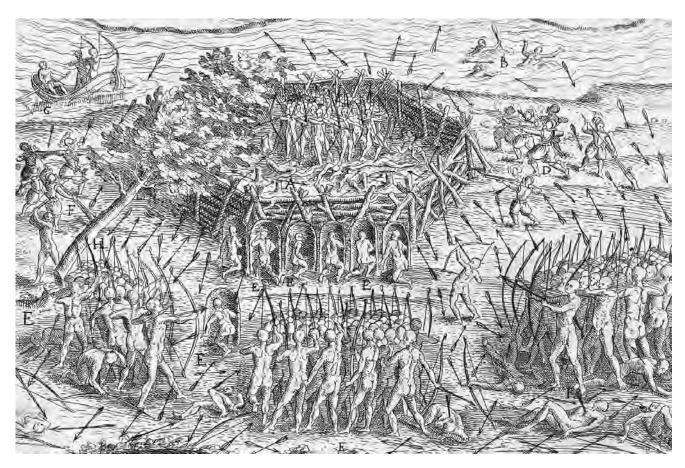
1737 the Fox numbered fewer than 1,000 people, whereas at the start of the conflict their population was more than 5,000.

The causes of the Fox War, although largely attributed to the arrogance and bellicose nature of the Fox, had their beginnings in the Beaver Wars (1641–1701) and the reemergence of the fur trade in the Great Lakes. In the 17th century, the Fox were driven from Michigan lands by the Iroquois, the Hurons, and the Ojibwas. By the 18th century the Fox had resettled in Wisconsin and engaged in conflict with the Dakota Sioux. In the late 1600s, French traders had entered the Wisconsin region where they initially traded with the Fox and continued to expand westward. Eventually, the French added the Dakota Sioux as customers of European goods, particularly weaponry. The Fox began harassing and killing French traders, especially those known to be carrying muskets. These actions led the Fox to seek allies outside the French sphere of influence, and by 1701 they had concluded an alliance with the Iroquois Confederation. Initially declining fort commander Antoine Laumet de La Mothe de Cadillac's 1701 invitation to establish a village at Detroit, the inhabitants of several Fox villages had decided to relocate to the Detroit region by 1710. This move not only brought the anti-French Fox closer to the Iroquois and English, but placed them among natives who were pro-French and former enemies.

The immediate catalyst of the Fox War was an attack by the Ojibwas and the Potawatomis on a group of Mascoutens who were allied with the Fox. In the raid, 200 Mascoutens died while the survivors fled to a nearby Fox village. In retaliation, Fox and Mascouten warriors attacked the French and their allies alike, eventually laying siege to Fort Pontchartrain de Detroit. The fort's commander, François de La Forest, under siege and fearful of reprisals from France's native allies for failing to aid them, committed supplies and troops to the battle. Following several days of siege, the Fox attempted to flee during a thunderstorm.

More than 1,000 Fox and Mascoutens were killed with fewer than a hundred managing to escape. Those captured were either executed or sold into slavery. As soon as news of the defeat reached the Fox and the Mascoutens in Wisconsin, they made the area unsafe for French traders or their allies between 1712 and 1716. This conflict in the Great Lakes forced the French to construct Fort Michilimackinac in 1715 across the Mackinac straits from Fort Buade, which had been neglected since the French had officially abandoned the interior in 1698 due to an overstock of furs.

In 1716, 400 French soldiers, including a battery of artillery, and 1,000 native allies advanced into Wisconsin to attack the Fox. After a brief siege on one of their villages, the Fox agreed to keep the peace. This development reopened trade in the Wisconsin region. How-



Depiction of an attack by French and allied Native American forces on enemy Native Americans during the Fox Wars in the first half of the 18th century. (Library of Congress)

ever, Fox accusations that the Illinois and French allies continued to raid Fox villages and attack hunting parties, combined with refusal of the Illinois to return captives, appear to have been the underlying factors of the continued warfare between these two groups. Because the Illinois Country had been placed under the authority of French Louisiana, Quebec's Gov. Charles de la Boische, Marquis de Beauharnois, refused to intervene despite pleas from the Jesuits and the Louisiana governors, Pierre Dugué de Boisbriand (1724–1726) and Étienne de Périer (1726–1733). With increasing pressure from Louisiana, Jesuits, and Canadian merchants, Governor Beauharnois dispatched 1,500 men against the Fox in 1728, an expedition that failed to locate any Fox villages.

In the 1720s, the Fox reaffirmed their alliance with the Iroquois, and built new alliances with the Chickasaws and the Abenakis. Kiala, a Fox war chief, recognized the need for a united stance against European colonies. Indeed, his efforts threatened not only the French alliance system, but threatened to cut Louisiana off from New France. Importantly, the French also sought to stop the anti-French Abenakis, led by Nescambiouit, from joining the Fox in the interior. Such a move by the Abenakis would have strengthened the Fox while removing a buffer between New England and New France. Hence, Beauharnois saw the destruction of the Fox as absolutely imperative.

In 1730, the Fox experienced a second disastrous defeat, reminiscent of Detroit in 1712, when they left their villages in the Illinois-Wisconsin region in an attempt to join the Senecas in New York. Trapped during their flight across the Illinois prairie, the Fox fortified a grove of trees (Fox Fort) and after a siege attempted to sneak away during an intense summer storm. Detected by their attackers and slowed by their families, more than 1,000 men, women, and children were killed with dozens taken captive.

In 1733, the Fox sued for peace and a delegation of four leaders, including Kiala, arrived in Montreal in 1734 to finalize their surrender. The French arrested the peace delegates, sending one to France to serve in the galleys. Kiala was sold into slavery, and the remainder were scattered among the missions and towns of Quebec. As the French intensified their campaign to exterminate the Fox, other Great Lakes tribes began to fear the outcome if they allowed the Fox to be destroyed. During 1734-1735, French native allies released Fox prisoners, and began to refuse assistance to the French in what had now become a genocidal conflict. When a group of Great Lakes nations accompanied by the Fox arrived in Quebec to seek peace in 1737, Governor Beauharnois agreed. His decision was partly motivated by conflicts in the Mississippi region, such as the Natchez War (1729-1733) and the Chickasaw Wars (1731-1745), which drew French interest, troops, and supplies. Furthermore, growing tensions with the English colonies due to their efforts to lure away French Indian allies and increase their presence in the interior, as well as increasing tensions in Europe, contributed to the acceptance of peace in the Great Lakes region.

The Fox War is noteworthy not only as an example of attempted genocide by the French, but also because it reshaped French poli-

cies in the pays d'en haut (upcountry). First, the Fox War made it clear that the French presence in the interior depended on the cooperation and sufferance of the natives. The war amply illustrated that despite French efforts to enforce a Pax Gallica, they were entirely reliant on native cooperation. Second, it showed the tribes of the Great Lakes that the French could be dangerous, and most importantly, that the existence of a benign middle ground was tenuous at best. Third, the war illustrated that canoe routes from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi were not secure. This fact forced the French to rely on the Ohio River system as vital to the maintenance of their American empire and northerly rivers for westward expansion and trade. Thus the expansion of the French presence in the Ohio River Valley greatly contributed to the series of conflicts with the English that ended with the conquest of New France in 1760. Finally, the war showed the French that their alliance system in the Great Lakes was neither stable nor absolute. Nor did the conclusion of the Fox Wars end warfare in the Wisconsin-Illinois region. The Illinois continued to suffer raids by the Fox and others into the 1750s.

KARL S. HELE

See also

Abenakis; Beaver Wars; Chickasaws; Fox; Fox Fort (Illinois), and Siege of; Native Warfare; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; New France

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France

During the early modern period, France forged its first overseas empire, a series of loosely connected colonial possessions in North America, the West Indies, Africa, and Asia. New France, as the vast zone of French influence and possession in North America came to be known, acquired over the course of the 17th and 18th centuries a significant economic and strategic importance. Yet the exploration, exploitation, and colonization of this territory remained on the periphery of French interest. Indeed, the major undertakings of the French Crown revolved around dynastic ambitions, economic competition, and military opportunities on the European continent. A continental—rather than a colonial—strategy dominated French war planning throughout the period.

French fishermen began frequenting the Grand Banks off Newfoundland during the first decade of the 16th century. Shortly thereafter, French pirates began to sail into the Caribbean with the hope of raiding Spanish treasure fleets and settlements. It was some time before the French Crown, engrossed as it was in the Italian Wars, turned toward the Atlantic. News of Hernán Cortés's conquests and of Ferdinand Magellan's circumnavigation prompted King François (Francis) I (1494–1547) to commission and finance a first official expedition. It set sail in 1524 under the leadership of the Florentine navigator Giovanni Verrazano. The Crown hoped that a passage to the East Indies would be found somewhere between Newfoundland and Florida. Verrazano's search proved fruitless, though he surveyed the coast of North America from what is today North Carolina north to Cape Breton. In so doing, he laid the foundations of France's territorial claims.

King François I openly rejected the papal bull *Inter caetera* (1493) that divided all newly discovered lands between Spain and Portugal. Indeed, he is said to have sarcastically requested that he be shown the clause in Adam's will that excluded French authority from the New World. Between 1534 and 1541, he financed three additional voyages, the first two led by Jacques Cartier and the last under the nominal leadership of the Protestant Jean-François de La Rocque de Roberval.

French hopes of finding gold, spices, or a passage to the Indies were again dashed. Even so, Cartier ceremonially took possession of the new lands, pushing his explorations up the St. Lawrence River as far as the island of Montreal, encountering native populations with which he maintained increasingly strained relations. A settlement established during the third voyage near the later site of Quebec was abandoned in 1543.

Because of these early disappointments, the French Crown lost interest in exploration and settlement. Official endeavors were further discouraged by the 40-year-long series of civil wars that erupted in 1562, pitting Catholics against Protestants, and the Crown against great noble families. A few years before, Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, an influential Protestant leader, had begun sponsoring expeditions to establish an American colony where his fellow Huguenots



Illustration showing Florentine explorer Giovanni Verrazano, sailing in the pay of France, arriving in present-day Newport Harbor in 1524. Verrazano's voyage was the foundation for subsequent French claims to North America. (North Wind Picture Archives)

might freely practice their religion. In 1555, a first attempt at a New World settlement was made by Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon in the bay of Rio de Janeiro. Internecine struggles and a Portuguese military intervention brought about the demise of the settlement five years later. Jean Ribault and René Goulaine de Laudonnière established Charlesfort in what is now South Carolina in 1562, abandoning it four years later to establish Fort Caroline in northern Florida. The Spaniards quickly destroyed it, motivated by religious fervor and a fear that their Caribbean holdings were threatened.

Coligny's assassination during the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572 drew the monarchy firmly into the Catholic camp and brought an end to the dream of a Protestant New France. A handful of minor colonial enterprises followed, but by the end of the 16th century, French ventures on North American soil had not led to permanent settlement.

Fishermen continued to frequent the Grand Banks, and, increasingly since midcentury, fur-trading expeditions periodically visited the interior of the St. Lawrence. Colonization would come to rest primarily, and be hindered by, the lucrative trade in beaver pelts. After having achieved civil peace in his kingdom, King Henri (Henry) IV (1589–1610) enlisted private resources and energy to exploit the overseas territories to which the Crown laid claim, chartering commercial companies to operate as monopolistic enterprises in what came to be known as New France. Trading posts were established at Port Royal, Acadia, in 1604, and at Quebec in 1608.

Before long, colonists came into conflict with American Indians and newcomers alike. Although trade with the western Hurons and Algonquins secured the colonial economy, it also drew the French into existing political and military rivalries. In 1609, Samuel de Champlain campaigned alongside his allies against the Iroquois, setting the tone for a century of intermittent warfare known as the Beaver Wars. Moreover, the monopolists did little to promote colonization or to provide adequate protection, both of which would minimize their financial gains.

Thus, French trading posts easily fell prey to intercolonial competition. In 1613, the settlement of Port Royal was sacked under Samuel Argall, who had been commissioned in Virginia to expel French nationals from the territory claimed by England. An expedition led by David Kirke and his brothers took the post of Tadoussac in 1627. Two years later, they captured Quebec and a rebuilt Port Royal. France protested, noting that the Treaty of Susa had just been concluded with England. But only after protracted negotiations and the signing of the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1632) did France recover its fledgling North American outposts.

Cardinal Richelieu, chief minister to King Louis XIII (1610–1643), was committed to grand political and colonial designs. He created a national navy, and the basis of a profitable empire in the West Indies was laid. Settlement began in French Guiana (1624), Saint Kitts (1627), and Guadeloupe and Martinique (1635).

Disappointed by the poor performance of the successive monopoly holders in North America, Richelieu in 1627 established a chartered company on the Dutch model, the Compagnie des Cent-Associés (Company of 100 Associates). He granted it the rights to the commercial exploitation and colonial administration of New France. It would also hold responsibility for the promotion of settlement and missionary work. When the initial investment and momentum of the company were all but lost as a result of the Kirke brothers' intervention, relief could not come from the Crown. The king faced pressing concerns in Europe, namely its involvement in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), the civil war of the Fronde (1648–1653), and the Franco-Spanish War (1653–1659).

Much of the colonial impetus during this period hence belonged to the Catholic Church and to devout laymen and women who provided funds as well as militant personnel. Jesuit missionaries in particular increasingly became valuable cultural and diplomatic agents of France among the Native Americans. Rural settlement progressed along the shores of the St. Lawrence, where the towns of Trois-Rivières and Montreal were founded in 1634 and 1642, respectively. Still, colonial expansion and consolidation in what was to become the heartland of New France remained limited by the hostility of the Iroquois.

When King Louis XIV (1643–1715) inaugurated his personal reign in 1661, he pursued the centralizing policies initiated under Richelieu. He surrounded himself with able ministers such as Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who orchestrated massive financial, industrial, and commercial reforms. In 1663, the Crown assumed direct government of New France, putting an end to the period of company

rule. A follower of mercantilist principles, Colbert believed that external commerce was the source of public finance. To make France a strong contender for overseas trade, he revitalized its navy and merchant marine, and reorganized the colonial administration. He placed it under his personal authority, and eventually under that of the new Ministry of Marine (1669). Contingents of royal troops were dispatched to strengthen the defenses of French colonial holdings in the West Indies, the Indian Ocean, as well as in Canada, where they succeeded in pacifying the Iroquois.

France's territorial claims in North America, as well as its political and economic influence, progressed by leaps and bounds between 1667 and 1685. According to the terms of the Treaty of Breda (1667), France recovered Acadia, which New Englanders had taken a little over a decade earlier. In 1672, Denys de Saint-Simon and the Jesuit missionary Charles Albanel reached Hudson's Bay, where English traders were already active. Louis Jolliet and the Jesuit Jacques Marquette extended French influence to the Mississippi River in 1674. René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, pursued their exploration southward to the Gulf of Mexico in 1682, taking possession of the Mississippi basin in the name of France. He named it "Louisiana" after the king. Through commerce and alliances with various Native American nations, the French were able to exert a loose control over much of the continent. Yet areas of French settlement remained largely limited to the St. Lawrence River Valley and Acadia. Beginning in the 1690s, the policy of the Crown became openly expansionist and aimed at containing Anglo-American settlement east of the Appalachians, within a narrow strip along the Atlantic seaboard.

Louis XIV's reign was marked by a succession of European wars during which Britain emerged anew as one of France's great rivals. Though the two countries were officially at peace, Canadian authorities organized a military expedition aimed at expelling English commercial interests from Hudson's Bay, in 1686. The War of the League of Augsburg, initiated by Louis ostensibly to defend the claims of his sister-in-law in the succession of the Palatinate, quickly extended to the North American theater in 1689 when Britain joined the opposing coalition (King William's War, 1689–1697).

Although the Crown urged an attack on New York during the early years of the war, its commitment to the European front meant that it was unwilling and unable to support a major colonial offensive. Indeed, the naval defeat at La Hogue three years later further undermined France's sea power and contributed to the isolation of New France. Gov. Louis de Buade de Frontenac fell back on an aggressive defense, coordinating punishing campaigns against the Iroquois and spoiling raids against the frontier settlements of New England, and outposts of Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland.

Such reliance on guerrilla warfare and on privateering set the tone for future Franco-British wars in North America. Left to their own devices, and with the assistance of native allies, the authorities of New France could do little more than prevent the mobilization of the enemy's superior resources and manpower until fighting in Europe decided the outcome of the larger conflict. The Treaty of

Ryswick (1697) indeed brought an end to the war and restored the prewar status quo. France recovered Acadia, which had yet again been taken.

The turn of the century brought about a significant shift in French colonial policy. The rising threat posed by Britain and the decreasing value of furs meant that New France was turning into a military and diplomatic frontier above all else. The king and his primary administrators now believed that New France's chief role was to act as a strategic barrier against British imperialism, not to provide economic benefits to the metropole. American Indian cooperation, as always, was of capital importance. The Great Peace of Montreal was concluded in 1701 between France and the representatives of 39 indigenous nations. Included among them was the Iroquois Confederation, which promised to remain neutral in future intercolonial wars. This treaty put an end to the intermittent warfare of the 17th century and marked the establishment of a tenuous Pax Gallica, a turning point in French-native relations. From then on, negotiation was to take precedence over direct confrontation between signatory nations. The French would often intervene as mediators to prevent a breakdown in the alliance.

To defend his grandson Philippe d'Anjou's claim to the Spanish Crown, and animated by the dream of securing hegemony over Europe, Louis XIV went to war in 1701. In North America, where the War of the Spanish Succession was soon extended (Queen Anne's War, 1702–1713), France adopted the same aggressive defense that had proven successful during the previous war. Owing to the neutrality of the Iroquois and bad weather, Canada emerged from the war unscathed. Acadia, however, was not as fortunate.

The 1713 Treaty of Utrecht preserved the balance of powers on the European continent. Louis's grandson ascended to the Spanish throne, but resigned his place in the French line of succession and transferred Spain's lands in Italy and the Netherlands to the Habsburgs. The outcome, however, was disastrous for the colonies, as large portions of New France were sacrificed to maintain French interests in Europe. Hudson's Bay, Acadia, and Newfoundland were ceded for good, though valuable seasonal fishing rights to the northern shore of the latter island were retained. The treaty, and the death of Louis XIV two years later, marked the end of French hegemony in Europe.

According to the terms agreed to at Utrecht, France kept Île Royale and Île St.-Jean (current-day Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, respectively), which were promptly reorganized as a new colony. The town, and later fortress, of Louisbourg was founded in 1713 and quickly became a successful fishing and trading port as well as an important military base. New Orleans was established five years later, some 4,000 miles away, to provide flank protection to France's Caribbean settlements and to guard the Mississippi, seen as the back door to Canada. Under the regent Philippe II, Duc d'Orléans, and King Louis XV (1715–1774), France pursued its strategy of encirclement of the Anglo-American seaboard colonies.

The French administrators envisioned an arc of territory stretching from Île Royale, through Canada and greater Louisiana, to its colonies in the West Indies. Outside of the St. Lawrence Valley, however, this remained an island empire, an extensive military, diplomatic, and commercial network maintained by a string of posts and forts. As settlement progressed extremely slowly in Illinois Country and Louisiana, the strategic reliance on American Indian alliances persisted. France spent large sums of money for the annual distribution of the king's gifts to the allied nations. Yet the policy of accommodation and appeasement turned to open military confrontation against those who, like the Fox, the Natchez, and the Chickasaws, resisted French influence.

France and Britain's 30-year-long diplomatic and commercial cold war in North America came to an abrupt end in 1744. That year, Louis XV entered into an ill-advised alliance with Prussia and sought to uphold the pretensions of the Elector of Bavaria against those of Maria Theresa of Austria, hoping to weaken the traditional Habsburg foe. The War of the Austrian Succession was transported to the colonies. Once more, France and its Native American allies proceeded to launch raids against English frontier and coastal settlements. The most remarkable incident was the capture of Louisbourg by an expedition of New Englanders. However, by the terms of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, concluded in 1748, the French regained Île Royale, relinquishing their gains in the Netherlands and the East Indies.

Competing colonial claims to the Ohio River Valley, increasingly penetrated by Anglo-American merchants during the 1740s, made for an uneasy peace. A French military expedition to the region in 1749 brought back the alarming news that diplomatic and commercial influence among the natives was on the wane. This led to the strengthening of colonial garrisons and to the construction of numerous forts.

In 1754, fighting erupted in the Ohio Country. The following year, Louis XV responded to Great Britain's military reinforcement of its colonies by sending a general officer, Jean-Armand de Dieskau, and some 3,000 regulars to Canada. Further reinforcements of 1,000 regulars later accompanied Dieskau's replacement, Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm. The conflict that came to be known as the Seven Years' War (French and Indian War, 1754–1763) broke out in Europe only in 1756, when France joined forces with Austria and Sweden to crush the rising power of Prussia, attacking the British Mediterranean outpost of Minorca. In North America, the conflict took on unprecedented proportions. The French adopted a strategy that combined guerrilla warfare with traditional European campaign tactics, which generated considerable disagreements between colonial and metropolitan military officers. There were initial successes on Lake Ontario and Lake Champlain, but setbacks soon followed. The personnel and methods of the Ministries of Marine, War, and Finance, were proving sorely inadequate.

In the colonies, the military and the civilian population were increasingly plagued by human and material shortages as the

Crown, reeling from a series of defeats at the hands of the Prussians, remained committed primarily to the war in Europe. The Minister of Marine systematically refused colonial requests for aid, pointing out that one did not try to save the stables when the house was ablaze. By 1758, the British had breached the outer defenses of New France, taking Louisbourg and the forts on Lake Ontario and Lake Champlain. Quebec fell the following year, and Montreal the next. France hastily reinforced Louisiana, its only remaining North American colony. To create a diversion and to gain some leverage at the negotiating table, the French mounted a successful assault on St. John's, Newfoundland, in 1762. However, a swift British counterattack brought an end to the brief occupation.

Peace and a final settlement came with the Treaty of Paris in 1763. France's European boundaries remained as they had been before the war, but France withdrew from its colonial empire in North America, retaining only the islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon as well as fishing rights to the waters off Newfoundland. Louisiana had secretly been ceded to Spain the year before, as compensation for its entrance into the war.

Neither the Crown nor the public found much cause to regret the loss of this distant North American empire, which had proven of so little economic value. France, after all, had recovered the lucrative sugar colonies on Guadeloupe and Martinique, as stipulated in the treaty. A handful of high ranking administrators and officers even rejoiced, foreseeing that the withdrawal of the Anglo-American colonists' perennial foe might bring them to rebel against Great Britain. The fulfillment of this prediction would give France a new opportunity to intervene militarily on North American soil in 1778.

Jean-François Lozier

See also

Acadia; Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of; Beaver Wars; Black Robes;
Champlain, Samuel de; Florida, Franco-Spanish Conflict over; Fort
Caroline (Florida); France, Army; France, Navy; French and Indian
War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns;
Great Britain; Hudson Bay; Illinois; Iroquois; Jesuits; King George's
War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; La Salle,
René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de; Louisiana; Newfoundland; New
France; Ohio Country; Paris, Treaty of; Queen Anne's War, Land
Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Ryswick, Treaty of;
Spain; St. Lawrence River; Utrecht, Treaty of

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France, Army

The defense of France's North American possessions, though in fact ensured by the military assistance of Native American allies, depended on the presence of colonial and metropolitan land forces.

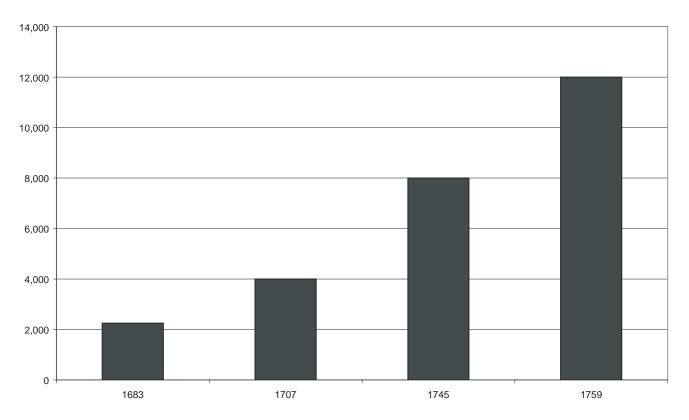
Prior to the middle of the 17th century, however, there were few professional soldiers to speak of in New France. The military burden belonged to colonists and soldiers in private employ. Colonists were forced to fend for themselves against the Iroquois Confederation, because trading companies, missionary orders, patrons, and governors proved unable or unwilling to sustain considerable military expenditures. There were a few notable exceptions. In 1642 and 1644, two contingents totaling 100 men arrived at Quebec. In 1661 and 1662, an additional 200 soldiers were sent to the colony by the proprietary Compagnie des Cent-Associés (Company of 100 Associates). These troops provided some security for Quebec, Trois-Rivières, and Montreal, but they were too few in numbers to take the offensive.

After King Louis XIV (1643–1715) began his personal rule in 1661, military defense increasingly shifted to the militia and royal troops. In 1663, the French Crown assumed direct control of its North American colonies. Two years later, mindful that the Iroquois constituted a serious obstacle to commercial and colonial expansion, Louis XIV dispatched the Régiment de Carignan-Salières, a full regiment of line infantry, some 1,200 men in all. A modern unit for its time, this was one of the first recorded regiments of line infantry in the French Army to be uniformed and to replace all pikes with muskets and bayonets.



Woodcut depicting French soldiers in the early 1700s. (North Wind Picture Archives)

Strength of the Canadian Militia



These troops constructed three forts along the Richelieu River and launched two campaigns against the Mohawks in 1666. When the Iroquois Confederation sued for peace in 1667, nearly 450 soldiers and officers elected to remain in Canada as settlers. Only four companies stayed under arms, reinforced by five more in 1669. The last remnants of the regiment were disbanded in 1671. That left fewer than one hundred soldiers in the colony.

To compensate for this diminished military establishment, in 1669 Louis XIV ordered that the Canadian population be formed into a militia. A number of militias had existed before, but they had been short-lived, localized affairs. The organization drafted during the early 1670s, however, would be maintained until the very end of the French regime. Militia companies generally corresponded to parishes, and were placed under the authority of captains who regularly intervened in the civil administration of rural areas. Every able-bodied man between the ages of 15 and 60 was expected to serve if called on.

Throughout the period, colonial administrators agreed that the Canadian militia was the primary military force of the colony. On paper, it numbered approximately 2,250 in 1683, 4,000 during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), 8,000 during King George's War (1744–1748), and between 10,000 and 12,000 during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). However, only a fraction of that number could actually be deployed without crippling the economy. In the colonies of Acadia, Île Royale, and Louisiana, the militia was a much smaller and far less significant institution.

The renewal of hostilities with the Iroquois prompted the Crown to send royal troops to Canada once more. In 1683, three companies of troupes de la marine, totaling 150 men, landed at Quebec. These colonial regulars were raised and paid for by the Ministry of Marine and divided into independent companies (compagnies franches). They resembled line regiments in appearance and armament, but were distinct from the metropolitan army, as well as from the marines raised for service aboard the ships of the navy. From the 1680s onward, these colonial regulars permanently garrisoned the colonies.

The number of companies stationed in Canada gradually rose, reaching 35 in 1688, for a total of 1,750 men. Later reductions meant that the colonial military establishment stabilized at about 850 during the first half of the 18th century. As a result of mounting intercolonial tensions, the official establishment was fixed at 1,500 in 1750. Seven years later, the corps reached its maximum strength on paper, with 2,600 men divided into 40 companies.

More modest numbers of troupes de la marine were deployed throughout the other colonies comprising New France. A company arrived at Port Royal in 1685, and by 1702, Acadia was garrisoned by four, totaling 200 men. A detachment of 25 soldiers was sent to Placentia, Newfoundland, in 1687. By 1701, 150 men in three companies garrisoned it.

In the years that followed the Peace of Utrecht of 1713, having lost Acadia and Newfoundland, the French crown was careful to strengthen the defenses of Île Royale. Seven *compagnies franches*

were stationed there beginning in 1713. In 1722, the garrison at the fortress of Louisbourg was reduced to six companies, which were joined the following year by a detachment from the Régiment Suisse de Karrer, a Swiss corps maintained by the Ministry of Marine for duty overseas. Louisbourg fell in 1745 to a New England force during King George's War. When France regained control of it in 1748, 24 companies of colonial regulars were stationed there.

The first French troops stationed in Louisiana were detached from Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville's ships in 1699. In 1704, two companies of the troupes de la marine arrived in the colony. Louisiana's military establishment gradually rose and fluctuated before being set at 13 compagnies franches in 1732. That same year, a company from the Karrer regiment arrived in the colony. The number of compagnies franches stationed in the colony was drastically raised to 37 in 1750, though these units were significantly under strength, amounting to little more than 1,000 soldiers. New Orleans, Mobile, and Biloxi retained the largest garrisons throughout the period, though detachments were scattered about the posts and forts of upper and lower Louisiana.

Early on, men drawn from the troupes de la marine trained as gunners. At Quebec, an artillery school established in 1698 trained in rotation one soldier from each company. Similar unofficial units sprung up in Acadia in 1707, at Louisbourg in 1734, and at Mobile in 1744. It was only in 1743 that the first corps of colonial artillery, or *cannoniers-bombardiers*, appeared. Formed at Louisbourg, it comprised two officers and 30 artillerymen. After 1750, its strength was increased to 50 men. In 1750, a company of *cannoniers-bombardiers* formed at Quebec for service in Canada; another was formed in Louisiana in 1759.

In the summer of 1755, France responded to the British military build up in North America by sending four battalions of line infantry, or troupes de terre, to Quebec. This was the first direct involvement of the French Army (in the strictest sense of the word, as opposed to the Marine) in colonial defense since the 1660s. These troops, under the successive command of Major General Jean Armand, Baron de Dieskau, and Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, were temporarily placed under the authority of the minister of Marine. These two general officers, furthermore, were temporarily placed under the authority of the governorgeneral of New France. Although French and Canadian officers formed themselves into mutually antagonistic factions, relations were much calmer at the level of the private soldiers, who generally entertained cordial relations with the local population.

Over the course of the French and Indian War, a total of approximately 4,300 men belonging to the second battalions of the regiments of La Reine, Languedoc, Guyenne, Béarn, Royal-Rousillon, and La Sarre, and the second and third battalions of Berry, as well as gunners and engineers from their respective corps, went to Canada. The second battalions of the regiments of Artois, Bourgogne, Cambis, and Volontaires Étrangers went to Louisbourg. Finally, a battalion from the Régiment d'Angoumois was briefly stationed in Louisiana.

Each of the battalions serving in Canada, the main theater of operations, initially comprised 12 companies of fusiliers and 1 of grenadiers, corresponding to an average of 31 officers and 525 other ranks. By the last years of the war, however, all of these battalions had fallen to as low as half strength. This shortage of fighting personnel led to the consolidation of *compagnies franches* into battalions and the drafting of militiamen into brigades. A short-lived corps de cavalerie, the first and only mounted unit to serve in New France, served on active duty from May 1759 to September 1760. Composed of 200 Canadian volunteers and 5 French officers, its men acted as scouts and couriers for the army.

On September 14–16, 1760, six days after the capitulation of Montreal, the defeated troupes de la marine and troupes de terre set sail for France. Many deserters and the most severely wounded stayed behind and settled. The French Crown then made a final effort to reinforce France's few remaining American colonies, sending 5,000 troops to Louisiana, Saint Domingue, and Guyana. St. John's, Newfoundland, was briefly occupied during the summer of 1762 by some 750 soldiers, but after the evacuation of Louisiana in 1763–1764, there would be no further French military presence in North America until the American Revolutionary War.

JEAN-FRANÇOIS LOZIER

See also

Artillery, Land; Cavalry and Cavalry Tactics; France; France, Navy; Grenadiers; Infantry Tactics; Militias; New France; Troupes de la Marine

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France, Navy

The French Navy played a key role in maintaining lines of communication to the French empire overseas, most notably in North America, the West Indies, and India. The French Ministry of Marine administered New France and Louisiana, and French trade from North America to France relied on the navy's protection. In turn, France and its navy relied on maritime trade for much of its income. The cod fishery off the coast of Newfoundland was highly profitable from the early 16th century onward, as were whaling and the hunting

of other sea animals. As the fur trade became more lucrative, France also needed to protect ocean vessels transporting these items. Most importantly, as France was locked in geopolitical struggles with other European nations, and as these struggles spilled to colonial theaters, a strong navy would enable France to expand its empire and protect its existing colonies while dismantling those of other powers. France failed to fully recognize this fact, however, and continual underfunding of the navy led to the end of French rule in North America.

Naval battles off North America's coast during the 16th and 17th centuries failed to teach French leaders that a weak or absent navy would mean disaster for its overseas colonies. For example, the French built Fort Caroline in 1564 on the River of May (now St. Johns River), populated it with 600 colonists, and left 7 ships for protection. The Spanish, in turn, sent a 10-ship squadron and more than 1,000 troops in September 1565 to defeat the French, capture the fort, and execute the French colonists. Throughout the rest of the century and into the next, France's navy struggled to survive on the seas.

Part of the difficulty in the French competing on the seas, especially with the English, was the fact that France was a major military power in Europe. The French maintained a powerful land army. Throughout this period, Britain, although not as well-off financially as France, had only a small professional army and was thus able to concentrate the bulk of its defense resources in its navy.

By the 1620s the French Navy still lagged far behind the other major European powers, and even some of the smaller ones. In 1624, Louis XIII (1610–1643) advanced Cardinal Louis François Armand de Vignerot du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu, to chief minister. One of Richelieu's major accomplishments was the creation of a French Navy, the consequence of the long siege of La Rochelle. Richelieu, like those before and after him, encountered many obstacles, for few in authority favored a strong navy or overseas empire. They believed that France should instead focus on achieving European domination. Richelieu persevered but, following his death in 1642, the navy was nearly ruined as a consequence of insufficient funding and general neglect.

In the late 17th century, King Louis XIV (1643–1715) rebuilt France's navy, which became, according to historian Jonathan Dull, the most powerful in the world. During the War of the Grand Alliance (1688–1697) a number of naval battles occurred off the coast of Newfoundland and Acadia between the French and the English. After the English defeat of the French at sea in the critical Battle of La Hogue (May 22–24, 1692), the king lost interest in maintaining a large, expensive navy and at sea the French then embraced largely commerce raiding. As a result, much of the navy was demobilized. This trend of construction, followed by demobilization, continued throughout the 18th century.

During the 1700s France's navy was involved in a number of naval contests off the North American coast. New France was economically and militarily largely dependent on seaborne resupply. Strategic sites at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River such as Port Royale and, later, Île Royale, served as maritime gates to New France. During each of the ensuing conflicts with the English, the

French navy was plagued by inexperienced sailors and strategists, manpower shortages, and insufficient funding. These problems were exacerbated by England's ability to focus most of its military assets on its naval force.

During the War of the Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War, 1702–1713), France lost some of its colonial holdings in North America because its navy was unable to maintain dominance. The English secured key points in Nova Scotia, notably Port Royale. Newfoundland barely held out against English attacks and Quebec was left extremely vulnerable.

Most French naval operations were limited to waters off the coast of France and in the Mediterranean. By the end of the war, the French Navy was in ruins and, by the time Louis XIV died in 1715, it was at less than half the strength it had once been. By the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, France ceded Acadia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay to Britain, but kept fishing rights off Newfoundland's coast and also received Cape Breton Island (renamed Île Royale) and Île St.-Jean.

After the war, the navy encouraged more settlement on Île Royale and also around the strategically important Bay of Fundy. In 1717, Minister of Marine Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, Comte de Maurepas, chose Île Royale as the future site for the fortress of Louisbourg. The fortress, however, was poorly situated and poorly built. The French ministry of Marine was also involved in Canada's interior and sponsored the building of Fort St. Frédéric, Fort Niagara, and Fort Pontchartrain de Detroit. During this time forts were also built in the Louisiana Territory, but not to the same extent as in Canada. Ultimately, France staked its entire North American defense on Louisbourg.

During the 1720s and 1730s French maritime trade increased, although this did not correlate into more funding for the navy. In fact, funding actually decreased because of financial pressures on the Crown in France and a land war against Austria in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). Furthermore, Louis XV regarded the navy more as a tool with which to invade England or maintain a presence in the Mediterranean, rather than to strengthen French holdings in North America.

As a result, at the beginning of the War of the Austrian Succession, France had only 38 ships of the line, compared to 90 or more for Britain. Fighting also occurred between the British and French in North America. Both sides knew that Louisbourg was the key, and in 1745 a force composed of New England volunteers supported by British warships captured the fortress. After taking Louisbourg, the British were able to drive the French from the Île Royale fishing industry and harass New France's shipping.

The French planned to retake Louisbourg in the navy's sole major expedition of the war. It involved sending to North America a large squadron of 10 ships of the line. In the summer of 1746, the navy assembled nearly 11,000 soldiers and sailors under the overall command of Admiral Jean-Baptiste-Louis de la Rouchfoucauld, Duc d'Anville and, despite difficulties, eventually committed 12 ships of the line to the enterprise. Not even the weather cooperated,

and the ships had to remain in port until June 22, rather than sailing on May 1 as planned. Morale plummeted because it was late in the season, and the planners knew that a prolonged siege at Louisbourg would result in a French disaster. Many, including Michel de Vialis, chief engineer of siege operations, believed that the expedition should be abandoned, but it went forward nonetheless.

In the French passage across the Atlantic, the British took two of the ships, and there were many casualties from disease on the other ships. Indeed, d'Anville died after suffering a stroke in Chibouctou (present-day Halifax), where the French squadron had stopped to resupply. After capturing an English vessel and learning of the presence of a large English squadron in the area, d'Anville's successor decided to call off the attempt and return to France. Locally raised French forces that had been besieging Louisbourg were then forced to call off their effort. Although Louisbourg reverted to French control under the terms of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, little was done to strengthen the fortress. Meanwhile, the navy continued to struggle under woefully inadequate funding.

During the French and Indian War (1754-1763; Seven Years' War in Europe, 1756-1763), France made a last effort to protect New France. With only 57 ships of the line compared to 88 for Britain, French naval planners opted for a cautious approach at sea. At first, the navy performed surprisingly well. It lost only 3 ships of the line in 1756 and repelled English attempts on Louisbourg that year and the next. Nonetheless, navy funding was quickly running out as Britain was strengthening its own forces at sea. In the course of 1758 the French Navy suffered many defeats and lost 13 ships of the line. In addition, Louisbourg capitulated on July 26 after a short siege. Most of the navy's ships then left Quebec for France. The navy carried out its last raid in 1762, off the coast of Newfoundland, destroying some British fisheries and shipping. Meanwhile, the British triumphed on land, taking both Quebec and Montreal. In the Treaty of Paris (1763) France lost all its colonial holdings in North America apart from the two small fishing islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon.

Even though France had essentially lost its North American empire, the navy, now under the leadership of Étienne-François, Duc de Choiseul, received additional funding and, by the time of the American Revolutionary War, was a match for and ready to engage the British, although it did so mostly off the coast of France. The navy at least played a major role in securing revenge for the defeat of the Seven Years' War, winning the Battle of the Chesapeake on September 5, 1781, that made possible the crushing British surrender on land in the Battle of Yorktown. It was a costly accomplishment; the high costs of the naval war in particular contributed to bankruptcy in France and the coming of the French Revolution a decade later.

JONATHAN A. CLAPPERTON

See also

Artillery, Naval; Florida, Franco-Spanish Conflict over; Fort Caroline (Florida); France; France, Army; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Great Britain, Navy; King George's War, Naval

Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Louisbourg, Siege of; Louisbourg, Expedition; Mutiny, Navy; New France; Port Royal, English Attack on; Privateering; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Pierre de, Marquis de Vaudreuil; Spain, Navy; St. Lawrence River

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Franciscan Order

A religious order of the Roman Catholic Church. St. Francis of Assisi is credited with founding the Friars Minor, the Poor Ladies of St. Clares, and the Brothers and Sisters of Penance, which are generally known respectively as the First, Second, and Third Orders of St. Francis. The Friars Minor dates from 1209, when Pope Innocent III granted unwritten approval of the simple rules that St. Francis had set down for the guidance of his first companions. Franciscans live their lives based on the ideals of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The Friars Minor was the branch that played a prominent role in Spanish colonial history and the spreading of Christianity in the Americas.

Spain's colonial ventures were based on two main precepts. Such enterprises were to facilitate the search for riches to fill the coffers of the Crown and enrich individuals, and they were to convert nonbelievers to Roman Catholicism. The Franciscans, along with the Jesuits, were the prime agents of Spain's missionary aim to convert the natives of New Spain. These orders were prominent actors throughout Spain's rule in the New World. The Franciscans arrived in the New World as early as Christopher Columbus's second voyage there in 1493.

The Franciscans were most prominent in what is now Mexico, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California. To assist in their evangelistic efforts, the Franciscans founded six missionary colleges in Mexico to train friars to reach out to the natives. Franciscans ingrained themselves so deeply into the Spanish Empire that many priests became colonial administrators. Friars accompanied virtually every conquistador foray in the New World. Hernán Cortés appealed to the Crown for Franciscans to evangelize the natives of Mexico in 1522.

Spanish New World conquests were brutal affairs, and their rule after the initial conquest was no less so. The Franciscans were appalled by the acts of the Spanish conquistadors and thus asked the Crown to allow them to rule the natives. Because of their concerns, the Franciscans made tremendous inroads in converting the natives of Mexico to Roman Catholicism. The order opened univer-



Woodcut depicting French Franciscan missionary Father Hennepin and his party exploring the upper Mississippi region as Native Americans observe from the shore, ca. 1680. (The Granger Collection)

sities, hospitals, churches, missions, schools, and other vital social institutions throughout the colony. In addition, friars served as administrators in the colonial government and as advisors to military and civilian officials throughout Mexico. The Franciscans also worked outside the "civilized" core of Mexico.

Friars accompanied Fernando Coronado on his trek into the southwest of the present-day United States. Hopes that the friars might be able to check Coronado's greed-induced abuses proved unfounded. After the expedition returned to Mexico City, however, the Franciscans sent large numbers of missionaries into the recently explored lands, founding missions in New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas. The missionaries alone or in pairs ventured to lands outside of Spain's control without weapons or the protection of troops. The first missionaries lived with the natives, learning their language and at every opportunity seeking converts.

Franciscan missionaries in New Mexico won many converts and built large missions there. Missionaries generally used moral suasion. But when that failed, they could be as harsh as the conquistadors, for the Inquisition was brought to bear on natives who refused to convert or reverted to their former beliefs. Nonetheless, the Franciscans were so successful that they thoroughly controlled

Spanish New Mexico, ruling the colony in the name of the Spanish government. The hinterlands of the isolated colony were dotted with Franciscan missions and their converted charges. These missions were based on agriculture, with friars and "mission Indians" raising crops and livestock.

The Franciscans' heyday in the region came to a bloody halt with the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The Pueblos of New Mexico had long chafed under Spanish rule. The revolt caught the Spanish completely by surprise, and after bitter fighting and the slaughter of many friars and their native adherents, the Spanish were expelled from the region for 12 years.

However disastrous the Pueblo Revolt may have been, the Franciscans returned to New Mexico to evangelize the natives. The order never again held so much power in the region, but it continued its missionary work. Almost singlehandedly, the Franciscans paved the way for the white settlement of California by converting a large number of natives and building missions throughout the province. This Franciscan push into California also helped ward off Russian settlement there. The Franciscans also worked to evangelize the Apache tribes in Mexico and New Mexico.

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In the 1570s, the Franciscans also accompanied Spanish colonization efforts in Florida (La Florida), which at that point encompassed the southeastern coast from present-day South Carolina into southern Florida. As in Mexico, the Franciscans faced great obstacles there, including the 1597 Tolomato Uprising, which nearly obliterated their presence from northern Florida. After this, however, they had considerable success in Christianizing the natives of northern La Florida, but much less luck in converting those living in the southern third of the Florida Peninsula.

During the first decade of the 18th century, English raids against Spanish missions in La Florida marked the beginning of the end of the Franciscans in Florida. Indeed, by 1735 or so, recurrent English attacks had reduced the order's presence to several small church missions in the vicinity of St. Augustine.

RICK DYSON

See also

California; Coronado, Francisco Vásquez de; Florida; Jesuits; New Mexico; Pueblo Revolt; Spain; Spanish Mission System, Southeast; Spanish Mission System, Southwest; Texas; Tolomato Presidio (Georgia)

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Franklin, Benjamin

Born: January 17, 1706 Died: April 17, 1790

American Patriot, writer, printer, civic leader, statesman, diplomat, scientist, and inventor. Born on January 17, 1706, in Boston, Massachusetts, the 10th son of a soap maker, Benjamin Franklin attended the Boston Grammar School. During 1716–1718, he worked in his father's shop. For the next four years Franklin was an apprentice printer to his half-brother James, publisher of Boston's *New England Courant* newspaper. An avid reader who was constantly honing his writing skills, in 1722 Franklin became a regular contributor to the newspaper under the pseudonym "Silence Dogood." His persuasive writing style served him well throughout his life.

In 1723, after a falling out with James, Franklin went to Philadelphia, where he became a prominent printer. He opened his own printing shop there in 1728 and two years later became sole owner



Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania earned worldwide acclaim as a writer, scientist, statesman, and diplomat. He was also a key figure in the American Revolution. (Library of Congress)

of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* newspaper. In 1730, he married, and in 1731 he published his highly successful book, *Poor Richard's Almanac*. Containing information on a wide variety of topics, it was issued annually until 1751.

In 1727, Franklin established the Junto, a club for tradesmen and artisans. Four years later, Franklin and members of the Junto established the Library Company of Philadelphia, America's first circulating public library. In 1736, Franklin became clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and that same year he founded the Union Fire Company. Franklin was appointed Philadelphia postmaster in 1737. In 1743, he launched the American Philosophical Society, an extension of the Junto and the first learned society in the colonies. In addition, Franklin was instrumental in establishing the Masonic lodge in Philadelphia.

Franklin's interests soon extended to politics and warfare. During the 1740s, there was an increasing threat to Pennsylvania from the French and native alliance in the colonies. During King George's War (1744–1748), Franklin's son William fought on the British side against the French and the natives. By 1747, Philadelphia appeared in jeopardy from French and Spanish privateer raids on towns along the Delaware River.

Owing to its pacifist Quaker roots, Pennsylvania was the only British North American colony without a militia. The Pennsylvania Assembly did little about the growing threat, so Franklin wrote a pamphlet, *The Plain Truth*, in which he argued for a militia. He also

outlined a detailed proposal of rules, organization, and training for such a militia, and organized a lottery to raise money for equipment. Ten thousand men signed up in more than 100 companies throughout the colony within weeks of the pamphlet's appearance. Franklin was elected colonel by the officers of the 12 Philadelphia regiments, but declined the offer. Instead, he served as a common soldier, patrolling the batteries built by the militia along the Delaware. The Militia Association disbanded in 1748 with the end of the war.

With peace restored, Franklin turned to other pursuits. In 1751, he proposed the establishment of the first nonsectarian college in America. He went on to raise money to fund such a body, the Philadelphia Academy, which later became the University of Pennsylvania. Franklin served as president of its board. In 1751, Franklin also raised funds for the Philadelphia Hospital. In addition, Franklin established his reputation as a scientist. In 1742, he had invented a stove that bore his name. In 1751, he wrote *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*, and the next year he conducted his famous kite experiment.

Franklin also became active in politics. He was clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly during 1736–1751. A strong advocate of colonial union and westward expansion, Franklin in 1754 attended the Albany Convention, where he proposed what became known as the Albany Plan of Union. This called for the British colonies to band together and form their own legislative body as well as establish common defensive measures against the native threat. However, local interests prevented the colonies from adopting the plan. Franklin returned home to propose yet another militia, on a purely voluntary basis, with officers elected democratically. Money was raised, and this time the militia was under government control. Franklin, the de facto leader, donned a military uniform and oversaw stockade construction on the frontier. His Philadelphia regiment elected him colonel.

During the 1750s, Franklin took on such civic improvements as street sweeping, paving and lighting, as well as hiring night watchmen funded through a property tax. In 1757, he went to London as an agent for both Pennsylvania and Georgia. He later argued against the 1765 Stamp Act, the first major internal tax on the colonies, passed by Parliament. Franklin helped to secure its repeal the next year. He also argued strongly in the press against the 1767 Townshend duties on goods imported into the colonies.

With increasing tensions between the British government and the North American colonies, Franklin returned to Philadelphia in May 1775, shortly after the battles of Lexington and Concord. Elected to the Second Continental Congress, Franklin proposed the Articles of Confederation. He carried out a number of important assignments, including assisting in the drafting of the Declaration of Independence. Most importantly, in September 1776 Franklin was appointed envoy to France, where he was active in securing secret French funds for use against the British. Lionized by polite Parisian society, Franklin proved an adroit diplomat and, thanks in part to the American victory in the Battle of Saratoga in October 1777, France agreed to enter the struggle openly, recognizing Amer-

ican independence and signing treaties of trade and alliance. Franklin took a leading role in the conclusion of the Paris Peace Treaty of 1783.

Franklin returned to Philadelphia in 1785 and two years later served as a member of the Constitutional Convention in that city. Franklin died in Philadelphia on April 17, 1790.

RICHARD PANCHYK, CAREN PROMMERSBERGER, AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Albany Conference; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Pennsylvania

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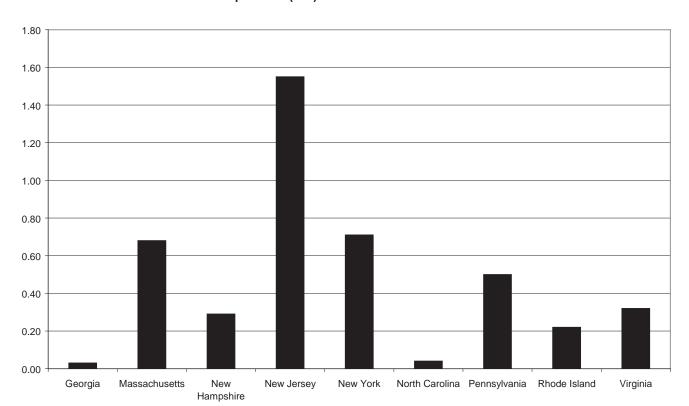
French and Indian War, Land Campaigns

Start Date: May 28, 1754 End Date: February 15, 1763

The last and largest North American conflict between Britain and France and their respective Native American allies (1754–1763). The French and Indian War began on May 28, 1754, and involved battles on at least three distinct fronts, and served as the catalyst for a wider conflict that came to be known in Europe as the Seven Years' War that began there on August 28, 1756, and ended on February 15, 1763. The war saw fighting on land and sea, not only in North America and Europe, but also in India, West Africa, and the Caribbean. The fighting in North America not only confirmed British hegemony on the eastern half of that continent, but also affected the war in Europe, and set forces in motion that would later influence the American drive for independence.

On August 28, 1753, Robert d'Arcy, Earl of Holdernesse, British secretary of state for the Southern Department (which included North America), sent a circular order to the English North American colonial governors. In it he authorized them to demand a French withdrawal from several disputed territories and, failing that, to force the French out using colonial militia.

Acting on this order, Virginia's Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie dispatched 21-year-old Major George Washington to Fort Le Boeuf, the nearest known French outpost, in what is now northwestern Pennsylvania. On December 16, 1753, Washington arrived with 11 men and was graciously received by Fort Le Boeuf's commandant, Jacques Legardeur de St. Pierre. Although St. Pierre patiently received Dinwiddie's demand to withdraw, he went only so far as to forward the summons to his superiors in Quebec. This set in motion the second clause of Holdernesse's circular order.



Per Capita Debt (in £) after the French and Indian War

On April 15, 1754, the French presence in western Pennsylvania turned from construction to conquest. A force of 500 men under French captain Claude Pierre Pécaudy, Seigneur de Contrecoeur, forced the surrender of 40 English workmen under Ensign Edward Ward, and transformed their Ohio Company trading post into the nucleus of Fort Duquesne at the Forks of the Ohio River. Meanwhile, Washington returned to the frontier with 150 Virginia militiamen and some native allies. On May 28, a detachment of 47 men from this force surprised a party of 35 French and native allies from Fort Duquesne, firing the first shots of the war. Among the 10 French dead was their commander, Ensign Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville, who received a hatchet blow to the head delivered by Tanaghrisson, leader of Washington's native allies.

While ministers in Britain and France sought to negotiate their differences in North America, the colonists further heightened tensions. Before the news of Fort Duquesne and Ensign Jumonville's death could reach Europe, French captain Louis Coulon de Villiers, Jumonville's brother, led a force of 600 Canadians and 100 native allies against his brother's supposed murderer. Washington's 500-man militia fought from a low, open and rain-soaked set of trenches and palisades known as Fort Necessity, where they were compelled to surrender after a 10-hour fight. Washington's capitulation placed a different spin on Jumonville's death, and when they reached Europe the reported events infuriated French and British ministers alike.

For 1755, both governments planned a proxy war in North America, reinforcing colonial militia with regular European troops. The ministers in London planned one campaign for 1755, but colonial officials requested four smaller ones. The first, during June 2-16, witnessed Nova Scotia't Lt. Gov. Charles Lawrence and Colonel Robert Monckton leading 250 British regulars and 2,000 colonials to Fort Beauséjour and Fort Gaspéreau on the isthmus connecting Nova Scotia to the Canadian mainland. There the British force defeated 150 French regulars and a few hundred unsteady Acadians. On September 8, 1755, Major General William Johnson's operation against Crown Point achieved a defensive victory at Lake George, capturing the French commander, Marechal de Camp Jean Armand, Baron de Dieskau. Major General William Shirley's campaign to Niagara, however, ended at Oswego when supplies ran short and 2,000 colonial militia fell ill. Meanwhile, on July 9, Major General Edward Braddock's expedition to Fort Duquesne ended in the loss of more than 900 out of his 2,200 effectives in the Battle of the Monongahela.

By year's end, ministers in London and Versailles planned new campaigns, expanding operations from North America into the Atlantic, and from the Atlantic to the shores of Europe, where nothing short of a diplomatic revolution had occurred. Maria Theresa, the Habsburg empress of Austria, sought to recapture Silesia, which Prussia had invaded and taken in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748, known as King George's War in America).

Dissatisfied with her ties to Britain under the Third Barrier Treaty (which dated to 1716), Maria Theresa tried to modify its terms. Her demands were so high, however, that the British sought alternatives. Instead of joining an alliance against Prussia, as the empress wished, Thomas Pelham-Holles, First Duke of Newcastle and First Lord of the treasury in London, believed it would be better to bring Prussia to neutrality, and therefore address Austrian security concerns. On January 16, 1756, just as the French were prepared to renew their alliance with Prussia, Newcastle's policy brought about the Convention of Westminster that formalized a vague Anglo-Prussian detente. Outraged, the French and Austrians set aside two and a half centuries of dynastic rivalry and concluded on May 1 the First Treaty of Versailles, a comprehensive defensive alliance. Further negotiations between the two powers formalized the possibility of a substantial exchange of territory: if French financial and military aid enabled Maria Theresa to recover Silesia, then France would be rewarded with sovereignty over the Austrian Netherlands.

Against Prussia, Austria forged the most powerful coalition in the 18th century, for it also included Russia and Sweden. Meanwhile, Britain, which had been allied with Austria in the War of the Austrian Succession, now looked to beleaguered Prussia for help in securing the Electorate of Hanover, the other domain of King George II. Despite this "diplomatic revolution," Britain still opposed France and Prussia still opposed Austria.

In the winter of 1755, as these events were unfolding, France feigned a design for invading Britain while actually preparing operations against Minorca. When officials in London finally discovered the ruse, they dispatched a naval force under Admiral John Byng. The British were unable to prevent the French from taking Minorca, however, and formally declared war on May 18. France reciprocated on June 9.

In July and August, King Frederick II of Prussia, well aware of the powerful coalition forming against him, sent messages to Vienna demanding to know why Austrian forces were massing on the Prussian border and insisting on their immediate withdrawal. Unsatisfied with the response and, without waiting to be attacked, Frederick mobilized his own army and on August 28, 1756, invaded Saxony en route to the Austrian Kingdom of Bohemia. This act began the Seven Years' War in Europe.

There was little in the way of large-scale campaigning in North America during 1756 and 1757. The British commander in chief in North America, John Campbell, Fourth Earl of Loudoun, reorganized British forces, which increased by the end of 1757 to 17 regular regiments and more than 10,000 colonial militiamen. Meanwhile, Maréchal de Camp Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, commanded some 7,200 French regulars and as many as 17,000 Canadian militiamen. Whereas Loudoun remained quiescent, aborting two projected British operations against Louisbourg, Montcalm won several important victories and attracted large numbers of native allies to the French cause.

Accompanied by 250 native allies, 1,300 French regulars and 1,500 Canadian militiamen raided Oswego late in 1756, leaving the

British without their trading and logistical base on Lake Ontario. Abandoned by their Oneida allies, the British garrison of 1,135 men was surprised in their poorly constructed works on the afternoon of August 11, and compelled to conclude an ignominious surrender.

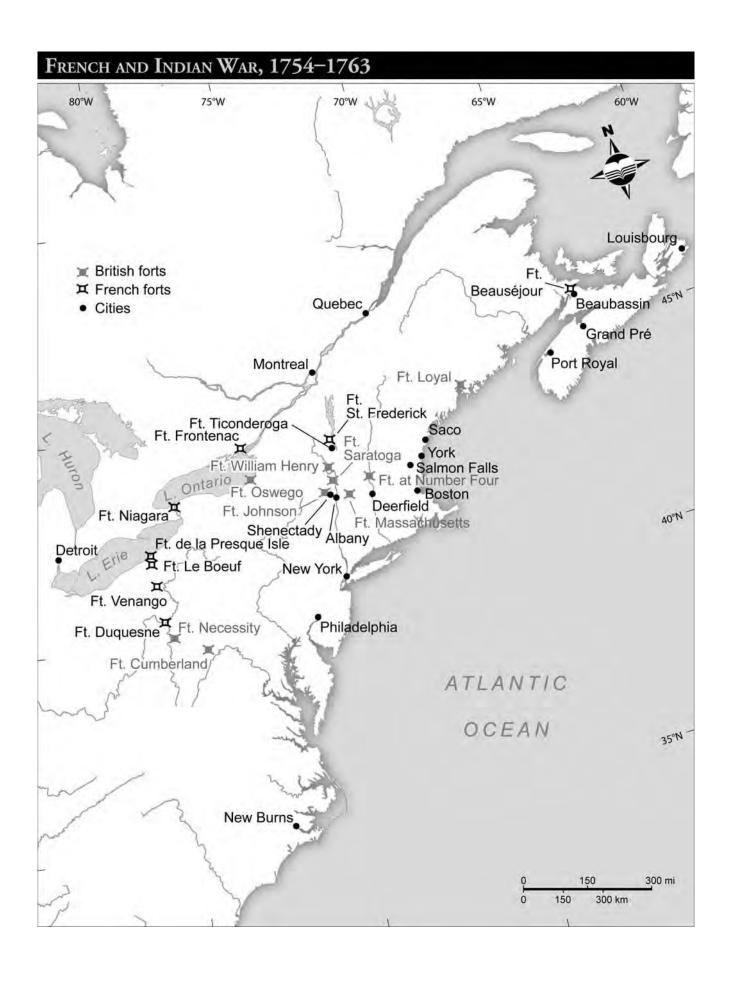
By 1757, the British attempted to gather their own intelligence employing Captain Robert Rogers and his 100-man company of green-clad American Rangers. Discovered and routed in their attempt to reconnoiter Fort Carillon/Ticonderoga in January 1757, the rangers left Fort William Henry as vulnerable to surprise as Oswego had been in 1756, and the prestige of French victories attracted increasing numbers of native allies. In mid-March, a raid on Fort William Henry by Captain François Pierre Rigaud and 1,500 natives, French, and Canadians exposed British weaknesses and destroyed supplies, but Major William Eyre's capable defense saved the fort from immediate capture.

Fort William Henry was in no better shape on August 3 when Montcalm arrived there with some 6,000 French regulars and Canadian militia and 2,000 native allies. British lieutenant colonel George Monro had brought five companies of his 35th regulars to Fort William Henry in the spring and received reinforcements of 200 Anglo-American regulars of the 60th Royal American regiment and 800 Massachusetts militiamen on August 2, giving him a total garrison of 2,300 British and American colonials. This force held out bravely for a week before surrendering.

On August 9, 1757, Monro negotiated a European-style surrender. Granted the full honors of war, the British garrison was assured safe conduct with all of its effects down the 14-mile road to Fort Edward. Unfortunately for the members of the British garrison, Montcalm had not consulted with his native allies. The natives, seeking plunder and scalps, engaged in what the British and colonial press called a "massacre," inflaming public opinion throughout the Anglophone world. Moreover, by trying to restrain his native allies, Montcalm damaged French credibility and gave British Indian commissioner William Johnson an unprecedented opportunity to swing native opinion to Britain's side.

As British fortunes in North America began to improve, the same occurred in Europe. On June 18, 1757, 34,000 of King Frederick's Prussians threatened to drive Austria from the war at Kolín (about 40 miles east of Prague), before their French, Russian, and Swedish allies had fully mobilized. If the Prussians succeeded against Field Marshal Leopold Graf von Daun's 66,000 Austrians, the British hoped to turn Prussian military power against France. Frederick failed, however, and needed near-miraculous victories of his own, near the end of the year.

At Rossbach, in Saxony, on November 5, Frederick achieved the first of these victories. With only about 21,000 men he defeated about double that number of French troops under French marshal Charles de Rohan, Prince of Soubise, and imperial forces under General Feldzeugmeister Josef Friedrich Wilhelm, Duke of Saxe-Hildburghausen. For the loss of only about 550 men, Frederick inflicted more than 10 times that number of casualties on his enemies and sent French and imperial forces into full retreat.



Equally impressive was Frederick's second victory a month later at Leuthen, in Silesia. With some 39,000 men, Frederick confronted about 60,000 Austrians and German allies under Feldzeugmeister Prince Charles of Lorraine. Taking the four-and-a-half-mile-long Austrian line in the flank, Frederick killed or wounded more than 10,000 Austrians and captured 12,000 more, for the loss of only 6,500 Prussians.

These two Prussian victories significantly aided British fortunes in Hanover, where the fighting began somewhat later. In April, George II sent his second son, Captain General William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, to command British forces there. With the failure of negotiations for neutral status for Hanover, the French invaded it. Cumberland did not offer serious opposition, abandoning a fight at Hastenbeck on July 24–26, 1757, and signing an armistice at Kloster Zeven on September 10.

Following Frederick's victory at Rossbach, Hanoverian forces again mobilized, this time under Field Marshal Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, one of Frederick's best officers. Throughout the winter and spring of 1758, Prince Ferdinand liberated Hanover, and received British reinforcements through the Prussian port of Emden. In May, Prince Ferdinand crossed the Rhine in Dutch territory with about 32,000 men, and on June 23 defeated about 50,000 French under Marshal Louis, Comte de Clermont, at Krefeld.

The British Army had otherwise been occupied in a series of feints and coastal raids. Combining land and sea power with the persuasive abilities of its diplomats, the British ministry sought to influence Russian and Swedish counsels in the Baltic while confounding defense planners in Versailles and Vienna. Although British expeditions achieved only limited successes, the specter of British troops landing on distant shores kept their opponents guessing and tied down their resources.

Noting the value of naval power and power projection from an early date, Frederick hoped for British aid against Russian sea and land forces in the Baltic region. He did not consider, however, the important trade in naval stores that enriched the Russians and Swedes while providing raw materials for the British Navy. Thus, although the ministry in London ultimately refused to engage in the Baltic, threats of economic damage from fighting with Britain weighed as heavily as that of actual combat on the minds of Russian and Swedish planners. These considerations concerned Austrian planners also; in October 1757, rumors of a possible British raid on Trieste prompted officials in Vienna to dispatch 5,000 troops and a company of artillery there.

In fact, British land and sea forces sailed not to the Mediterranean but to the French port of Rochefort in August and September 1757. This was an attempt to divert the French from their campaign in Germany. Despite achieving almost complete surprise, this raid largely failed because of timidity on the part of the land commander, Major General Sir John Mordaunt. In 1758, with the arrival of new officers such as Charles Spencer, Third Duke of Marlborough, British forces tried again, and conducted more successful landings at the French ports of St. Malo and Cherbourg, where they destroyed large num-

bers of privateers. These raids came to an ignominious end on September 11, 1758, however, with the defeat of a smaller expedition under Major General Edward Bligh at St. Cas. British coastal operations thereafter, until the descent on Belle Isle in 1761, were restricted to naval bombardments.

British ships and troops also conducted amphibious operations in North America and the Caribbean. The first, against Louisbourg, included Major General Jeffery Amherst and Colonel (later Brigadier General) James Wolfe. Whereas Lord Loudoun had failed in 1756 and 1757, the expedition in 1758 succeeded brilliantly, taking the fort on July 26.

Wolfe continued with Vice Admiral Charles Saunders up the St. Lawrence River in 1759. They then waged a lengthy amphibious campaign against the capital of New France, Quebec. In perhaps the most important land battle in the history of North America, the British were victorious in the Battle of the Plains of Abraham outside Quebec on September 13.

British forces had also been busy in the Caribbean. Major General Peregrine Hopson and Colonel John Barrington aborted a planned attack on Martinique, the main French naval base in the region, and instead took the richer sugar island of Guadeloupe on June 25, 1758. Because of resistance from the British planter community, further operations in the Caribbean stalled until 1761, when the British administration under newly crowned King George III considered new conquests as a means of forcing the French to peace, rather than acquiring additional territory.

The British also enjoyed success in the North American interior. With the American Indian threat largely removed by the Treaty of Easton of August 5, 1757, British colonial forces, backed by regular troops, began a large, virtually continuous three-year offensive. Montcalm blunted the English advance at Ticonderoga on July 8, 1758, and French forces under Chevalier Gaston de Lévis almost retook Quebec following the Battle of Sainte Foy on April 28, 1760, but British operations continued to register slow, cautious progress.

British North American forces under the overall command of Major General in North America James Abercromby in 1758, and Amherst from 1759, had great advantages in numbers and organization, and in the quality and creativity of their officers. It was not only Wolfe and Amherst who stood out, but also enterprising officers such as Brigadier General John Forbes, whose attack on Fort Duquesne on September 14, 1758, drove the French from western Pennsylvania; Lieutenant Colonel John Bradstreet, whose attack on Fort Frontenac on August 25–27, 1758, threatened the French Canadian war economy; and Indian Commissioner Major General William Johnson, whose siege of Niagara during July 6–26, 1759, cleared French influence from New York and the western Great Lakes region, and secured British authority over the Ohio Country.

With the fall of Louisbourg and Frontenac, and then of Niagara and Quebec, French trade with Canada collapsed. French maritime businesses fell on hard times. With the cancellation of payment on Canadian bills of exchange, Canada merchants such as Jean-Joseph

Marquis de Laborde—a major financier of the French government itself—were compelled to declare bankruptcy. The Ministry of Marine declared bankruptcy as well in November 1759, and financial problems spread throughout the French government soon thereafter. As French territories in Canada and the Caribbean fell, French subsidies to European allies, notably Austria, dwindled, and French military efforts in Hanover and around the globe weakened substantially after 1760. Meanwhile, the British were able to make regular subsidy payments to Frederick and keep Prussia in the war, although just barely.

Prussia had problems of its own in 1759, particularly after August 12, when Frederick retreated from the sanguinary Battle of Kunersdorf with only 3,000 of the 48,000 troops he had brought to the field. Though he recovered some 30,000 more of his troops by the beginning of September, his capital at Berlin lay open and threatened by 50,000 Austrians. Marshal Daun decided to cover his logistical train instead of advancing, however.

Also in 1759, France made a last gamble at invading Britain, hoping to upset British markets and finance in their turn, if not to end the war outright by a descent on London. By this time, however, the British Admiralty, headed by the capable First Lord George Anson, had perfected a system for blockading and monitoring French ports, cutting off the vast majority of French trade and supply to allies and colonies. France's naval squadrons fared no better than its merchants, with the French Navy suffering major defeats at Lagos on August 19 and Quiberon Bay on November 20.

With the loss of more than 20 ships between the two battles and the concurrent complete collapse of naval finance, the French colonies and outlying islands were more vulnerable than ever. After nearly taking Madras in 1757, the French position in India steadily eroded under British pressure. Lacking adequate supplies for their ambitions in the subcontinent, the last French offensive in India was halted by Lieutenant Colonel Eyre Coote at Wandiwash on January 22, 1760, and the major base at Pondicherry fell a year later on January 13, 1761.

As with French India, the French West Indies had some resources at hand, but could not count on reinforcements and supplies from Europe. When British operations turned from Canada to the Caribbean after the fall of Montreal on September 9, 1760, French islands such as Martinique, Dominica, and St. Lucia could only resist for so long. Throughout 1761 and especially in 1762, the major French sugar colonies fell one after another, until only Haiti on Hispaniola remained.

The last French operation by sea was an assault on Newfoundland in 1762. Though successful, it involved only five ships and 800 men. British colonists in Massachusetts organized a relief expedition of more than 1,500 men under Colonel William Amherst, and soon recovered the island. The French campaign in Newfoundland did not truly envision the conquest of that island as an end in its own right; rather, like the British invasion of Belle Isle with 8,000

men on June 7, 1761, it was an attempt to affect the two states' respective bargaining positions at a future peace negotiation.

The first attempt to start peace talks was the Hague Declaration, presented by British and Prussian envoys in the Dutch Republic to their Austrian, French, and Russian counterparts in October 1759. These negotiations failed, but led to efforts at a peace congress in Breda or Augsburg, in 1760 and 1761. Britain and France also attempted to negotiate a separate peace in 1761, with envoys Hans Stanley and Sieur de Bussy. Negotiations broke down, however, mostly under Austrian and Spanish pressure, and because of concerns over fishing rights near Newfoundland and the return of conquests in Germany. Despite their failure, the talks were restarted through the Sardinian envoys Viry and Solar in 1762, and ended in success near the year's end.

The negotiations in 1762 were more complex than those of 1761 for several reasons. Changes in the leadership in Spain, in Britain, and finally in Russia, altered the international playing field. Spain had slowly edged toward the French camp after the accession of King Carlos III in 1759, and the two states concluded the Third Family Compact on August 15, 1761. With the accession of King George III on October 25, 1760, Britain moved quickly from the hawkish stance of William Pitt the Elder to the more dovish agenda of John Stuart, Third Earl of Bute, and John Russell, Fourth Duke of Bedford.

Finally, with Prussia on the verge of extinction following the Austrian capture of Schweidnitz on October 1, 1761, there occurred the so-called Miracle of the House of Brandenburg. On January 5, 1762, Czarina Elizabeth of Russia died. Elizabeth, who hated Frederick and was determined to end his rule, was followed by Czar Peter III, an ardent admirer of the Prussian king. At the czar's command, the Russian Army switched sides and helped the Prussians to achieve victory at Burkersdorf, on July 21, 1762. Although Grand Duchess Catherine of Anhalt-Zerbst soon succeeded Peter in a palace coup to become Czarina Catherine II, the die had been cast; Russia declared neutrality and Frederick and Prussia survived.

When Russia left the conflict, Sweden also declared neutrality, although Spain declared war against Britain on January 4, 1762. In effect, Europe experienced a second diplomatic revolution, so that Prussia had an advantage over Austria, and France and Spain had what appeared, at first, to be an upper hand against Britain. Although exhausted financially and militarily, Prussia gained several victories in 1762 and forced Austria to accept the definitive loss of Silesia. British and allied forces, meanwhile, invaded Havana, Cuba, and Manila in the Philippines while repelling a Spanish invasion of Portugal.

Finally convinced of the futility of further conflict, France and Spain expanded on the Viry-Solar talks, and found in George III and his envoy, Bedford, remarkable partners for peace. At the prodding of their respective allies, Austria and Prussia made peace at Hubertusburg on February 15, 1763, reaffirming the prewar status quo of

1756 and providing for the definitive secession of Silesia by Austria to Prussia.

Britain, France, and Spain, meanwhile, concluded the Treaty of Paris on February 10. This agreement formalized a substantial exchange of territories, greatly in Britain's favor. In North America it involved the cession of all of New France to British control, excepting only the small fishing islands of Saint- Pierre and Miquelon, and Louisiana, which France ceded to Spain. Britain also acquired Florida from Spain.

By taking large amounts of territory from France, yet leaving important naval stations under French control, Britain left open the opportunity for ministers at Versailles to plot their revenge. This they did until 1770, when the de facto prime minister, Étienne François, Duc de Choiseul, was disgraced by an aging King Louis XV. Meanwhile, Britain had to contend with the difficulties and contradictions inherent in administering their new lands, including the toleration of Catholicism in New France, which was anathema to the Puritan colonists of New England.

Some prominent British officials sought tighter political control over the American colonies, provoking a series of increasingly hostile reactions among the colonists. By 1775, American discontent erupted into full-scale revolt against the mother country, presenting the French with the opportunity for revenge.

MATT SCHUMANN

See also

Abercromby, James; Amherst, Jeffery; Bay of Fundy Expedition;
Braddock, Edward; Braddock's Campaign; Campbell, John, Earl of
Loudoun; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort
Frontenac (Ontario); Fort Gaspereau (Nova Scotia); Fort Necessity
(Pennsylvania), and Battle of; Fort Ticonderoga (New York); Fort
William Henry (New York); Fort William Henry, Siege of; French and
Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Forbes Campaign; Forbes, John;
Jumonville's Glen, Action at; Lake George, Battle of; Lévis, François
Gaston de, Duc de Lévis; Louisbourg, Siege of; Montcalm-Gozon de
Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Murray, James; Oswego,
Battle of; Paris, Treaty of; Pitt, William, the Elder, First Earl of
Chatham; Quebec, Battle of; Robertson, James; Rogers, Robert;
Washington, George; Wolfe, James

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French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns

Start Date: 1754 End Date: 1763

Alongside the major land campaigns of the French and Indian War (1754–1763; known in Europe as the Seven Years' War of 1756–1763), Britain and France engaged in major battles at sea. The war saw fleet actions, raids, privateering, blockade operations, and overseas expeditions, all of which contributed to the war's outcome.

In early 1755, shortly after Major General Edward Braddock departed to take his command in North America, the French ministry prepared 18 ships with 78 companies of reinforcements for New France (Canada). On April 23, the British responded by sending out 11 ships of the line and a frigate, all commanded by Rear Admiral Edward Boscawen. Then, on May 8, the Admiralty dispatched another 6 ships of the line and a frigate under Vice Admiral Francis Holbourne. These British ships were intended either to divert or to destroy any effort by the French to reinforce their North American possessions. On the foggy morning of June 4, Boscawen and Holbourne accomplished part of their mission by capturing two French ships of the line—the Alcide of 64 guns and the Lys of the same class but mounting only 22 guns and carrying four companies each of the regiments of Languedoc and La Reine. Despite this success, the British had only hindered the flow of arms from France to Canada and also angered the French government in the process.

The British supported their actions in the North Atlantic with raids against French commerce, by squadrons of 10 to 20 ships of the line under Rear Admiral Edward Hawke in August and September, and Admiral John Byng in October and November. The French government, meanwhile, remained largely passive in the face of this undeclared war at sea, and even returned South Carolina's Gov. William Lyttelton to British custody after his frigate was taken by a French privateer.

Only in December did the French appear to menace British shores with the prospect of invasion—a threat that was in fact a feint to cover a naval descent on the British-held Mediterranean island of Minorca. On April 18, 1756, the Marquis de La Galissonière led 12 ships of the line, 3 frigates, and 173 transports to Port Mahon, the main British post on the island.

These French ships landed 25 battalions of infantry and a siege train—more than 15,000 men in all—under Marshal Louis-François Armand du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu. Despite an order of March 28, Gov. Thomas Fowke of Gibraltar refused to reinforce Minorca with one of his regiments, even after Byng at the beginning of May strengthened the Mediterranean Squadron to 13 ships of the line and 4 frigates. Fowke's disobedience notwithstanding, Lieutenant General William Blakeney, lieutenant governor of Minorca, continued to stifle Richelieu's attempts to take Port Mahon. Byng, meanwhile, arrived off Minorca on May 18 with 13 ships of the line. Two days later, he met Galissonière's 12 ships of the line in the first major naval engagement

of the war. Although Byng attempted new tactics against the French ships, which were generally newer, better manned, and more heavily armed, the battle developed into a stalemate lasting seven and a half hours. After four more days around Minorca, Byng called a council of war that supported his decision to withdraw, leading to Byng's later court-martial and controversial execution on March 14, 1757.

While British forces suffered this setback in the Mediterranean, they strengthened their presence in the Atlantic. Through an energetic building program and improved logistics at sea, Hawke and the first lord of the Admiralty, Fleet Admiral George Anson, gradually perfected a naval blockade of the French coast. In 1757, a partial English blockade rendered French efforts to resupply their colonies both tenuous and expensive. This blockade steadily improved in effectiveness, and by 1758 it prevented the French from mounting any major expeditions from their ports. Privateers and smaller merchant ships occasionally escaped, but the blockade in general proved as effective against French trade as against the French Navy.

The British blockade was supported indirectly by a large number of privateers, particularly from London and Bristol. One of the most notorious of these was the *Antigallican*, a 430-ton, 30-gun ship that took a French trading vessel, the *Duc de Penthievre*, from under the protection of Spanish guns at Cádiz in 1757, and nearly opened an Anglo-Spanish war. After reforms to the Admiralty courts in 1759, privateers were partially integrated into the British Navy, and participated in several minor raids against French ports.

On July 26, 1758, the French fortress port of Louisbourg, on Cape Breton Island, Canada, became the first indirect victim of Anson's blockade. The French garrison there of 10 ships, 3,870 sailors, and 3,920 soldiers had been resupplied at great expense in 1757 but, cut off from further support in 1758, they were unable to withstand a British expedition of about 13,000 British regulars and colonials under Major General Jeffery Amherst, who became commander in chief in North America in 1759. Boscawen supported the army operation with some 14,000 sailors in 23 ships of the line and 16 support vessels. With the fall of Louisbourg, New France lost one of its chief ports and its most expensive fortification in North America.

In Europe, meanwhile, the British Navy achieved a number of impressive victories. On February 28, 1758, a detachment of five ships of the line and two frigates from the Mediterranean fleet under Vice Admiral Henry Osborne surprised three French ships of the line approaching the neutral Spanish port of Cartagena. While the 70-gun *Revenge*, the 64-gun *Berwick*, and two smaller ships captured the 64-gun *Orphée* and forced ashore the 50-gun *Oriflamme*, Captain Arthur Gardiner's 64-gun *Monmouth* dueled with the French 80-gun *Foudroyant* (formerly Galissonière's flagship against Byng). Four hours later, the 64-gun *Swiftsure* joined the fray and the *Foudroyant* struck. Among the French taken prisoner was Rear Admiral Ange de Menneville, Marquis Duquesne, former governor of Canada. Although the British did not retake Minorca, they began to appreciate Governor Fowke's 1756 assessment that Gibraltar was the more important.

In the other colonial theaters, British naval forces also scored important successes. Among these was the expedition of Commodore Henry Marsh and Thomas Cummings, a New York merchant. They sailed with 2 small ships of the line, 6 supporting vessels, and two companies of marines to the west coast of Africa and overran the French slaving station of Gorée in April 1758. Subsequent expeditions in the same year shut down the French slave trade for the remainder of the war. In the Indian Ocean, meanwhile, Vice Admiral George Pocock threatened the French base of Pondicherry with forces rarely numbering above 10 ships of the line and 2 frigates, and he fought several indecisive battles in 1758 and 1759 against squadrons of no more than 9 ships of the line and a frigate under Chef d'Escadre Anne Antoine, Comte d'Aché.

For the British, 1759 was the *Annus Mirabilis*, the year of victories. Principal among these was the capture of Quebec, in which Brigadier General James Wolfe played the leading role. The Royal Navy lent quiet yet indispensable support, however, in the form of 22 ships of the line, 10 frigates, 3 fire ships, 3 bomb ketches, and 119 auxiliary vessels under the overall command of Rear Admiral Charles Saunders.

Arguably of equal importance was the smaller expedition intended for Martinique in the French West Indies, under Vice Admiral Sir John Moore with 10 ships of the line, 5 frigates, and several supporting vessels, and Major General Peregrine Thomas Hopson with three regiments and three detached battalions—in all some 4,800 troops. Captain Richard Hughes left Britain with naval reinforcements for this venture on November 12, 1758, but shortly after he arrived, Hopson died, leaving Colonel John Barrington in command of the land forces. Martinique appeared unassailable, and Moore in any case favored taking Guadeloupe, a major privateering stronghold and the center of the French sugar trade. Following careful reconnaissance and landings at different points of the island, British forces took Guadeloupe by June 25, dealing a major blow both to French privateering in the Caribbean and to their sugar trade.

Most dazzling of all were the British victories at sea closer to home, preempting the threat of a French invasion of Britain. On August 18 near the Portuguese town of Lagos, Boscawen took 14 ships of the line against a French fleet of 12, sinking 3 and trapping 5 more. On November 20, Hawke added his own triumph at Quiberon Bay, near the port of l'Orient, France, commanding 23 ships of the line against 21 under Marshal of France Hubert de Brienne, Comte de Conflans. For the loss of 2 of his own ships, Hawke sent 6 French vessels to the bottom and forced many more into the Villaine River, where some remained as late as 1762. Hawke's victory, in particular, dealt the French Navy a blow from which it would not soon recover and ensured nearly complete British mastery of the sea for the remainder of the war.

France sent two small expeditions to sea at the beginning of 1760, both much smaller than those of the year before. The first, that of five frigates and a sloop under privateer captain François Thurot, was intended for the invasion of England in 1759, but had been diverted to Bergen, Norway (then under Danish dominion),

before continuing around the tip of Scotland. After losing half his squadron to storms in the Faröe Islands, Thurot surprised the small British garrison at Carrickfergus, Ireland, on February 21. Eight days later, he was surprised in his turn by a British force of three frigates under Captain John Elliot. In the 90-minute engagement that followed, all three French ships struck, and Thurot was among the Frenchmen killed. The second French expeditionary force, consisting of one frigate and five large store ships with 400 troops, fared no better. This last reinforcement effort for Canada lost half its ships to Boscawen's patrols near Rochefort, and the remainder arrived near Quebec six days behind British reinforcements from Halifax.

Following this string of failures at sea, France set about rebuilding its navy, but launched only two more expeditions, in 1762. One centered on an attempt to take Newfoundland and involved five ships and 800 men. In the third week of September, this endeavor came to naught, as Colonel William Amherst retook the island with 1,000 regulars and 500 Massachusetts provincials. The other French expedition in 1762 was an attempt to reinforce Martinique, but it arrived only after the island had been taken by the British.

As the war ground to a close, the British ministry, under the leadership of William Pitt the Elder, sought to secure an equivalent for Minorca, then held by the French. The result was an expedition against Belle Isle, in the Bay of Biscay, which fell to the British on June 8, 1761, after a protracted campaign. A larger British expedition also set sail for the Caribbean near the end of the year, and in 1762 took the islands of Martinique, St. Lucia, Grenada, St. Vincent, and Dominica.

When Spain entered the war in favor of France in early 1762, the British undertook two additional naval expeditions. The first, by their Caribbean fleet, took Havana, Cuba, and the second, involving their East Indian squadron, surprised the Spanish garrison at Manila in the Philippines.

By 1762 Britain had achieved complete naval mastery over France and Spain. British command of the sea not only served to protect the British Isles from invasion but also to sever French supply lines and commerce around the globe. The struggle at sea contributed substantially to French financial woes and thus undermined their efforts on the European continent directly against the Electorate of Hanover and indirectly against Britain's chief ally, the kingdom of Prussia. British victories at sea also had an impact on their triumph in the Treaty of Paris that concluded the war on February 10, 1763.

MATT SCHUMANN

See also

Bay of Fundy Expedition; France, Navy; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Great Britain, Navy; Louisbourg, Siege of; Quebec, Battle of

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Frigate

See Warships

Frontenac, Louis de Buade de, Comte de Frontenac et de Palluau

Born: May 22, 1622 Died: November 28, 1698

Governor-general of New France (1672–1682 and 1689–1698), primarily remembered for having led the colony through King William's War (1689–1697) with a measure of success. Born on May 22, 1622, in Saint-Germain, France, into an influential family of the nobility of the sword, Louis de Buade de Frontenac entered the French Army.

Frontenac fought in the closing stages of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). He was commissioned *maître de camp* (colonel) of the Régiment de Normandie in 1643. Crippled in the right arm from a wound he received in 1646, he was promoted to the rank of *maréchal de camp* (equivalent to brigadier general) in compensation. When not on active service, he resided at the court of Louis XIV where he acquired a reputation for his expensive tastes, considerable debts, and colossal vanity. Frontenac served briefly in the French-Venetian campaign against the Turks in 1669, and finally, in the spring of 1672, was named governor-general of New France.

Infamous for both his arrogance and impetuosity, Frontenac had many weaknesses, both as a military leader and colonial administrator. Yet owing to an uncritical interpretation of his prolific and eloquent correspondence by Francis Parkman and subsequent writers, his historical reputation fared extremely well until it was reappraised by his modern-day biographer, William John Eccles.

Shortly after arriving in the colony, Frontenac reorganized the Canadian militia along the lines suggested by the Crown in 1669. During this first term he pursued an ill-advised policy of appeasing both the Iroquois, who harassed France's indigenous allies, and the British, who diverted trade to Hudson's Bay. Having understood the profit to be made in the fur trade, Frontenac promoted westward exploration and the establishment of an advanced post on Lake Ontario (Fort Frontenac), often veiling such commercial ventures as strategic ones. In light of his intemperate behavior, insubordination, and incessant quarrels with the colony's administrators, clergy, and merchants, he was recalled by the Crown in 1682.

As a consequence of his influential family and personal charm, Frontenac was reappointed governor of New France in 1689, shortly after the outbreak of King William's War. During the winter of 1690,



The port of Louisbourg, Nova Scotia, as seen from the headlands above the lighthouse in 1768. (Library of Congress)

Frontenac launched a successful three-pronged raid on the towns of Schenectady (New York), Salmon Falls (New Hampshire), and Fort Loyal (Maine). In retaliation, that same year New England mounted an important naval campaign against Quebec. Prompted by a British emissary to surrender the city, Frontenac famously replied, "I have no reply to make to your general other than from the mouths of my cannon." Outgunned and suffering from cold and hunger, the New Englanders retired to Boston.

This was a decisive victory for the French, but Frontenac's limited resources prevented him from mounting a counterattack. His only major offensive, in 1696, was directed against the Onondagas and the Oneidas. Personally led by the governor, the expedition caused few casualties but did result in the destruction of enemy villages and food reserves. In 1698, Frontenac learned of the Peace of Ryswick of September 1697. In the fall, Frontenac's health declined, and he died on November 28, 1698, at Quebec.

JEAN-FRANÇOIS LOZIER

See also

Beaver Wars; Canada, New England Expedition against; Fort Frontenac (Ontario); Fort Loyal (Maine); King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Quebec, Attack on (1690); Salmon Falls, Battle of; Schenectady, Battle of

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Frontier, Northern

In the 16th and 17th centuries, European colonists continually expanded their land possessions in North America. As each colony grew, conflict with native populations became almost inevitable. Furthermore, longstanding national rivalries in Europe naturally continued in the colonial region. When conflicts erupted in Europe, they usually spilled over into colonial possessions. By the mid-18th century, however, just the opposite occurred—a conflict originating in North America spread to Europe during the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

During almost the entire colonial period, English colonists significantly outnumbered their French counterparts. French possessions along the St. Lawrence River were flanked by British settlements in New England, New York (taken from the Dutch in 1664), and British Canada. British colonists, determined to remain in North America and expand their holdings, experienced more

conflict with natives than did the French, who generally sought a peaceful coexistence with the indigenous tribes. Whereas English settlers tended to push native populations westward as their colonies expanded, in French-claimed territory tribes often remained undisturbed. Because of their more amicable relationship with natives, the French were able to offset many of the population advantages of the British. The French also benefitted from the advantage of interior lines and a unified command. The English rarely coordinated efforts between the differing colonial populations. Each English colony assiduously defended its autonomy, even to the detriment of the British colonial effort as a whole.

As English colonists established themselves in New England, they tended to establish small communities interspersed with native settlements. Relations with neighboring tribes remained fairly harmonious until 1636, with occasional skirmishes but no open warfare. In 1636, a dispute between the Massachusetts Bay colony and the Pequot tribe erupted into war. Fighting continued until May 1637, when an English war party, aided by its Narragansett allies, attacked and burned a Pequot village on the Mystic River. Most of the inhabitants were noncombatants, but all were slaughtered or captured for the slave trade. The English pursuit of total war eventually overwhelmed the Pequots. The 1638 Treaty of Hartford declared the Pequot Nation dissolved. The destruction of the Pequots ensured the domination of the English over remaining tribes in New England, a hegemony that went unchallenged for almost 40 years.

In 1675, conflict again erupted between New England colonists and Native Americans. This time, the powerful Wampanoag tribe was at the center of the hostilities. Chief Metacom, called King Philip by the English, had assembled a confederation of tribes to resist further English encroachment. When an English court ordered three Wampanoags executed for murdering a Christianized native, violence broke out. In the summer of 1675, Metacom's followers attacked Plymouth colony villages, looting and burning, then retreated before the English could mount a response. The Wampanoags were joined by other tribes that had long resented the expansion of English settlements. By autumn 1675, native warriors had devastated the New England frontier and were raiding within 20 miles of Boston. However, the Wampanoags and their allies could not sustain their war effort. They suffered from food shortages, a lack of guns and ammunition, and disease. New Englanders coordinated their efforts and pushed the natives westward. Native leaders who surrendered were executed, and hundreds of their supporters were enslaved to offset the costs of the war. In the summer of 1676, Metacom was killed and his body quartered as a warning to other tribal chieftains in the region. With the loss of his leadership, the Wampanoags were doomed, and the war ended in the autumn of 1676.

The war slowed, but did not halt, English expansion in the region, and virtually destroyed the Native American presence. Several thousand colonists were killed in the fighting, and perhaps

twice as many natives died in the conflict. Those who survived the fighting fled westward, seeking the protection of the Iroquois Confederation, or were confined to four "praying towns" overseen by English colonists.

The frontier between French and English colonial possessions provided the setting for a series of conflicts, primarily struggles for hegemony in, and later dominance of, the North American continent. In King William's War (1689-1697), English colonists in New England and New York, supported by the Iroquois and other native allies, faced off with French Canadian colonists and their native allies. The war was an extension of the War of the League of Augsburg in Europe, and began with raids across the New York-Canada border. A Massachusetts expedition captured Port Royal, Acadia, which had harbored French privateers harassing the New England coastline. In 1690, colonial forces from New England and New York planned a joint invasion of Canada, with armies attacking Montreal and Quebec simultaneously. A smallpox outbreak decimated the English forces, and poor logistics forced both armies to retreat before reaching their objectives. The war devolved into a series of frontier raids and privateering; neither side had the will or the resources to sustain an effort at conquest. By the war's end, militia and American Indian allies on both sides were exhausted and dismayed by the lack of interest displayed in London and Paris. At the Peace of Ryswick (1697), all territories and troops captured in the war were restored to the prewar status quo.

Conflict between France and England renewed in Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), known as the War of the Spanish Succession in Europe. On the northern frontier, colonists and native allies engaged in border skirmishes and raids. New York and the Iroquois chose neutrality over participation, and according to some Massachusetts accounts, Albany merchants bought and sold plunder taken in raids on New England villages by the French and their allies. In 1710, New England colonists assisted by British warships and marines managed to capture Port Royal again, but a 1711 campaign to conquer Canada was actively resisted by Bostonians. Although thousands of colonists enlisted for the campaign, they were poorly trained, provisioned, and disciplined. Most were drawn from outside the ranks of the colonial militias. The Canadian invasion collapsed before it could begin, with British and American commanders blaming each other for the failure. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) granted the British possession of Nova Scotia, Hudson's Bay, and Newfoundland. These gains, however, resulted from skillful diplomacy and military success in Europe, not from direct

For almost three decades, French and English colonists expanded without conflict. In 1740, the War of the Austrian Succession spilled over into the colonies, causing King George's War (1744–1748). The northern frontier remained mostly aloof from the war until 1744, when French forces attacked Nova Scotia and French privateers began harassing New England shipping. In retaliation, Massachusetts organized an assault on Louisbourg, a mas-

sive fortress protecting French merchants, privateers, and warships in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Some 2,800 colonial troops from Massachusetts, joined by Connecticut and New Hampshire volunteers, laid siege to the fortress. They were assisted by a British blockade of the harbor, and the fortress surrendered in 1745. The colonists expected British support for another Canadian invasion in 1746; instead, they were left to garrison their prize until 1748. At the 1748 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the British negotiators returned Louisbourg to French control for territory captured by Marshal Saxe in Europe.

In 1754, a colonial war for control of the North American continent began in the Ohio River Valley. Eventually, the French and Indian War (1754–1763) spread to Europe as the Seven Years' War, reversing the direction of previous colonial wars. It resulted in the expulsion of France from North America. In 1754, English colonists outnumbered French colonists by a margin of 20 to 1. However, in spite of superior numbers, English colonies cooperated poorly, if at all. The Albany Convention of 1754 included delegates from seven English colonies, and drafted a plan for mutual defense and diplomacy with native tribes, but it was not accepted by the individual colonial governments. In contrast, the French Canadian colonial effort remained unified under a single commander. Britain and France shipped regulars to North America to assist colonists in securing their frontiers, and soon full-scale war commenced.

For the first two years of war, the British effort was extremely disorganized. English commanders found provincials unwilling to serve under regular officers. Colonists refused to recruit for British regular units, and threatened desertion if forced to serve under royal authority. To preserve their autonomy, colonial units maintained their own supply systems, which proved entirely inadequate. Further, colonial units refused to quarter regulars without the approval of colonial governments. Eventually, the British commander agreed to segregate regular and provincial units and to allow the provincials to provide their own officers. These concessions did little to ease the situation, and the colonies almost never fulfilled British requests for troops, supplies, and transportation. The colonials fighting with the British were for the most part untrained and undisciplined.

The French took advantage of the dissent among the English, and staged a massive offensive along the frontier. In 1756, they captured Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario, and attacked outposts from Canada to the Carolinas. French successes did little to spur colonial cooperation, and the squabbles over the independence of provincial troops continued until 1757. The 1757 campaign season commenced with a French attack on Fort William Henry on Lake George. By the end of the summer, the French threatened the entire Hudson River Valley.

In 1758, British prime minister William Pit dispatched Major General Jeffery Amherst and Brigadier General James Wolfe to assume command of the North American war effort. Amherst, a conservative but persistent commander, was complemented by Wolfe, an aggressive officer with a reputation for training daring and well-disciplined troops. Amherst and Wolfe decided on a series of three offensives against the French. They personally led attacks on Louisbourg and Quebec while Major General James Abercromby attacked Montreal and Major General John Forbes forced the French to evacuate Fort Duquesne. More than 20,000 British regulars, supported by an equal number of provincials, 40 warships, and more than 10,000 sailors demonstrated that the British wished to field an overwhelming force.

The attack on Louisbourg, although successful, required a six-week siege, forcing the cancellation of an assault on Quebec. The other offensives fared poorly, Abercromby's advance on Montreal foundered at Fort Ticonderoga, and Fort Duquesne did not surrender until November. The planned conquest of Canada remained delayed until 1759, when Amherst planned to lead an army of provincials and regulars against Montreal while Wolfe assaulted Quebec with a similar army.

The French used the location of the city atop a bluff overlooking the St. Lawrence River to assist in its defense. They deployed forces along the bluff east and west of the city to prevent a siege of Quebec. British probing attacks failed to dislodge the French defenders, and efforts to flank their line proved futile. Wolfe then devised a plan to land attackers at the base of the bluff. Before dawn on September 13, 1759, Wolfe landed 4,800 troops, moved them up the face of the bluff to the Plains of Abraham, and assembled his forces in line of battle outside the city. French commander Lieutenant General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, decided to attack Wolfe before the British could dig in for a siege. In the ensuing Battle of Quebec, the British routed the French defenders, although Wolfe was killed in the fighting. Quebec surrendered on September 18, 1759.

Amherst's advance on Montreal was delayed by the provincials' slow mustering and by the need to sweep aside French resistance on Lake George and Lake Champlain. By October, he had forced the evacuation of Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point, but it was too late in the season to proceed to Montreal. Amherst recruited colonists for a final invasion of Canada in 1760. By the time spring arrived, he had assembled a force of over 18,000 regulars and provincials to assault Montreal from three directions. Finally, on September 6, his forces reached Montreal and compelled the French to surrender on September 8, 1760.

At the Peace of Paris (1763), the British negotiated to keep Canada and expel France from North America. This permanently secured the northern frontier for the British colonies in America. Although conflict with Native Americans in the region remained likely, the native tribes would no longer enjoy the direct support of the French government, and would face increasing supply difficulties in any Anglo-native conflict.

In May 1763, the northern frontier became the scene of violent conflict when the Ottawa leader Chief Pontiac launched a series of coordinated native attacks on British posts in an effort to drive the British from native territory. Despite some significant early successes, Pontiac's native alliance failed to oust the British. In order

to maintain peace on the frontier, the British government issued the Proclamation of 1763, forbidding colonial settlement west of the Appalachian mountains.

The northern frontier region proved to be an important theater of the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783). The first skirmishes of the war occurred in New England, and New York City served as the headquarters of the British armies in North America for most of the war. The surrender of British forces at Saratoga on October 17, 1777, which ensured French intervention in the war and turned back a British attempt to control the entire Hudson River Valley, is regarded by many historians as the most significant event of the war. After the American Revolutionary War, the region again became a frontier, between the newly formed United States and British-held Canada.

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See also

Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Hartford, Treaty of (1638); Iroquois Confederation; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; King Philip's War; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Mystic Fort Fight; Paris, Treaty of; Pequot War; Pontiac's Rebellion; Praying Towns and Praying Indians; Privateering; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Ryswick, Treaty of; Utrecht, Treaty of

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Frontier, Southern

The southern colonial frontier comprised the lands in the interior of the southern portion of the North American continent. This land stretched from the Ohio River to the Gulf of Mexico and emerged as a politically and economically significant region during the colonial period. This was due chiefly to Native American, French, and English rivalries. Politically, many of the colonies, by their charters, extended farther inland from the coast and competed for control of both Native American trade and Native American land. The protracted struggle between England and France on the North American

can continent influenced each country's relationship with Native Americans, who held the balance of power for considerable periods.

Southern Native Americans were more numerous than Native Americans living north and east of the Ohio River. The Creeks and the Cherokees comprised the largest Native American groups in the Southern frontier. By 1750, the lands of the Creek confederacy, which included the Upper and Lower Creeks and the Seminoles, extended from the Alabama River to the west, to the Ogeechee River to the east. The lands also included most of the Florida Peninsula. The Creeks claimed the lower part of the triangle between the Alabama River and the Tombigbee River; however, the Choctaws disputed possession of this area. Comparatively, the Cherokees were located in the lower settlements of the Koowee River and Tougaloo River, the middle towns on the upper reaches of the Little Tennessee River, and the valley settlements located north of the Hiawassee River and the Overhills. During the 18th century, the Creeks withdrew from contact with Europeans and relied on Native American buffer groups. These tribes were strategically placed between the Creeks and the colonists, to serve as agents for Creek trade with the English colonists. Conversely, placed in closer contact to the English frontier, the Cherokees endured the unscrupulous tactics of traders and frontiersmen, and consequently suffered during the 18th century.

Other Native American groups who played minor roles in the colonial Southern frontier were the remnant Tuscaroras who inhabited the frontier of North Carolina until 1769. Also playing minor roles were the Yamasees who had been forced to retreat into Florida following the Yamasee War, and the Alabamas, who had lived along the Alabama River and who were affiliated with the Creeks prior to 1760. The Catawbas, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and the southern Shawnees were also minor players in the drama of North American politics during the last generation of British rule in the southern colonies.

Native Americans living in the southern frontier maintained large and powerful government structures. For example, Creek political structure consisted of a highly developed confederation with annual council meetings of 4,000 to 5,000 officials and as many as 12,000 Creeks. In the pending conflict between England and France, Native Americans, particularly the Catawbas, often provided assistance in the defense of the southern frontier.

By 1750, the Catawbas were able to resist the assaults of their enemies, notably the Iroquois, despite their small numbers. Incessant raids by war parties from the Iroquois Confederation and from other Native American groups in alliance with France had challenged Catawaba strength. Although their numbers had increased through accretions from other South Carolina groups before the midcentury, the Catawbas were threatened with extinction. Yet, they had served as a stout bulwark protecting South Carolina from invasion. In the colonial conflicts between France and England, the Catawbas were able to furnish valuable assistance in the defense of the Southern frontier.

340 Frontier, Southern

French policy toward Native Americans consisted of fraternization and gradual infiltration. The fur trade expanded French influence along the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico. From 1729–1731, the French waged a campaign to expel the Natchez in Louisiana. The French, however, were weaker than the English in the South. By the mid-18th century, Louisiana's European population numbered only 6,000 out of a total population of 25,000. Theoretically, the French government provided assistance to Louisiana by maintaining 1,850 trained troops in the *corps de Louisianne*. However, in practice, only a small number were outfitted for duty, and these men were scattered throughout a wide area.

In diplomacy, one of the advantages held by the French, and not the British, was their alliance with Native Americans. Many southern Native Americans preferred the relative nonexpansionist tendencies of the French. However, the French never gained the loyalty of the Chickasaws, the Catawbas, or the Cherokees, all of whom aligned with the British, and the Creeks generally remained neutral. Comparatively, the English were at a disadvantage in Native American relations because of shortcomings in diplomacy and because of their expansionist tendencies. Yet through their mastery of southern Native American trade, the British offered Native Americans higher quality goods at lower prices for the deerskins and furs that

Native Americans sold to them. Trade with southern Native Americans was unquestionably lucrative. Exports of deerskins from Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) during 1731–1765 never fell below £150,000 until the outbreak of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). English trade, though economically important, was of greater political consequence. It was a formidable weapon in the hands of the British and yet also a threat to their safety.

During the early 18th century, population increases in the mid-Atlantic and southern colonies led to British expansion into the back-country, or interior. As the last major area of agricultural land available for settlement east of the Appalachian Mountains, the back-country emerged as the continent's most dynamic agricultural frontier by the 1770s. The Piedmont regions of Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia underwent dramatic population increases from the 1720s to the 1770s. Indeed, by 1780, the population numbered 380,000.

Families that migrated to the southern backcountry arrived in two migrant streams, one from the Tidewater (or coasts) and the other from the mid-Atlantic colonies. These populations merged in the southern backcountry to create an ethnically diverse population that included Germans, French Huguenots, Scots-Irish, and Lowland Scots. As European and American settlers expanded into the southern frontier, they encountered remnants of Native Americans, survivors and refugees from earlier conflicts along the seaboard. The Native American groups scattered across the Piedmont included the Catawbas, who fought with the British against the French in 1759.

During the colonial period, settlers acquired land in the back-country from the Crown under the headright, treasury right, or military right systems. Additionally, purchases from speculators who owned large patents also allowed settlers to acquire land there. Whatever their background, immigrants settled on dispersed lots, created mixed farms, learned English, and participated in local institutions. The distinctly American rural world that had been taking shape in the mid-Atlantic colonies was further refined and enhanced in the backcountry. After the American Revolution, this cultural and economic system began to leap the Appalachian Mountains, which would bring white settlements to such areas as Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Illinois, and Michigan.

KAREN B. BELL

See also

Catawbas; Cherokees; Cherokee War; Chickasaws; Choctaw-Chickasaw War; Choctaw Civil War; Choctaws; Creek-Cherokee Wars; Creek-Choctaw Wars; Creeks; Florida; Frontier, Northern; Georgia; Louisiana; Natchez; Natchez War; Tuscaroras; Tuscarora War; Yamasees; Yamasee War

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G

Gage, Thomas

Born: ca. 1719 Died: April 2, 1787

British general and North American commander in chief (1763–1775) and governor of Massachusetts (1774–1775). The second son of an Irish peer, Thomas Gage's exact birth information is obscure, but he was born in late 1719 or early 1720, possibly in Highmeadow, Gloucestershire. He attended Westminster School during 1728–1736, where he met a number of individuals who would be influential in his later military career. Gage received a commission as an ensign in the army sometime during the period 1736–1740. In 1741, he was commissioned a lieutenant in the 48th Foot. The next year he was a captain lieutenant in the Irish establishment and in 1743 he received promotion to captain with the 62nd Foot.

Gage was an aide-de-camp to Lord Albemarle during the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and was present at the Battle of Fontenoy in 1745. He also took part in the Battle of Culloden during the Jacobite Rising of 1745 and served in Flanders during 1747–1748. From 1748 until 1755 Gage served in Ireland, where he was promoted to major of the 55th Regiment in 1748. Three years later he was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the same regiment, now renumbered the 44th.

Known as "Honest Tom" to his friends, Gage seems to have been the exception in the British Army of his day, for he did not drink to excess, gamble, or take advantage of women. He seems to have had the reputation of being a sober, effective, and popular officer and an excellent conversationalist.

With the outbreak of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Gage went to North America in early 1755 as lieutenant colonel in



Lieutenant General Thomas Gage was commander in chief of British forces in North America from 1763 to 1775, and governor of Massachusetts from June 1774 to June 1775. Directed to suppress the growing forces of rebellion, in April 1775 he ordered the march to destroy stocks of munitions at Concord that began the American Revolutionary War. (Library of Congress)

the 44th Regiment, part of the force under Major General Edward Braddock charged with taking Fort Duquesne from the French. Gage commanded the 300-man British vanguard in Braddock's disastrous campaign into the Ohio Valley in 1755. On July 9, Gage's force was simply overwhelmed by the French and natives in an

ambush position and forced to fall back on the main column. His colonel, Peter Halkett, was among those killed and Gage was wounded slightly several times. Although some questions were raised about the deployment of his men, Gage received praise for his courage and leadership under fire.

Taking over command of what was left of the 44th, Gage spent the winter of 1755–1756 in Albany, New York. In the summer of 1756, he was second-in-command to Brigadier General Daniel Webb in an unsuccessful campaign in the Mohawk Valley to defend Oswego from the French. Before the British could reach Oswego, it fell to French forces under Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm. Gage then returned to Albany for the winter of 1756–1757.

Gage became known for keeping his regiment in fighting shape and disciplined, while at the same time not alienating the men. He soon attracted the attention of new British commander in chief in America, John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, who became his mentor and took Gage on the unsuccessful British expedition to capture the French fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island in 1757.

In December 1757, Loudoun authorized Gage to raise a regiment of provincial troops, known as the 80th Foot, which would serve as light infantry, modeled after the colonial rangers and more able to engage and fight Native Americans. It was the first such regiment in the British Army and Gage paid for much of their equipment himself.

In the summer campaign of 1758, Gage commanded the vanguard in Major General James Abercromby's unsuccessful attack on France's Fort Carillon (later Fort Ticonderoga) and was again wounded while leading his troops against the entrenched French. On the death of George Augustus, Lord Howe, Gage became second-in-command during the British retreat, receiving promotion to temporary brigadier general.

In September 1758, Abercromby was dismissed. His replacement as commander in chief in America was Major General Jeffery Amherst, an old friend of Gage. In December 1758, Gage married Margaret Kemble, daughter of a prominent New Jersey merchant and landowner.

Amherst planned a three-pronged attack against the French strongholds to culminate with the capture of Montreal. In this campaign, Amherst, assisted by Gage, would take Fort Carillon and move north on Lake Champlain toward Montreal. The other two prongs were under Brigadier General James Wolfe against Quebec and that commanded by Brigadier General John Prideaux from the Great Lakes toward Montreal. When Prideaux died accidentally, Amherst sent Gage to replace him. In this, his first independent command, Gage received permanent promotion to brigadier general that July.

Gage's instructions were to capture La Gallette (Ogdensburg) on Lake Ontario then move against Montreal. He proved overly cautious and neither took La Gallette nor moved on Montreal. Believing his resources to be insufficient for such a task, he instead strengthened two British forts: Ontario and Niagara. An angry Amherst recalled Gage and placed him in command at Albany, a

rear area. Regarded as a talented administrator, Gage nonetheless proved cautious in battle, perhaps as a result of his earlier experiences under Braddock and Abercromby. In 1760, Gage commanded the rear guard in Amherst's capture of Montreal.

Appointed governor of Montreal by Amherst, Gage held that post until 1763 and proved a most effective administrator, who got along well with the French. He received promotion to major general in 1763, and when Amherst departed in November 1763, Gage took over as temporary commander in chief of British forces in North America. When Amherst did not return, Gage was confirmed as permanent commander in November 1764.

The most pressing issue demanding Gage's attention was the outbreak of Pontiac's Rebellion (1763). Gage assigned this task largely to his able subordinates colonels John Bradstreet and Henry Bouquet. In 1770 Gage was advanced to lieutenant general.

While Gage was personally popular with his officers and in New York City society where he made his headquarters, these were years of growing unease in British North America, caused by such measures as the Stamp Tax. Alarmed, Gage shifted most of his 6,000 troops from the frontiers to the seaboard and especially to Boston, the center of growing colonial unrest. Gage was firmly committed to maintaining British sovereignty and the rule of law but he also sought to apply British law so as not to inflame an already volatile situation.

In June 1773, Gage returned to Britain for the first time in 17 years. The deteriorating situation in America, especially the Boston Tea Party in December 1773, forced his return in May 1774, with the additional position of military governor of Massachusetts. Before departing England, Gage met with King George III and expressed the view that British policy toward America had not been sufficiently stern but that the four regiments assigned to Boston would be sufficient to maintain order there.

Unable to perform his preferred approach of attempting to please both sides at once, Gage also found the task of maintaining order in Massachusetts beyond the means available to him. Although Gage did send troops to seize powder stocks at Cambridge and order reinforcements to Boston, he was unable to quell unrest in Boston over the Massachusetts Government Act of August 1774.

Increasingly also Gage's own officers and men criticized his reluctance to use military force. In April 1775, Gage received orders from London to take the offensive in forcing the rebellious colonies to submit. This led him to order the April 19 operation to seize stocks of arms and powder at Concord, which prompted the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War. Nonetheless, Gage demonstrated a marked reluctance to apply his forces offensively, and this led to his recall to consult with the government in London.

Gage departed Boston with his family in October 1775, never to return. In April 1781, he was appointed to the staff of General Jeffery Amherst to assist in organizing the defenses of Kent to meet a possible French invasion. Promoted to full general in November 1782, Gage died at his home, Portland Place, in London on April 2, 1787.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Abercromby, James; Amherst, Jeffery; Boston Massacre; Bouquet, Henry; Braddock, Edward; Braddock's Campaign; Bradstreet, John; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Great Britain, Army; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Ohio Expedition (1755); Oswego, Battle of; Pontiac's Rebellion; Quartering Act Crisis; Rangers; Rogers, Robert

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Gardiner, Lion

Born: 1599 Died: 1663

New England military engineer. Born in England in 1599, Lion Gardiner served for a time in the English Army and then journeyed to the Netherlands, where he joined the army of the Prince of Orange. Over the years, he became expert in the design and construction of fortifications. In Rotterdam, Gardiner met two Puritan ministers, the reverends John Davenport and Hugh Peter, who in 1635 offered him an annual salary of £100 for four years of work on the defenses of New England.

Gardiner accepted the offer and traveled to North America via London, arriving in Boston in November 1635. He immediately set to work, determining that Salem in Massachusetts Bay did not need to be fortified and then assisting in constructing a fort on Breed's Hill near Boston. The following spring, he traveled to the mouth of the Connecticut River, where he supervised construction of Fort Saybrook. This timely move forestalled a Dutch plan to occupy the area.

The fort proved of even greater value when the Pequot War broke out shortly afterward. Gardiner disagreed with Massachusetts officer John Endicott's policy of stripping Fort Saybrook of troops to pursue the Pequots, a concern that proved justified when the Pequots attacked Fort Saybrook in early 1637. Gardiner was wounded in a successful defense of the fort. He then joined with Captain John Mason and Captain John Underhill in planning the spring campaign against the Pequots, which culminated in the 1637 destruction of Mystic Fort. Gardiner himself did not participate in the campaign, but contributed 20 men from Fort Saybrook's garrison to the colonial force.

After the war, Gardiner developed a friendship with Wyandanch, chief of the Montauks, who inhabited Long Island. In 1639, on the expiration of his contract with the New Englanders, Gardiner purchased a small island off the eastern end of Long Island (since called Gardiner's Island) from the Montauks for a small quantity of

cloth. He also obtained title to the island from English officials. Remaining on good terms with the Montauks, he assisted them in defending against Narragansett raiding parties that sometimes crossed Long Island Sound. Gardiner even convinced Massachusetts officials to send a vessel to prevent such raids.

Gardiner moved to Easthampton, Long Island, in 1653, but eventually returned to his island, where he died in 1663, three years after writing a history of the Pequot War.

ЈІМ РІЕСИСН

See also

Fort Saybrook (Connecticut); Long Island; Mystic Fort Fight; Narragansetts; Pequot War; Pequots

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Garrison Houses

A variety of fortified structures, usually private dwellings, used for local defense against native or French attack in many backcountry settlements of colonial North America, particularly in frontier communities. Until the large-scale presence of British regulars in America in the 1760s and an American standing army after the American Revolutionary War, American colonists depended on homemade, and often makeshift, military measures for defense. In addition to the militias and permanent forts and blockhouses, colonists used garrison houses, which could be found in virtually any settlement or village in North America, for defensive purposes.

In frontier areas, north and south, garrison houses served as the first line of defense for many colonists. Militias existed within towns and counties, but it took time to alert and form them into an effective body to repel attackers. In the case of sudden attacks or raids, the militia was largely useless except as a pursuing or relief force. In contrast, garrison houses offered a form of immediate assistance as a refuge from attackers.

Armed inhabitants and occasional provincial soldiers stationed in garrisons would attempt to repel attackers until militia forces in nearby towns could form and march to relieve the besieged town. Garrisons were only effective, however, if inhabitants could get inside, and this required advance warning, remaining close to the garrison in times of trouble, and a bit of luck. Once inside, inhabitants were relatively safe because Native Americans were reluctant to suffer the casualties necessary to storm a fortified position. Nevertheless, on numerous occasions, natives constructed ingenious contraptions from wagons, timber, and combustibles to attack the house and force the defenders into the open. As settlers crowded into garrisons, they could track the progress of raiders as they burned outlying farms as well as undefended buildings within the settlement itself.

Garrison houses had other problems as well. With dozens of people assigned to or seeking shelter in relatively small buildings, settlers had to adjust to sharing a very restricted space with neighbors as well as provincial soldiers for extended periods of time. This frequently led to disputes between civilians and soldiers. In addition, garrison houses often lacked sufficient supplies and water to sustain their occupants for any extended period. Hygiene and sanitary conditions were often compromised when the garrison house was at or beyond capacity. As people emerged from the shelter to gather food, firewood, water, or attempt to maintain their own property, they became prime targets for raiders.

The term "garrison house" never implied a particular sort of structure, merely the purpose of the building as a refuge or base for defensive operations. Garrison houses could be private homes, conveniently placed barns, or, more commonly, the local home of a minister, militia officer, or town official. As a private structure, the upkeep of these buildings was usually the responsibility of the owner, thus relieving governments of additional expenses. However, colonial governments frequently appropriated funds to fortify private buildings, as Virginia and Pennsylvania did during the French and Indian War.

The number of garrisons required within towns and counties was never officially established. Instead, the abundance (or paucity) of garrison houses depended on the circumstances, and sometimes the whims, of each locality. If a township bordered the banks of a river for several miles, such as Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, the town might have five or six garrisons to accommodate its widespread inhabitants. In contrast, a small town such as Brookfield, Massachusetts, had just one building designated as a garrison, the local tavern owned by John Ayres.

Not surprisingly, the construction of these buildings varied as widely as did their peacetime purposes. Some were single houses of squared or sawn logs, or even of standard frame construction. However, as conflict with Native Americans and rival European imperial powers increased in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, garrison houses took on more elaborate and complex forms. Some buildings, especially those designed specifically for garrison duty, were constructed from thick timbers to resist the penetrating power of smallarms fire. Colonists would strengthen doors and windows as well as cut loopholes in the walls for the defenders' muskets. Some garrisons incorporated a roofing plan designed to protect the building and inhabitants from fire. While builders constructed the roof from light materials, they would build the attic floor from thick timbers and cover these with layers of ash or sand. If the roof was set afire, which native and French raiders were apt to do to force out the defenders, the attic floor would serve as a fire break. Other garrisons quickly became small forts as inhabitants surrounded the garrison (and sometimes nearby buildings) with palisades—or walls—of logs eight or more feet in height. These garrisons often acquired fortified gates and even flankers, timber towers on the corners of the palisades that provided defenders with a vantage point to watch for raids or attacks.

DAVID M. CORLETT

See also

Black Point, Attacks on; Brookfield, Siege of; Clark's Garrison, Battle of; Deerfield, Massachusetts, Attack on; Falmouth, Battle of; Fort; Native Warfare; Militias; Raiding Party; Salmon Falls, Battle of; Schenectady, Battle of; Skulking Way of War; Springfield, Burning of; York, Attack on

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Gaspée, Burning of the

Event Date: June 9, 1772

British ship attacked and burned by American colonists near Providence, Rhode Island, on June 9, 1772. In March 1770, the British Parliament repealed the contentious Townshend Revenue Acts of 1767, save for the tax on tea. But colonists still looked to skirt the tea tariff, resulting in a lively and ever-expanding illicit trade of that commodity. The colonists accomplished this mainly by smuggling and sometimes even working through corrupt British customs officials.

Colonial merchants and traders frequently clashed with overzealous customs collectors, especially in Rhode Island, where such importation illegalities ran most rampant. Indeed, mobs were alleged to have sunk a pair of small Royal Navy vessels in 1771, resulting in the dispatch of the schooner *Gaspée* to Rhode Island in late March 1772.

Commanded by Lieutenant William Dudingston, who was described by Rhode Islanders as imperious and haughty, the *Gaspée*'s crew stopped ships and often seized their contents without due cause, fired on unarmed market boats in and around the port of Providence, and seized colonial vessels suspected of smuggling. The situation became sufficiently tense that the constable of Providence threatened to arrest Dudingston. At the same time, British commander in North American waters Rear Admiral of the Blue John Montagu threatened to hang as a pirate anyone who attempted to interfere with official antismuggling efforts. Rhode Island governor Joseph Wanton wrote to Montagu informing him that he considered Dudingston and his crew nothing more than pirates in their own right.

On June 9, 1772, the *Gaspée* ran aground on a sandbar not far from Providence, while pursuing a suspected smuggler. That night, a mob of some 150 people took the schooner by force. Dudingston, who received a bullet in the groin while trying to defend his ship, was taken forcefully ashore. When the crew evacuated, the colonists proceeded to set the vessel on fire. It then burned down to the waterline.

Dudingston was subsequently court-martialed for losing the ship. Meanwhile, a royal investigative commission failed to identify those who had taken part in the affair and also exonerated the Rhode Island government of any wrongdoing. The incident, how-



Illustration of American colonists burning the Royal Navy schooner *Gaspée* near Providence, Rhode Island, on June 9, 1772, after it ran aground in pursuit of an alleged smuggler. The British captain had angered the citizens of Providence with his stern enforcement of the Navigation Acts. The incident heightened the growing tensions between the Crown and American colonists. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

ever, served to reenergize and galvanize American resistance to British rule and proved to the British that colonial rebellion was no longer limited to Massachusetts.

John Howard Smith and Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Admiralty Law; Boston Tea Party; Great Britain, Navy; Navigation Acts; Smuggling; Sons of Liberty

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George II, King

Born: November 10, 1683 Died: October 25, 1760

King of Great Britain and Ireland (1727–1760). George II ruled during a period of stupendous growth that saw Britain become the

world's leading commercial and naval power as it expanded its empire around the globe. Known as Britain's last warrior king, George was more of a soldier than a statesman, although he and his gifted ministers successfully guided the country through three wars and established the country's sound economy.

Born in the small German electorate of Hanover on November 10, 1683, George Augustus was the son of Prince George and his wife Sophia Dorothea. At the time of George's birth, his father was the heir to Hanover. On September 2, 1705, George married Caroline of Anspach. A bright and intelligent woman, she came to dominate her husband, particularly in affairs of state.

As a young man, George preferred military life to academics or statecraft. In 1708, he volunteered for service with the British during the War of the Spanish Succession, distinguishing himself by leading a cavalry charge at the Battle of Oudenarde. The direct royal line in Britain was near extinction, because both Queen Mary and Queen Anne failed to produce heirs. When Anne died in 1714, the British throne passed to George II's father, who ascended the British throne as King George I. On June 11, 1727, George I died, and George was crowned King George II. He immediately made plans to sweep away his father's government and install his own supporters, known as the Leicester House set.



George II, king of Great Britain and Ireland (1727–1760). During his reign, the kingdom grew substantially in wealth and power. (Library of Congress)

A war with Spain that began in 1739 was compounded by the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). Britain remained out of this wider conflict until 1744, but in 1743, George took the field at the head of the Hanoverian soldiers. He won a narrow victory at the Battle of Dettingen on June 27, 1743, at one point dismounting his horse personally to lead the infantry onto the field. In 1745, George suppressed a domestic challenge to his authority, the Jacobite Rising.

George II formed a number of alliances with politicians who prosecuted the war. In 1746, however, he was faced with a large-scale rebellion from within his cabinet that challenged the very core of his authority. At issue was the appointment of the rising young politician William Pitt (the Elder) to a ministerial post. Pitt had been Sir Robert Walpole's most vocal detractor and had frequently denounced Britain's Hanoverian connection as a nuisance and detrimental to the country. Accordingly, George II despised him. Pitt enjoyed widespread popularity, however, both within the House of Commons and with the public at large. That popularity propelled him into the cabinet, where the other ministers appreciated his political prestige and influence. When George II refused to countenance

Pitt's appointment, the entire cabinet resigned. Faced with an immediate need of leadership while the country was in the midst of war, George II grudgingly backed down and allowed Pitt to join the cabinet, at the same time agreeing to his vigorous policies to win the war. The war was brought to an unsatisfactory conclusion for all parties two years later in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

By the mid-1750s, however, war once again threatened Europe. George had been pressing his ministers to send large subsidies to Hanover and its allies in Europe in the hope that the funds would help them expand their military forces. He had also negotiated a series of treaties between Hanover and other European countries to buttress the electorate's defenses in case of attack. The attempts of the various European governments to improve their positions after the unsatisfactory Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle eventually culminated in the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756.

Britain had already been at war with France in America since 1754, and George II was faced with a political quandary that threatened to undermine the country's war effort. The country clamored for Pitt to lead them in war, forcing a reluctant king to ask him to lead the government. The two quickly fell out, however, and Pitt resigned.

To take Pitt's place, George II asked the aging politician the Duke of Newcastle to form a government. Newcastle was a master of political intrigue and manipulation, but he was unprepared to organize the government for the massive worldwide conflict it faced. The result was a compromise enacted in June 1757 whereby

Monarchs of Selected European Countries during the Colonial Era

Country	Name	Reign
England	Charles II	1660-1685
	James II	1685-1688
	William III (with Mary II to 1694)	1689-1702
	Anne	1702-1714
	George I	1714-1727
	George II	1727-1760
	George III	1760-1820
France	Louis XIV	1643-1715
	Louis XV	1715-1774
Holy Roman	Ferdinand III	1637-1657
Empire	Leopold I	1658-1705
	Joseph I	1705-1711
	Charles VI	1711-1740
	Charles VII Albert	1740-1745
	Francis I	1745-1765
	Joseph II	1765-1790
Spain	Charles II	1665-1700
	Philip V	1700-1724
	Louis I	1724
	Philip V	1724-1746
	Ferdinand VI	1746-1759
	Charles III	1759-1788
Sweden	Charles XI	1660-1697
	Charles XII	1697-1718
	Ulrika Eleonora	1718-1720
	Frederick I	1720-1751
	Adolf Frederick	1751-1771

Pitt and Newcastle jointly formed a government and ran the war effort. The combination proved acceptable to the king and emerged as one of the most successful political alliances of the 18th century. Under the guidance of Pitt and Newcastle, Britain recovered from several devastating early losses and enjoyed a year of remarkable successes in North America in 1759, ensuring the protection of Hanover as well. George II watched that success with joy but did not live to see Britain's final victory in 1763. He died of a burst blood vessel on October 25, 1760, and was succeeded by his grandson, King George III.

ELIZABETH DUBRULLE

See also

George III, King; Great Britain; Pitt, William, the Elder, First Earl of Chatham

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George III, King

Born: June 4, 1738 Died: January 29, 1820

King of Great Britain and Ireland. Born on June 4, 1738, in London, the son of Frederick Louis, prince of Wales, and Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, George III became heir to the British throne in 1751 on his father's death. He ascended the throne in 1760 as king of Great Britain and Ireland (1760–1820) and elector (1760–1814), then king (1814–1820), of Hanover.

At the time of George III's ascension, Britain lacked effective executive machinery. Members of Parliament were generally more interested in criticizing the prime minister and cabinet in hopes of acquiring office themselves rather than cooperating with the government. In part this resulted from both George I and George II not playing an active role in day-to-day governing, which was something that George III determined to change. Influenced heavily by his tutor, John Stuart, Earl of Bute, George III firmly believed that his chief obligation was to purify public life and to substitute duty to the nation for personal intrigue. Toward that end, George III moved quickly to put his personal stamp on the cabinet, orchestrating the ouster and resignation of William Pitt the Elder and the retirement of Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle.

After removing Pitt and Newcastle, George III faced the challenge of ending the Seven Years' War and restoring the government's finances. While the Treaty of Paris was concluded in 1763, bringing peace and confirming imperial conquests around the globe, it left Britain more isolated than it had been in the past. More



George III, king of Great Britain and Ireland (1760–1820). The king's effort to reassert royal authority vis-à-vis Parliament was a leading cause of the American Revolutionary War. (National Archives)

important, at least in the short term, the expansion of overseas trade did not solve the government's financial problems, because the cost of administering its new acquisitions and paying the war debt were immense. Indeed, the cost of administration in North America was roughly seven times greater after the conclusion of the French and Indian War in 1763 than it had been at the conclusion of King George's War in 1748.

Faced with these difficulties, George III attempted to limit expansion west of the Appalachian Mountains and to force colonists to pay a portion of the war debt and meet their administrative costs. By 1765, the colonists openly defied British authority by resisting the Stamp Act as organizations such as the Sons of Liberty forced stamp masters to resign. By November 1, 1765, the date the act was supposed to go into effect, not a single stamp office was open in the colonies, forcing George III and Parliament to repeal the act in 1766. Likewise, resistance to the Townshend duties, which had been passed in 1767, led to a colonial boycott against British goods. Although George III sent troops to Boston in the fall of 1768 to maintain order—a decision that ultimately led to the Boston

Massacre—Parliament and the king once again backed down by repealing all of the duties except for the one on tea in March 1770.

After a decade of ministerial changes, in 1770 George III finally found a prime minister he liked in Lord North, leading to 12 years of stable government in Britain. This also brought a new degree of resolve in dealing with George III's subjects in the North American colonies. George III saw events such as the burning of the *Gaspée* and the Boston Tea Party as personal affronts against his authority rather than legitimate resistance to policy. Consequently, he pushed the Coercive Acts through Parliament in 1774 and appointed Lieutenant General Thomas Gage as royal governor of Massachusetts. Since Gage was concurrently the commander in chief of British forces in North America, his appointment indicated that George III was willing to use military force to enforce his authority in Massachusetts and by implication the rest of the colonies.

In the aftermath of Lexington and Concord, George III proclaimed the colonies in a state of rebellion and refused to consider the peace overtures of the Second Continental Congress. While a majority in Parliament initially supported George III's stance against the colonies, opinion began to change after the surrender of Major General John Burgoyne at Saratoga on October 17, 1777. From that point onward the war continued primarily because of George III's insistence. Lord Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown on October 19, 1781, gave George III no choice but to appoint a new prime minister and accept the independence of the United States.

In the aftermath of the American Revolutionary War, George III suffered frequent mental and physical breakdowns that increasingly left the government in the hands of his ministers, especially William Pitt the Younger. While the strain of the American Revolutionary War contributed to the king's declining health, his incapacities were most likely the result of porphyria, a chemical imbalance in the blood. By 1811, George III's condition deteriorated to the point that Parliament was forced to establish a regency under the Prince of Wales, who would succeed to the throne as George IV after George III died on January 29, 1820, in Windsor Castle, near London.

MARTIN MANNING

See also

George II, King; Stamp Act; Townshend Acts

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Georgia

Last of the North American colonies established by Great Britain, Georgia lay in a disputed zone between South Carolina and Spanish Florida. The first Europeans to arrive in the area known today as Georgia were Spanish conquistadors from St. Augustine. They established a small outpost on St. Catherines Island in 1566. Catholic priests soon joined them and founded at least two missions on the coastal islands. These missions grew during the next century and became centers of Spanish influence, controlled by the regime headquartered at St. Augustine.

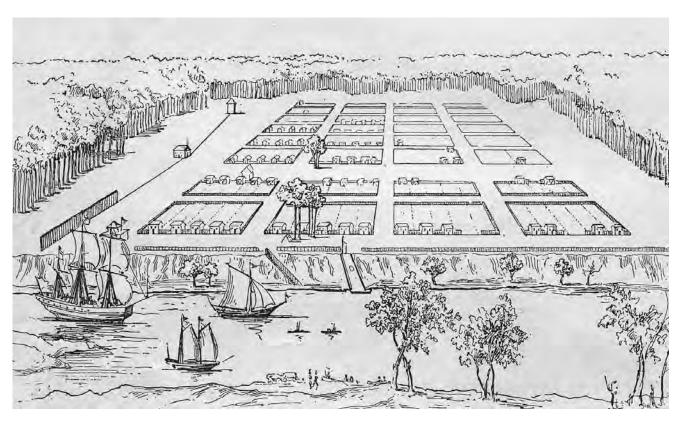
The English claimed Georgia in 1663, when King Charles II established and granted the Carolinas as far south as St. Augustine to eight Lords Proprietor. Georgia's low country eventually became a battleground between the English and Spanish, along with their native allies, until the Spanish finally evacuated Florida in 1763.

In 1730, a group of merchants, including James Edward Oglethorpe, petitioned King George II for land south and west of Carolina. On June 9, 1732, a charter was granted that created 21 trustees who would manage a new colony called Georgia. The establishment of Georgia required addressing two distinct security concerns. The first involved the struggle between the Spanish and English for control of disputed land between the Carolinas and St. Augustine. The second involved the keen competition with the Spanish to secure trade with the southern Native Americans between the Atlantic and the Mississippi River. Although the trustees had responsibility for settling and governing the new colony, the king had to approve any laws related to their enterprise. As such, defense issues and control of foreign and native trade were reserved for the British government in London.

In addition to its role as a military buffer, Georgia also was to serve a philanthropic purpose. Having lost a close friend who died in debtor's prison, Oglethorpe hoped to provide a haven for debtors, so they could earn funds to pay off their debts. Toward this end, the trustees forbade importing rum and slaves and limited land holdings to 500 acres to ensure that settlers would be industrious and that large landowners from nearby colonies would not be inclined to move into the colony. The trustees also established a policy of religious toleration and allowed non-Englishmen to settle in the colony.

Oglethorpe accompanied the first colonists to Georgia and helped start the colony in November 1732. The success of Georgia rested with Oglethorpe, an energetic and able man who selected the first settlement site along the Savannah River at a point called Yamacraw Bluff, which overlooked the river. Located several miles from the coast, the settlement became modern-day Savannah. Oglethorpe reached an agreement for the land with the Yamacraws and their chief, Tomochichi. A few months later, the Creeks ceded to the English all the lands between the Savannah River and Altamaha River. Oglethorpe laid out the town of Savannah, and settlers began establishing their homes and farms. Even though Oglethorpe was an agent of the trustees, he had no specific title and was given no guidance on political organization for the colony.

The first non-British colonists to seek refuge in Georgia were German Protestants who were expelled from their homes in Salzburg and landed in Savannah in 1734. They settled 25 miles upriver at a town they called Ebenezer. In 1735, 150 Scotch High-



Contemporary print showing Savannah, Georgia, in 1733, founded by Englishman James Oglethorpe. (Chaiba Media)

landers settled on the frontier at Darien on the Altamaha River. Settlement continued into the wilderness and therefore closer to conflict. Oglethorpe constructed a fort at the falls of the Savannah River, which became the town of Augusta and a thriving center for trade with the Creeks, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees.

In 1736, Oglethorpe established Frederica—and Fort Frederica—on St. Simons Island, south of the Altamaha and the official southern limits of Georgia. Frederica was in essence a fortified military town because of its exposure to Spanish raids from Florida. Other forts were established along the Inland Passage and on the islands between Frederica and the St. Johns River, but there were usually insufficient troops available to garrison them.

In both Georgia and South Carolina, settlers demanded security for their settlements and trade activities, which were menaced by both the Spanish and natives. In 1738, Oglethorpe returned to Georgia from a visit to England and brought with him the 42nd Regiment of Foot and a commission as commander in chief of British forces in both South Carolina and Georgia. Oglethorpe knew that the Georgia-Florida frontier would be a battleground in any future conflict with the Spanish. Thus, he took measures to prepare for the defense of the coastal islands.

War with Spain began in 1739 and became known as the War of Jenkins' Ear, or the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744). Oglethorpe immediately seized the offensive and captured several Spanish frontier forts along the coast. In the spring of 1740, he set out with

the 42nd Regiment, Georgia and Carolina militiamen, several companies of rangers, and native allies. In all, there were about 4,600 men who were to attack St. Augustine. The attack did not succeed, however, and Oglethorpe was forced to fall back to his base at St. Simons Island.

In June 1742, a 4,500-strong Spanish force landed at St. Simons Island and attempted to attack Frederica. But Oglethorpe was able to check and defeat the invaders at the Battle of Bloody Marsh. This defeat compelled the Spanish to withdraw back to Florida and abandon any further attempt to invade Georgia. In 1743, Oglethorpe made another attempt to capture St. Augustine, but that too failed as he had no artillery or besieging equipment. After the war ended in 1744, all provincial forces disbanded and Georgia's brief experience as a theater of war was over.

Oglethorpe left Georgia, never to return, in July 1743. He had given 10 years of his life and more than £91,000 of his own money to establish the colony. He never received any compensation for his services in Georgia, but he did earn enduring fame.

The prosperity of the colony depended on income from lumber products, cattle, and trade with the natives. Timber, barrel staves, and potash were forest products that found a ready market in the West Indies and in Europe. Augusta became a rendezvous where native traders delivered deerskins for shipment by river to Savannah.

Gradually, the trustees' restrictions eroded through lack of enforcement. After 1742, the law prohibiting rum was ignored.

Though many of the immigrants opposed slavery, many Georgians saw the benefit of it as a way to escape labor in the hot sun and to provide workers for rice plantations. Georgians obtained many slaves in neighboring South Carolina, and by 1750 the trustees had moved to legalize slavery in the colony.

In 1751, the first elected assembly was called by the trustees, but it only had power to recommend. It could not legislate. By this time, there were approximately 2,000 whites and 1,000 African Americans in Georgia. The trustee era ended on June 23, 1752, when the trustees, wearied of their experiment, returned the charter to King George II.

The royal government created for Georgia in 1754 was similar to that of other royal colonies in America. The main difference between Georgia and the older colonies was that principal government officials were paid directly by London. This gave them a certain independence from the colonial assembly. Georgia was divided into eight parishes in 1758 for government and church organization, and four more were added in 1765 for lands south of the Altamaha River.

Georgia's first royal governor, Captain John Reynolds of the Royal Navy, arrived in 1754 but was recalled two years later chiefly because he chose to govern much as he would run a ship. He was succeeded by Henry Ellis, a more able and popular governor, but his ill health forced him to leave the post after about three years. In 1760, London appointed Georgia's third and last royal governor, James Wright. Wright had served as a colonial attorney general in South Carolina for many years and knew how royal government worked between London and the colonies. His long tenure in his job, his personal interest in Georgia's development, and his considerable ability made him very influential in the development of the colony.

By 1763, Georgia had a well-organized and well-run provincial government and no longer faced significant threats from other European powers on the frontier. The 1763 Treaty of Paris made native relations much easier. And the natives' cession of all the lands between the Savannah River and Ogeechee River as far as northwest of Augusta and of coastal lands between the Altamaha River and St. Mary's River made considerably more land available for settlement. Georgia's southern boundary was extended to the St. Mary's River. Now adjoining the frontier was another British province, East Florida.

Georgia's population grew rapidly after 1763 until the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War, when it numbered between 40,000 and 50,000 people, almost half of whom were slaves. Meanwhile groups of settlers continued to migrate to Georgia. In 1752, a group of Puritans who had lived for several generations at Dorchester, South Carolina, moved as a group to Georgia and settled at Midway. Further settlement in the backcountry by Virginians and Carolinians via the old wagon road contributed to the increase in population. Settlement was further encouraged by the cession of more Creek and Cherokee lands in 1773, north and west of Augusta, although the reluctance of some Creeks to accept the cession produced some attacks on frontier settlers and nearly led to all-out war.

By 1775, on the eve of the American Revolutionary War, Georgia bore little resemblance to the colony envisioned by the trustees

in 1732. Georgia owed its existence chiefly to the strength and dedication of Oglethorpe, who had invested his fortune and expended much effort to ensure that the enterprise would be a success.

STEVEN J. RAUCH

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Bloody Marsh, Battle of; Cherokees; Creeks; Florida; Florida, British Invasion of; Fort Augusta (Georgia); Fort Dorchester (South Carolina); Fort Frederica (Georgia); Fort St. Andrews (Georgia); Fort St. Simons (Georgia); Oglethorpe, James Edward; South Carolina; St. Augustine; St. Augustine, Battle of; Tomochichi

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Gist, Christopher

Born: 1706 Died: 1759

Distinguished frontier scout and surveyor, who provided the British with the first detailed description of southern Ohio and northern Kentucky. Born near Baltimore, Maryland, in 1706, Christopher Gist was the son of Richard Gist, a surveyor who helped plot the city of Baltimore. Christopher Gist married Sarah Howard, with whom he had five children. His son Nathaniel, who married a native girl named Wurteh, was the father of Sequoyah, who was later credited with inventing the Cherokee alphabet.

Gist was an early explorer of Ohio and Kentucky for the Ohio Company, a Virginia-based company established in 1747 by wealthy planters dedicated to extending the Virginia colony's settlements westward. In 1749, a royal charter granted the Ohio Company 200,000 acres of land in the Ohio Valley with the proviso that it would be granted an additional 300,000 acres if it could build a fort and lure settlers into the region. Therefore, in 1750 the Ohio Company commissioned Gist to explore their territorial claims in the region between modern-day Pittsburgh and Louisville. Gist was also charged with ascertaining the strength of Indian tribes. Gist kept an extensive diary of his journeys. His first visit in 1750–1751 explored the headwaters of the Ohio River and eastern Kentucky, while his second visit in 1751–1752 centered on the West Virginia region.

Gist was George Washington's guide during the latter's 1753–1754 journey to Fort Le Boeuf. Washington carried a letter from Virginia's Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie that ordered the French out of the Ohio Valley. Although Gist twice saved Washington's life on the journey, this mission was a failure. Gist accompanied a detachment of the Virginia Militia that unsuccessfully tried to forcibly expel the French from the region in the summer of 1754. In 1756,



Christopher Gist, a well-known Indian scout and surveyor, depicted here with George Washington on a raft. (Library of Congress)

Gist recruited Cherokees in the Carolinas to fight for the British in the French and Indian War. Gist died in the summer of 1759 of smallpox.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Dinwiddie, Robert; Fort Le Boeuf (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Ohio Company; Ohio Country; Forks of the Ohio; Washington, George

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Glen, James

Born: 1701

Died: July 18, 1777

Royal governor of South Carolina, 1738–1756. Born in Linlithgow, Scotland, in 1701, James Glen entered local politics at an early age, at the same time cultivating friends and patrons in London. After studying law at the University of Leiden, he served as provost of Linlithgow from 1724 to 1725 and again from 1730 to 1737.

A fortuitous marriage helped Glen secure the post of royal governor of South Carolina in 1738, although he did not arrive in Charles

Town (present-day Charleston) until almost five years later, in 1743. Two imperial wars, the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and the French and Indian War (1754–1763), framed Glen's long tenure, but brought little armed conflict to South Carolina, save for the occasional privateer off the coast. Mostly, Glen had to manage the sensitive balances of southeastern Native American diplomacy, working to win native allies even in the interwar years.

Native affairs occupied much of Glen's time and personal interest and certainly provided the most important legacies of his career. By 1745, he had developed a plan for future British efforts in the southeast, echoing Thomas Nairne's 1708 memorial that called for enlisting native aid for attacks on Mobile and Louisiana and erecting British forts near Native American settlements, one each among the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, the Cherokees, and the Catawbas. Glen's greatest challenge in native affairs was that of securing peace among the various confederacies as a means of improving English influence and firmly attaching native loyalties to Britain. Indeed, he was more willing than most British governors to personally travel to Native American settlements to secure his ends.

Glen's involvement in native affairs produced mixed results. In the mid-1740s, his role in mediating the Choctaw Civil War proved an early embarrassment. Glen had better luck in his dealings with the Cherokees and the Creeks, however. During a series of talks in the early 1750s, he brokered an uneasy (but longstanding) peace between the two rivals. In 1755, he also managed to convince the Cherokees to finally allow two British forts in their territory: Fort Prince George, built in 1753, and Fort Loudoun, built in 1756.

The British government replaced Glen in 1756 with William Henry Lyttelton, who oversaw the completion of Fort Loudoun. Glen remained in America for five more years, lending his assistance and influence among the Cherokees and helping in Virginia's 1758 campaign against Fort Duquesne. Glen returned to Britain in 1761 and died in London on July 18, 1777.

ROBERT PAULETT

See also

Catawbas; Cherokees; Cherokee War; Chickasaws; Choctaw Civil War; Choctaws; Creek-Cherokee Wars; Creeks; Fort Loudoun (Tennessee); Lyttelton, William Henry; South Carolina

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Glorious Revolution in America

Start Date: 1688 End Date: 1690

Bloodless uprisings in Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland spawned by the Glorious Revolution (or English Revolution) of 1688. The catalyst of events occurred in 1685, the year King James II ascended to the throne. During the 1670s, many English colonies had experienced crises that drew intensified scrutiny from the Crown. The Dutch recapture of New York in 1673, King Philip's War in New England (1675–1676), and Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia (1676–1677) all took place at a time when royal authorities were already trying to centralize the administration of the colonies and increase the revenue derived from them. King Charles II's regime strengthened the Navigation Acts and created the Lords of Trade and Plantations to oversee the colonies and the collection of revenue there. King James II continued the trend, incorporating the New England colonies, New York, and East and West Jersey into a single entity, the Dominion of New England, modeled on the Spanish viceroyalties.

In early 1689, after receiving news that William of Orange and his wife Mary, James II's daughter, had joined forces with Parliament to overthrow James II in December 1688, colonists rose in revolt. Two thousand militiamen in Massachusetts quickly seized Sir Edmund Andros, governor of the Dominion of New England, and installed an interim government modeled after the charter of 1629. In New York, followers of the militant Calvinist Jacob Leisler assumed power in the divided colony after they forced the flight of Lt. Gov. Francis Nicholson. And Maryland's John Coode led a group known as the Protestant Associators in the ouster of that colony's proprietary governor, William Joseph.

In all of these upheavals the rebels professed loyalty to England and, with varying degrees of success, negotiated new governments with the Crown. Massachusetts received a compromise charter that represented an improvement over the Dominion of New England. New York saw power returned to its old elite and the execution of Jacob Leisler for treason. Only in Maryland did rebels formed into a "Protestant Association" achieve most of their aims, with the king and his ministers appointing a Protestant royal governor and a council made up of Associators, establishing the Anglican Church, and barring Catholics and Quakers from office. Although the new governments did not eliminate political factionalism, they proved relatively conciliatory and underpinned a stability that would last until the 1760s, helping to unite colonies and mother country into an increasingly powerful empire.

JAMES D. DRAKE

See also

Andros, Edmund; Bacon's Rebellion; Coode's Rebellion; King Philip's War; Leisler, Jacob; Leisler's Rebellion; Maryland; Massachusetts; New York

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Gloucester Fort (Virginia)

English post located at Gloucester Point on the north bank of the York River where it meets Chesapeake Bay and opposite Yorktown, Virginia. Gloucester Fort was often called Tyndall's Point or Tyndall's Fort after the English mariner who first mapped the area in 1608. Given its strategic location, Gloucester Point was first home to a tobacco warehouse to serve local planters.

English colonists constructed the first palisaded fort on the site in 1667 to protect the waterways of the York and the James rivers. These waterways potentially offered the Dutch, who had just declared war against England, access into the interior of the colony. The fort was officially renamed Fort James when it was rebuilt with brick in 1671. In 1676, rebels under the command of Nathaniel Bacon captured the fort before crossing the river and moving on to sack Jamestown. Renamed Gloucester Fort in the early 18th century, this 15-gun redoubt was listed in a 1749 military report as being in ruins. With the onset of the French and Indian War (1754-1763), the English repaired the fort and installed 12 new guns. The British Army refortified the installation during the American Revolutionary War in August 1781 to include the main fort (Tyndall's Fort) and four outer redoubts. During the Yorktown Campaign, forces under lieutenant colonels Banastre Tarleton and Thomas Dundas occupied the fort and were forced to participate in the "Second Surrender" at Gloucester Point following the defeat of British forces at Yorktown. In 1807, Virginians again armed the fort, during the war scare of that year.

Confederate troops then constructed fortifications on the site of the original fort, renaming it Fort Brown in 1861. It was overrun and occupied by the Union Army under Major General George B. McClellan during the 1862 Peninsula Campaign.

BRADFORD WINEMAN

See also

Bacon's Rebellion; Fort James (Virginia); Jamestown; Redoubt

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Goffe, John

Born: March 16, 1701 Died: October 20, 1786

Colonial military officer. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, on March 16, 1701, John Goffe (sometimes spelled Goff) moved with his family while young to a settlement along the Merrimack River that later



Militia officer John Goffe in Hadley, Massachusetts, during the French and Indian War, ca. 1760. (Brown Brothers)

became Londonderry, New Hampshire. He first served in the militia in 1725 during Dummer's War (1722–1727), when he joined John Lovewell's foray to Pequawket. However, Goffe was left behind at a fort to tend the sick and did not participate in the ensuing operations.

Goffe later settled in the area of present-day Manchester, New Hampshire. On the outbreak of King George's War (1744–1748), he was offered command of a company of New Hampshire troops assigned to protect the Merrimack Valley, which he accepted. He joined a provincial regiment raised to attack Quebec in 1746, but the operation never occurred. Instead, Goffe accompanied the regiment to Lake Winnipesaukee, where the men built and occupied a fort during the winter of 1746–1747.

At the end of the war, Goffe moved again to an area west of the Merrimack River. The settlement there was named Goffstown. At the start of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Goffe took

command of New Hampshire scouts who patrolled the frontier. The following year, he became a captain in the New Hampshire regiment that joined British and provincial forces operating against the French post at Crown Point. The New Hampshire unit was assigned to construct Fort Edward but did not see combat.

In 1757, the New Hampshire troops were sent to Fort William Henry, where they helped defend the fort against the French siege. Goffe, now a lieutenant colonel, was among the officers who urged the British commander to surrender. After the capitulation, natives ambushed the garrison as it left the fort. Goffe survived, although the New Hampshire regiment suffered 80 casualties.

Goffe's regiment returned to the field in 1758 and 1759, but again saw little action. He took command of the New Hampshire regiment in 1760 with the rank of colonel, and completed construction of the road linking the Fort at Number Four on the Connecticut River with

Crown Point before going on to serve in the attack on Montreal later that year.

After the war, Goffe was elected to the New Hampshire legislature, served as a judge, and commanded the Hillsborough County Militia. A strong advocate of independence from Great Britain, he helped recruit troops but was too old to take a more active role in the American Revolutionary War. Goffe died near Bedford, New Hampshire, on October 20, 1786.

JIM PIECUCH

See also

Crown Point (New York); Dummer's War; Fort Edward (New York); Fort at Number 4 (New Hampshire); Fort William Henry, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns; Militias; New Hampshire

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Golden Hill, Battle of

Event Date: January 19, 1770

Skirmish between American colonists and British soldiers in New York City. The colony of New York became a focal point of opposition to British imperial policy in the 1760s, as the assembly refused to comply with the Quartering Act (1765), which required colonial authorities to house and supply, at taxpayers' expense, British troops in barracks or vacant public buildings. New York was disproportionately affected because the majority of troops stationed along the western frontier to police the 1763 Proclamation Line were redeployed to New York, with most of them stationed in New York City.

At first the New York Assembly refused only to appropriate all of the funds required to maintain troops, but as animosities deepened the assembly refused to appropriate funds for any purpose. The impasse worsened in 1767 after Parliament passed the Townshend duties. Colonists demonstrated their opposition to British authority by erecting a liberty pole in what is now City Hall Park. Tensions between soldiers and the citizenry remained high, as off-duty soldiers took jobs for low wages, which adversely impacted dockworkers. Brawls between colonists and British regulars became a frequent occasion in New York City's taverns and streets.

The situation worsened in late 1769, when a moderate majority was elected to the New York Assembly and appropriated £2,000 for troops. While royal officials were pleased, leaders of the Sons of Liberty immediately attempted to stir up a protest. In a pamphlet entitled *To the Betrayed Inhabitants of the City and Colony of New York*, Alexander McDougal, leader of the local Sons of Liberty, condemned the assembly's actions. In response, soldiers posted derogatory broadsides that raised tensions to a fevered pitch.

It was in this atmosphere of animosity and street brawls that British officials dispatched troops on January 17, 1770, to cut down the liberty pole that had been erected in the park. Adding insult to injury, the soldiers threw pieces of the pole in front of a tavern that served as McDougal's headquarters. Two days later members of the Sons of Liberty seized a small contingent of the soldiers who had taken down the liberty pole. When more British troops arrived to rescue their comrades, the mob, which was armed with swords and clubs, retreated to a nearby wheat field known as Golden Hill. Taunts soon gave rise to violence as soldiers fixed bayonets and charged the hill to disperse the mob. Although no one was killed in the clash, several were seriously injured, before British officers arrived and ordered troops to their barracks.

Although the so-called Battle of Golden Hill is not as well remembered as the more famous Boston Massacre, which would occur two months later, it revealed and contributed to the growing tension between British authorities and American colonists.

JOHN HOWARD SMITH

See also

Boston Massacre; Great Britain, Army; New York; Quartering; Quartering Act Crisis; Sons of Liberty

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Grand Pré, Battle of

Start Date: February 11, 1747 End Date: February 12, 1747

Battle between British and French and allied forces during King George's War (1744–1748), one of the bloodiest contests in the history of Nova Scotia, and a convincing French victory. In December 1746, British colonel Arthur Noble arrived at Grand Pré with more than 500 Massachusetts troops and settled in for the winter. He brought with him the frames of two blockhouses, but the ground was too frozen to erect them, and Noble thus dispersed his men among two dozen Acadian homes in the village of Grand Pré.

There was only one fortified building in the town, a large structure known as the "Stone House." Despite scattering his army over an area of more than a mile, Noble was unconcerned about its welfare. The French encampment was nearly 200 miles away and harsh weather appeared to make winter campaigning impossible.

The French, however, decided to strike before British reinforcements could arrive in the spring. Wearing snowshoes and pulling sleds, 300 French soldiers and their Native American allies set out for Grand Pré on January 21, 1747, under the command of Captain Nicholas Antoine Coulon de Villiers. By February 10, Villiers's men had closed to within a few miles of the British position. They

remained undetected. To strike as many of the scattered houses as possible, the French divided themselves into 10 parties, the largest of which Villiers himself would lead against the Stone House.

The attack began at 2:30 on the morning of February 11, 1747, in near blizzard conditions. The weather worked both for and against the French. The blinding snow concealed their approach, but it also caused Villiers's group to become disoriented and raid an outlying building rather than the Stone House. The initial rush caught the British completely off guard, and many homes were quickly overrun. Noble was killed in the first few moments of the battle. Villiers was seriously wounded, but his men drove about 350 British troops into the Stone House.

At this point, a curious stalemate developed. The French did not have enough healthy troops left to assault the Stone House, nor did they have enough supplies for a prolonged siege. The numerically superior British could not sally because, lacking snowshoes, they would flounder helplessly in the deep snow. On February 12, the two sides negotiated a nonviolent conclusion. The British would vacate Grand Pré without surrendering. However, they had to agree not to return to the area under arms for six months. Finally, all prisoners taken in the fighting remained in French custody.

In the battle the British suffered 131 dead, 34 wounded, and 53 lost to captivity. The French lost only 22. The victory proved fleeting for the French, however. With supplies running low, the men exhausted and sick, and with no hope for reinforcement, Villiers abandoned Grand Pré just a few days after the British departure.

Andrew C. Lannen

See also

Acadia; Chignecto Isthmus; King George's War, Land Campaigns

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Great Britain

Nothing epitomized the wealth, power, and reach of Great Britain in the mid-18th century more than the scene along the river Thames in London. A forest of ships' masts stretched for miles along the river, as vessels from India, the Caribbean, and North America unloaded their tea, sugar, and timber. At the same time, other ships waited to carry these goods to continental Europe and points beyond. This traffic overwhelmed the river and its narrow wharves, forcing larger ships to transfer their cargoes to smaller lighters and barges in order to reach the shore; such overcrowding would eventually spur the creation of a system of locks, basins, and warehouses off the river in the early 19th century. Until then, however, the Thames remained a chaotic place, prosperous but disorganized, yet

always a reminder, in one observer's words, of London's place as "a kind of Emporium for the whole Earth."

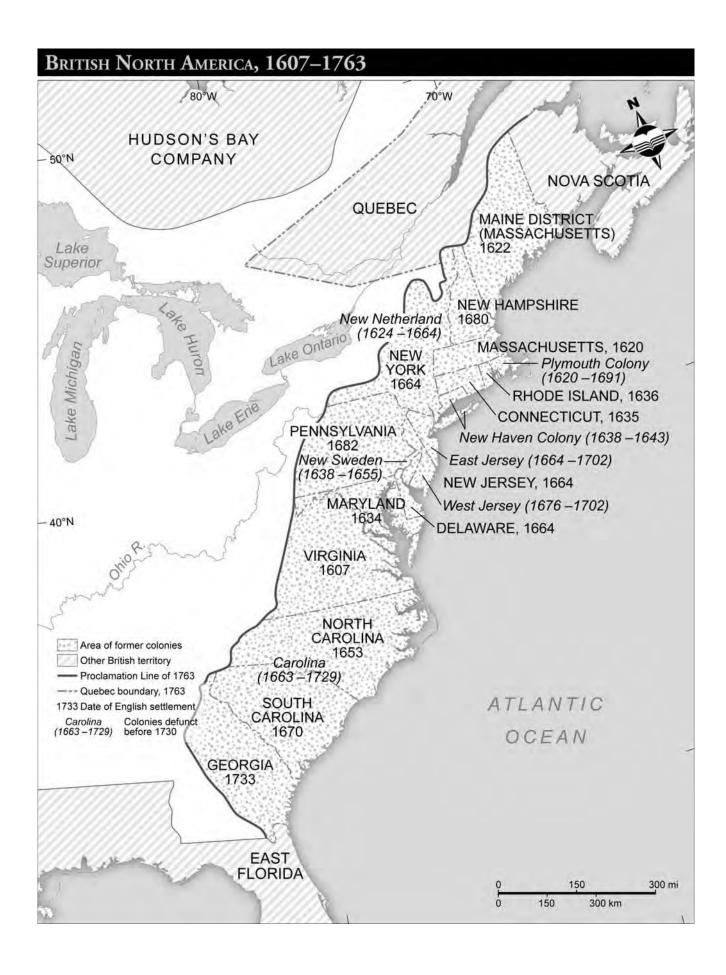
This frantic Thames activity illuminated and exemplified several aspects of what some historians have described as the "first" British Empire. It was a colonial system that reached from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean and depended on trade as its lifeblood. The wealth created by this empire profoundly changed both social structures and patterns of consumption in the imperial metropole as well as in the colonies.

The role of the British state in this system was, however, somewhat ambiguous. The Royal Navy, the world's largest and best-equipped fleet, controlled the shipping lanes on which this commerce relied, even including a continually expanding British interest in the African slave trade to both North and South America. Yet private investors and joint-stock companies had driven British expansion, not just in the Atlantic world, but in South Asia as well, where the East India Company, largely left on its own, had embarked on its own brand of power politics and territorial rule by the late 1750s.

The Navigation Acts, first enacted in the 17th century, did compel the colonies to ship their goods to London for reexport and to use British-owned carriers, but in many other aspects the colonies enjoyed some autonomy in governing themselves; it was a philosophy characterized as "salutary neglect" and was personified by various royal governors in North America who allowed colonial assemblies some leeway in the name of commercial continuity and stability. In this way, the traffic on the Thames represented the colonial system in microcosm: It was prosperous, privately controlled, and only loosely regulated. It would take a change in the nature of the British state's relationship with its American colonies to disrupt this commercial system and redirect the British Empire eastward at the start of the 19th century.

Following the projection of Spanish and Portuguese power into the Indian Ocean and the Americas in the 16th century, England began to establish its own colonial trading ports and settlements. The English were relative latecomers to this process, for by the end of the 16th century, Spain and Portugal possessed prosperous colonial settlements in the Americas, including silver mines in Peru and sugar plantations in Brazil. Moreover, the Portuguese, headquartered at Goa on the western Indian coast, had taken control of commerce and traffic in the Indian Ocean. Dutch colonial expansion was also underway, especially in the Spice Islands of Southeast Asia.

Unlike the Spanish and Portuguese, however, the English government eschewed state-run expansion, instead granting monopolies, trade concessions, and some naval protection to private merchant or joint-stock companies that undertook the actual risks of these ventures. These included the East India Company (chartered in 1600), the Virginia (London) Company (1606), and the Massachusetts Bay Company (1629). By the early 1700s, other settlements, including plantations in the West Indies, trading posts in Canada, and colonies on the Atlantic seaboard had joined these initial English provinces to make up an Anglo-dominated Atlantic world. Moreover, rule by private companies in these various settlements, including the earlier



ones, had in most cases given way to a system of crown colonies supervised by the Board of Trade and Plantations in London and royal governors throughout. These English settlements did, however, retain elected legislatures that controlled their internal taxation and many legal matters. The appointed governors, whose salaries were paid by the assemblies, often faced threats to withhold their stipends if certain matters were not settled to the legislators' satisfaction.

The British Empire continued to expand through the 18th century, suffering its only real setback toward the end of the period, in the American Revolution. Its possessions included the North American colonies, the Caribbean islands of Jamaica and Barbados, and, after 1763, former French possessions in Canada and formerly Spanish Florida. Britain's reach extended even further, though, largely through the agency of merchant companies that had established trading forts along the western coast of Africa and in South Asia. In the latter, the East India Company had begun by midcentury to expand its actual political control, first in the northeastern region of Bengal, and then throughout northern and central India by the early 1800s. The loss of the American colonies, then, was counterbalanced by an increasing British presence in South Asia, albeit one that would lie in the hands of the East India Company until the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857 and the assumption of direct British rule in 1858.

This far-flung colonial empire, and the prosperity it brought to Britain, dominated foreign and military policy under the Stuarts and Oliver Cromwell, and continued to do so after the emergence of parliamentary sovereignty following the Glorious Revolution (1688–1690). As Lord Halifax noted succinctly in the late 17th century, "We fight for trade, the fairest mistress men ever knew."

Trade was indeed a state or national interest, and commercial competition in the Atlantic soon became an integral part of European geopolitics, feeding rivalries among Britain, France, Spain, and the Netherlands in particular. These commercial concerns were thus absorbed into the larger conflicts that dominated political, religious, and military life in Europe and could often, but not always, be distilled into a general struggle between Protestant Britain and the Catholic (Bourbon) powers.

For British governments, the overriding concern was to ensure that trade survived and that no power overwhelmed the rest on continental Europe, thus leaving Britain exposed and isolated. Furthermore, though the post-1689 Parliament remained largely the province of the traditional elite through the 18th century, many of these aristocrats and landed gentry had familial or financial interests in the maintenance of this imperial system. The younger sons of aristocratic families found employment in the armed forces, colonial administration, and, increasingly, in the merchant and financial firms that thrived on colonial trade and investment. These included private banks such as Hoare's and insurance concerns such as the famous Lloyd's of London.

Wealthy absentee owners of West Indian plantations had maneuvered themselves into elite society and even attained seats in

Parliament. India proved especially attractive. Significant numbers of British ministers of Parliament were also shareholders in the East India Company, and several aristocratic families, including Irishmen such as Richard (1760–1842) and Arthur (1769–1842) Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington), were deeply involved in expanding company rule there.

The first order of business for these Britons, however, was to make sure that there existed a trade to protect at all. Oliver Cromwell's Parliament passed the first Navigation Act in 1651, mandating that only English ships could carry goods into English or colonial ports. This policy had a dual impact: It stimulated English shipbuilding and the growth of a merchant marine, and it also led to a series of wars with the Dutch, who saw an end to their dominance of the Atlantic carrying trade. This encounter in many ways spelled the end of hostilities between these two powers, a peace cemented in 1688 by the English Parliament's offer of the throne to William of Orange, stadtholder of Holland. King Charles II (reigned 1660-1685) expanded the scope of the Navigation Acts to include a prohibition on colonial trade of certain "enumerated articles" with any port outside Britain or the colonies, thereby ensuring a steady flow of sugar, tobacco, and naval stores to British ports for reexport. These Navigation Acts reinforced trade patterns already in place, and were the foundation of colonial mercantile policy until the American Revolution.

The ever-expanding trade system largely meant the protection of shipping lanes and ports from Cromwell's time through the 1740s. It also meant a policy of harassment of rival trading powers, something that the English had pursued since the latter years of Elizabeth I's reign (1558–1603), when licensed "privateers" such as Francis Drake (ca. 1540–1596) and John Hawkins (1532–1595) prowled the Atlantic. State-sanctioned piracy continued through the 17th century—another example of Britain's interest in undertaking foreign ventures as cheaply as possible—with its most successful practitioner, Henry Morgan (ca. 1635–1688), eventually gaining a knighthood and a temporary appointment as governor of Jamaica.

The British Army had very little to do with the various colonial wars and skirmishes between settlers and Native Americans that marked the late 1600s, including King Philip's War (1675–1676). Cromwell's navy seized Jamaica from the Spanish in 1655. By and large, though, North American and Caribbean engagements before the 1750s figured as episodic moments during Britain's larger struggle with Spain and France for dominance and security in Europe.

Europe remained the major battlefield during both the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713, known in America as Queen Anne's War) and the Anglo-Spanish War (the so-called War of Jenkins' Ear) of 1739–1744, which did, nevertheless, originate in Anglo-Spanish hostility over smuggling by the ill-starred English South Sea Company. King George's War (1744–1748) featured the capture of the French bastion of Louisbourg (in the Canadian maritimes) by a joint force of British soldiers and colonial militiamen, backed by British naval support, but it was returned to France at war's end, in exchange for the French return of Madras on the

southeast Indian coast. There was much disgust in the colonies at this agreement.

The 1750s saw a change in British military strategy, one that placed much more emphasis on the role that colonies, trade, and naval might could play in European geopolitics. The target was France, Britain's only real competitor on the seas and in the Atlantic world. More populous, possessed of a much larger army, and eager to expand its colonial territories, France was indeed a significant threat, one that half a century of intermittent warfare before 1750 had not weakened. The great proponent of what became known as the "blue water" strategy was William Pitt the Elder (1708–1778), the king's first minister during 1757-1762. Pitt had famous family ties to empire and trade; indeed, his grandfather, Thomas "Diamond" Pitt, had been a merchant in India and the one-time owner of the largest diamond in the world, and he placed the expansion of British colonial rule and British control of global maritime trade at the center of his strategic thinking. For Pitt, the struggle to contain continental rivals, especially France, was best pursued not on the battlefields of Central Europe, but on the high seas and in the colonies.

This "blue-water" strategy relied on Britain's strengths, especially its naval prowess and its well-run state finances. Under Pitt's plan, the Royal Navy would patrol British waters to guard against invasion, and would also blockade French trade in the Atlantic, thus depriving the Bourbons of the chance to bolster their own state coffers. Furthermore, the navy would transport British soldiers to North America, where even a relatively small military presence would be enough, with colonial help, to bring New France under British control and again disrupt French overseas commerce. The final component of this strategy was a British alliance with, and funding of, Central European states who might keep the French occupied on land while the Royal Navy dominated the seas. Economic support for Prussia, and even more significant financing of the army of the German state of Hanover (ancestral home of the Kings George), could allow Britain to fight by proxy on the Continent.

Pitt's ideas played out in practice in the 1750s. Renewed conflict arose in 1754 between the North American colonists and France over the latter's attempted expansion into the Ohio River Valley; France's alliance with many groups of natives led, of course, to this conflict being named the French and Indian War, at least in the British colonies. By 1756 this contest had become part of a much larger European conflagration pitting Britain and Prussia against France, Austria, and Spain, among others. While Prussian forces kept France occupied in Europe, the Royal Navy clamped down on French shipping and transported about 20,000 British soldiers to North America. This influx of British personnel, which was matched by an equal number of soldiers from the colonies, allowed Britain to invade Canada and defeat French forces there, most notably in the 1759 battle for Quebec that played out on the Plains of Abraham outside the city. Meanwhile, the Royal Navy destroyed the French fleet in the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and the Caribbean. The Peace of Paris (1763) solidified these gains, leaving Britain with a markedly increased global empire, including all of French Canada, the Ohio Valley, and Spanish Florida.

The costs of Pitt's strategy were enormous, though, including the funding of naval shipbuilding and the extension of financial aid to Prussia and to Hanover. Pitt himself stepped down from office in 1762, but his successors, believing that the notable beneficiaries of Pitt's war had not contributed much financially to the effort, attempted to recover some of these expenditures from the American colonies with, of course, unfortunate negative consequences. Pitt did not live to see the end of the American Revolution, but when his second son, William (the Younger), ascended to the premiership at the precocious age of 24, he presided over an empire that had been, at least momentarily, much reduced.

Overseas military and commercial expansions indeed went hand-in-hand in the 17th and 18th centuries, and their impact on Britain was not limited solely to these spheres, but instead influenced many aspects of metropolitan life. London, the premier trading port, grew immensely. Its population reached 675,000 by 1750, comprising 10 percent of the total British population. Other cities prospered too, as Bristol and Liverpool fared well from Atlantic commodity and slave trades in particular. The growth of urban banking and merchant ventures had a profound influence on the growth of the British state, allowing it to finance its strategic plans not only from tax revenue, but from government securities issued through the Bank of England and traded on the London Stock Exchange. The period after the Glorious Revolution also saw the gradual improvement of governmental revenue collection, including property taxes and customs duties. This emergence of what historians have described as an efficient "military-fiscal state" allowed Britain to maintain its naval supremacy throughout the century. The Navigation Acts served to increase both the size of the British merchant fleet and the capability of civilian dockyards in Newcastle and in Plymouth.

The expansion of trade and imperial rule also led to some significant social and cultural changes in Britain. Nouveau riche bankers, merchants, and traders began to infiltrate the ranks of the aristocracy; the age of the "gentlemanly capitalists" had begun. This wealth, plus the extensive reach of British trade, created a burgeoning interest in consumer goods among more than the wealthiest in society. Native American fabrics, tea, coffee, and sugar—not to mention American tobacco—all became favorites for conspicuous consumption by the "middling sorts" in urban areas. The import of these goods also sparked a growing sense of an economic divide in Britain, especially in London, where those who unloaded the groaning East Indiamen on the riverside docks could not themselves afford such goods.

Occasional thefts and the growth of a dockside black market allowed some of these laborers to supplement their otherwise meager wages, but inevitably caused tensions between workers and merchants. However, among those who could purchase these colonial products, and among those whose work at least brought them daily into contact with colonial goods, ships, and sailors, there did emerge a growing interest and pride in Britain's international might

and reach. Empire now informed English patriotism and provided the basis for a new British nationalism.

The British Empire was a great trading empire in the 17th and 18th centuries. It enriched many people, allowed them to build the largest navy in the world, and transformed everything from what Britons wore, to what they drank, and how they saw themselves in the world. It was an empire based very much on private investment, one in which the government consciously and consistently tried to minimize its own financial contribution and exposure. The American Revolution exposed some of the difficulties in such a colonial approach, but not before the establishment of a world where, truly, Britannia ruled the waves.

Andrew Muldoon

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); France; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; George II, King; George III, King; Great Britain, Army; Great Britain, Navy; Intercolonial Relations; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; King Philip's War; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Netherlands; Pitt, William, the Elder, First Earl of Chatham; Privateering; Quebec, Battle of; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Spain

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Great Britain, Army

For a century following the English colonization of North America that began in 1607, the ad hoc assemblage of English settlements remained largely devoid of regular armed forces to defend them. Prior to 1661, England lacked a sizable standing military establishment while the colonies, undertaken as commercial instead of national ventures, were left to fend for themselves. Therefore, throughout most of the 17th century, the British Army was initially represented by military veterans or adventurers, such as John Smith of Virginia and Myles Standish of Plymouth. Few in number, such men nonetheless constituted an experienced cadre around which the first American militias arose. Their valuable leadership, in concert with advanced European-style weaponry, usually prevailed over Native Americans in countless skirmishes.

The ensuing tumult of the English Civil War (1642–1649), the Age of Oliver Cromwell, the Stuart Restoration in 1660, and the Glo-

rious Revolution of 1688 finally occasioned the rise of standing, professional forces in England. Nevertheless, these forces were constrained for political and ideological reasons to a handful of regiments in the immediate employ of the sovereign. The most noted example in this regard was the Coldstream Guards, the most senior formation in the army. Moreover, when regular forces were deployed to the colonies at all, as in the case of the conquest of New York from the Dutch in 1664 or Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia in 1676, they were usually restricted to a handful of infantry companies. Even during the authoritarian period of the Dominion of New England under Governor-General Sir Edmund Andros, very few regular companies were present to back up royal rule. In the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution (1688–1689), many of these troops were forcibly disarmed by the citizenry and militias of Boston and New York.

This familiar pattern of benign neglect repeated itself at the beginning of the 18th century. During that time, those few British units deployed to North America consisted of infantry or artillery companies garrisoning forts at Boston, New York, or Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina). It was not until Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) that the British government, prompted by American colonial agents, gave serious thought to dispatching sizable forces to North America. Foremost among the actions during the conflict was the 1711 Quebec expedition of Admiral Hovenden Walker. The attack floundered at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River that August, however. But the attack employed 4,500 veteran troops drawn from the Duke of Marlborough's victorious army. Thus, an important precedent had been set for deploying larger numbers of troops abroad.

Politically and institutionally, the British Army of this period bore only superficial resemblance to its contemporaries on the European continent, especially those of Absolutist France. The latter half of the 17th century imbued the English polity with an extreme distrust of standing professional forces for the potential tyranny they represented. The military was therefore kept small, counterbalanced by militia forces, and based on volunteer service rather than conscription. Impressment, however, could be invoked during national emergencies. As a rule, the enlisted ranks originated from the lower social orders and essentially joined the service to escape grinding poverty. Such was especially the case among Scottish and Irish regiments. The officer corps, by comparison, was indelibly aristocratic by nature and obtained its commissions through a purchasing system. But despite the vast gulf between officers and enlisted men, both worked well on the battlefield, and British officers were usually well regarded for the paternalistic care they afforded all ranks.

The basic tactical unit of the army at this time was the regiment/battalion, consisting of between 8 to 10 companies in the field and numbering around 400 men. The soldiers were bedecked in the famous coat of "double scarlet" and armed with a .75-caliber musket affectionately known as the "Brown Bess." After 1741, flank companies, one each of light infantry and grenadiers, were usually added to each regiment.

British troops trained under methods that can best be described as draconian, with regulations and disciplinary standards inspired by the fearsome and successful Prussian model. Good behavior off the field was also reinforced under the threat of flogging. However, misbehavior in the face of an enemy invariably resulted in a death penalty.

Such conditioning made the British a formidable force on the plains of Europe, but the heavily wooded environs of North America required new competence in scouting, screening, and skirmishing. For this reason, combat troops deployed to America had to be carefully retrained in these new skills. With time and experience, however, British light companies and regiments, such as those commanded by Colonel George Augustus, Lord Howe, that functioned entirely as light infantry, proved quite as adept as their colonial equivalents. By the advent of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), British armies in America more or less mirrored their colonial counterparts in terms of composition. They included engineers, artillery, and regular infantry. But they were further buttressed by provincials such as Rogers's Rangers, Native American warriors, and their own light troops. The British Army of 1763, previously a military establishment firmly wedded to prevailing European social and tactical norms, represented a generally successful adaptation to New World conditions.

The onset of further colonial conflicts such as the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744, also known as the War of Jenkins' Ear) and King George's War (1744–1748) witnessed the continuing deployment of regular soldiers in North America. Their primary purpose, however, was in stiffening local militia forces and the handful of colonial regulars (provincials) that existed at the time. Most of the fighting at this juncture, in fact, was done by Americans. Such was the notable case in the capture of Louisbourg in 1745. Nonetheless, British officers remained somewhat contemptuous of their New World colonists, despite growing signs of their tactical proclivities for the art of Native American–style bush warfare, or "skulking way of war."

The next round of colonial combat with France, during the French and Indian War (1754-1763), broke all precedents for the size and scope of British military and naval resources committed abroad. Beginning in 1755, when Major General Edward Braddock took 1,000 Redcoats of the 44th and 48th Regiments on their ill-fated expedition into the Pennsylvania woods against Fort Duquesne, Prime Minister William Pitt the Elder pushed successfully for the requisite manpower to decisively clinch victory in the New World. Consequently, thousands of British soldiers were transported across the Atlantic by the Royal Navy for service against New France. And, despite some awkward adjustments to frontier warfare on so vast a scale, they functioned bravely and became the principal instrument of victory in Canada. Higher echelons of leadership could be sadly deficient, however, such as Braddock at the Monongahela in 1755 or Major General James Abercromby at Ticonderoga in 1758. Yet even these crushing reversals in no way reflected on nor diminished the morale and fighting tenacity of the average British soldier. In fact, once abetted by the aggressive leadership of Major General James Wolfe, the army enjoyed one of its finest moments outside the walls of Quebec in 1759, dominating their French counterparts and winning a continent.

Meanwhile, thousands of Americans, both militia and provincial alike, were available to the British but were deliberately detailed to garrisoning, road construction, and other noncombat functions. British officers again evinced condescension toward them and their martial abilities. For their part, the Americans reacted negatively toward what they perceived as arrogance and insensitivity from their British allies.

Victory over France in 1763 and the acquisition of Canada held unforeseen consequences for both Great Britain and its military forces in North America. The government elected to maintain a force of 15 regiments in North America, a force totaling 8,500 men. Mainly, they were to garrison forts along the frontier. Such was a reasonable decision, considering the extent of territory to be guarded. After the violence of Pontiac's Rebellion (1763) was successfully contained, they were ordered to counter a wave of white encroachment on native lands in accordance with the Proclamation of 1763. Political authorities in London hoped such measures would forestall the outbreak of future hostilities with the natives, but Americans viewed this shift in responsibilities as the latest example of British capriciousness.

The British government, saddled with enormous wartime debts, also expected the colonies to contribute to the cost of maintaining the troops in North America through various taxes. The attempt to impose such taxes, universally reviled throughout the colonies, stimulated a paradigm shift in perceptions of—and attitudes toward—the vaunted Redcoats. In fact, they were increasingly seen as agents of tyranny and oppression, especially in the wake of illconsidered measures like the Quartering Act of 1765. This unpopular mission, while never mandating the quartering of troops in private homes, did require colonial assemblies to provide housing, food, and supplies at fixed prices to subsidize their presence. At one point, the New York Assembly was ordered to adjourn by Parliament until it voted to approve the necessary funding. These moves stimulated increasing militancy on the part of radicals, especially in Boston, where they resorted to mass civil disobedience. Their successful resistance to the Stamp Act and other revenue measures led to the deployment of the 14th, 29th, 64th, and 65th Regiments, drawn from the Halifax garrison, to raise the profile of royal authority in Massachusetts. Their presence, in turn, led to increased friction with the colonial public at large, who began deriding the soldiers as "Lobsterbacks" and "Bloodybacks." This was a complete change in attitude from the previous decade.

Great Britain's greater emphasis on a visible military presence was bound to spark an incendiary incident, which finally occurred on March 5, 1770, when a detachment from the 29th Regiment, violently assailed by an angry mob, fired on them, killing five. The

much-vaunted Boston Massacre was then famously propagandized in the engravings of Paul Revere, which served to further increase colonial resentment toward Great Britain and its army.

The spark that lit the fuse of revolution occurred in 1774, when civilian authority in Massachusetts, as represented by Thomas Hutchinson, was supplanted by Major General Thomas Gage, now both commander in chief and royal governor. Troop strength was also built up to nine regiments, with nearly 1 soldier for every 5 inhabitants. Furthermore, Gage meant business. Over the next year he dispatched occasional columns of infantry into the countryside to round up arms and other supplies belonging to the local militia. Such moves, while making perfect sense militarily, convinced the inhabitants that British soldiers were setting the stage for a military dictatorship. That line was fatally crossed on April 18, 1775, when Gage ordered a select force of 800 men to seize militia stores at Concord, Massachusetts. A day later, Gage's effort climaxed with bloodshed on the fields of Lexington, at which point the British Army, which had toiled so long and at such great cost to secure North America for England, won a minor skirmish—and lost a continent. JOHN C. FREDRIKSEN

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Boston Massacre; Canada, British Expedition against (1711); Discipline, Army; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Frontier, Northern; Frontier, Southern; Golden Hill, Battle of; Great Britain; Impressment, Army; Infantry; Infantry Tactics; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Militias; Native Warfare; Pontiac's Rebellion; Proclamation of 1763; Quartering; Quartering Act Crisis; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Rangers; Skulking Way of War

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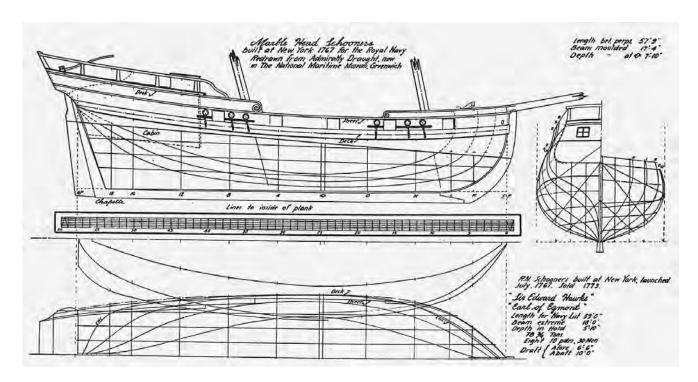
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Great Britain, Navy

By the 18th century, Britain's Royal Navy was the largest, best-equipped, and best-financed maritime force in the world. Naval supremacy matched a corresponding British commercial dominance on the seas. This navy possessed sufficient resources, both in ships and in sailors, to maintain both a highly effective defense of Britain and a system of trade protection in both the Atlantic Ocean and the Indian Ocean. British ships enjoyed bases on the coasts of India and in the Caribbean, as well as at Chatham and at Plymouth, where the Royal Dockyards produced massive ships of the line designed to carry the heaviest guns and hundreds of sailors. The creation and maintenance of such a fleet, combined with the great increase in demand for commercial shipping throughout the 1700s,



Lines of the Marblehead-type schooners Sir Edward Hawke and Earl of Egremont, built at New York for the British Navy in 1767. (The Granger Collection)

Comparative Naval Strength during the Colonial Era



made Britain the center of the global trade in naval stores such as timber and pitch from the Baltic region and from the North American colonies. The Royal Navy had also reliably produced a number of military heroes for British public consumption, including famous figures like Captain James Cook, but also some, like Admiral Edward Vernon in the 1740s, who were embraced by urban, patriotic crowds as populist or even reformist figures.

The early-modern British Navy owed its initial growth to Britain's involvement in the Continental wars of the 16th and 17th centuries. An island nation, England under Queen Elizabeth I and the early Stuart kings relied on its navy not for trade protection or exploration, but for the defense of the British Isles. The English fleet's destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588 demonstrated the great strides English shipbuilders had made just in the latter half of the 16th century.

Influenced by Spanish and Portuguese ships that featured multiple masts and heavy guns, English designers created maneuverable, yet heavily armed ships that could both outpace and outgun their Spanish counterparts. The ships tended to be galleons or carracks. Guns aboard ship tended to be longer-range culverins, allowing the English ships to remain at a distance and outrange the Spanish guns. Similar craft, the forebears of the massive 18th-century warships, made up the standing naval force that had emerged by the middle of the 17th century. New types of ships emerged in sloops, brigs, frigates, and the great ships of the line—the line-of-battle ships because they could stand in the battle line that characterized fleet actions of the age of fighting sail. Neither

these vessels, nor the navy itself, played much role in the colonization of the Atlantic, however. Even after the establishment of colonial settlements in North America and in the Caribbean, the British government, ever watchful for the inexpensive alternative, employed "privateers" to harass Spanish and French commerce there.

The War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713) did see the deployment of some Royal Navy ships in the Caribbean, a sign that the British government had begun to appreciate the value of the trans-Atlantic trade to its economy as well as the risk that the French and the Spanish posed to it. Yet despite this Caribbean venture, and some subsequent naval actions against Spanish settlements in Cuba and in Panama led by Admiral Vernon during the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744), the bulk of the navy remained in or near home waters.

Recent historical scholarship has largely debunked the idea that the bulk of the Royal Navy in the 1700s was occupied in protecting colonies or trade routes. However, the navy was so large in number of ships that it could maintain a large force at home and still keep some vessels stationed in Jamaica, for example. Even during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), when the navy's prime objective was the protection of the home islands, it retained sufficient capacity to capture French islands in the Caribbean, as well as to support the expansionist ventures of the East India Company in Bengal.

Of course, as N. A. M. Rodger, the Royal Navy's preeminent historian, has noted, this concentration of forces around Britain

did have an imperial dimension. By engaging and defeating European rivals on the European side of the North Atlantic, as it did in the case of the French in the Battle of Quiberon Bay in 1759, the navy was able to protect its smaller squadrons in the colonies and allow these ships to take on colonial rivals that now had no hope of reinforcements. Even the home fleet, then, played a part in imperial expansion.

It took an impressive fleet to carry out these multiple duties. In 1752, the Royal Navy possessed 132 ships of 50 or more guns and 159 smaller ships for a total of 291 of all classes. Nearly 100,000 officers and sailors manned and supported these vessels during the French and Indian War, and even more were added during the American Revolutionary War, as the major ships of the line by themselves required crews of 500 or more men.

Such a force was the result of a century-long effort at financing and supporting naval construction and maritime innovation. However, much of this initiative did not come from the Admiralty, which remained a fairly small, bureaucratic place through the late 17th and 18th centuries and provided a comfortable living not for great naval strategists, but for prolific diarists (such as Samuel Pepys). Instead, British naval supremacy grew from larger governmental patronage and support.

The later Stuarts were patrons of scientific research and the naval innovations that derived from it. In 1675, King Charles II funded the creation of the Greenwich Observatory, soon the location of the new meridian that would allow for the eventual calculation of longitude by the mid-18th century. Government investment in the fleet accelerated, however, after the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689, when Parliament took firm hold of the nation's purse strings.

Successive governments improved and increased the collection of revenue from both land taxes and customs duties, part of the transformation of Britain into an efficient "fiscal-military" state. These growing revenue streams not only funded the growth of the Royal Dockyards and initiatives like the 1714 Longitude Act (offering a prize for the inventor of the best way to reckon longitude at sea), but also reassured and attracted investors in government-issued securities. Naval supremacy thus rested on a foundation of fiscal efficiency and solid credit. This was the background for continued innovation throughout the 18th century, including the invention of the chronometer by John Harrison, which solved the problem of determining longitude, and the growing use of copper plating on the hulls of warships by the 1760s.

Government revenues did not support an increase in the wages paid to Royal Navy sailors, however, and technological innovations in shipbuilding, armament, and navigation all far exceeded any improvements in shipboard life. Experienced seamen could earn far more on commercial vessels, and the navy, especially in wartime, relied on several techniques to fill out its crews. One was the offer of a cash bounty to sailors, but a more notorious practice was that of impressment by the Impress Service's gangs in port

cities. Although the introduction of citrus fruits into the sailor's diet did reduce the incidence of scurvy, life onboard ship remained full of hazards, including malaria, the possibility of drowning, and death in battle. Harsh discipline at sea, and its enforcement through corporal punishment, was another source of sailors' discontent, though there were few instances of true mutiny, such as a notable incident on the *Bounty* in 1789 and a much larger uprising in the Channel Fleet in 1797.

Conditions onboard reflected more than anything else the character and temperament of the man at the helm. Some commanders, such as Vernon and Cook, managed their crews well and with good result; others, such as Captain William Bligh of the *Bounty*, suffered for their tempers and their ill-treatment of those beneath them. A possible key to Cook's success was that, as the son of a Yorkshire farm worker, he had started his own career at sea as an apprentice sailor. Indeed, the Royal Navy offered much greater opportunity to non-elites than did the army, where the practice of purchasing commissions limited the range of officers' experiences. Promotion within the navy was often the result of political maneuvering or social connections, but unlike the army, there was the chance for men outside the gentry and aristocracy to obtain a commission—even the very slight possibility for promotion out of the enlisted ranks.

The Royal Navy's global reach grew immensely in the 19th century, as the empire expanded and as officials grew more comfortable with moving more squadrons away from the north Atlantic and the defense of home waters. This shift derived from the successes of the 18th-century fleet that had managed both to protect Britain and support colonial trade. With its continental rivals defeated, the Royal Navy emerged as the enforcer—and symbol—of British power around the world.

Andrew Muldoon

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Discipline, Navy; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Great Britain; Great Britain, Army; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Impressment, Navy; Mutiny, Navy; Privateering; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Sailors; Vernon, Edward

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Great Carrying Place (New York)

See Fort Edward (New York)

Great Swamp Fight

Start Date: December 19, 1675 End Date: December 19, 1675

Major battle of King Philip's War (1675–1676) that led the heretofore neutral Narragansett tribe to join King Philip (Metacom, Metacomet), leader of the Wampanoags, against the English colonists. In the fall of 1675, Philip's forces attacked and destroyed numerous colonial towns in southern New England. In short order his forces grew both in confidence and in numbers.

The large and powerful Narragansett tribe, situated in Rhode Island, was officially neutral. However, colonial leaders believed that some Narragansett warriors were secretly joining King Philip's raiding parties and that the tribe itself was harboring wounded warriors.

Determined to put an end to such assistance, the commissioners of the New England Confederation (Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and Plymouth) recalled most militia units from the western frontier. They also recruited new units, assembling the largest colonial force America had seen to that point.

The United Colonies placed the troops, drawn from all three colonies, under the overall command of Plymouth governor Josiah Winslow, with Major Samuel Appleton in charge of the Massachusetts men, Major William Bradford commanding the Plymouth contingent, and Major Robert Trent in charge of the Connecticut men. On December 9, 1675, Winslow's entire force, which numbered more than 1,000 men, marched from Massachusetts Bay toward the Rhode Island stronghold of the Narragansetts.

That year, the Narragansetts had decided to winter in a great fortification on the edges of the Great Swamp. The natives felt safe



Depiction of the assault by New England militiamen on the Narragansett Native American stronghold at Great Swamp on December 19, 1675. In the largest battle of King Philip's War, the militiamen took the settlement and massacred its inhabitants. (Library of Congress)

there in their nearly completed fortification, especially as they knew that the English disliked fighting in the thick woods and swampy land that surrounded the stronghold.

On December 13, 1675, the majority of the colonial army gathered at Wickford, Rhode Island, on the outskirts of the Great Swamp. From there they spent several days attacking nearby native enclaves. The winter weather had made traversing the land easier for the militiamen, for it had stripped the leaves from the underbrush and frozen the otherwise swampy ground.

In one of these attacks, the colonists captured a warrior named Indian Peter, who promised to lead them to the Narragansett fort. After the delayed arrival of troops from Connecticut, Winslow decided that the time had come for the main attack. By then the army was running low of food and the winter conditions were already taking a toll.

On December 18, the colonial forces moved into the swamp, led by Indian Peter. They sighted their objective the next afternoon. The fort was constructed of wooden palisades with a mass of brush and timber around the base of the wall and small blockhouses at each corner. A sizable village of huts lay within the walls. At the time of the colonial attack, there were some 1,000 natives in the fort.

Without time to properly plan an attack, the vanguard of the colonial army rushed the fort. With incredible luck, they happened on a gap in the wall, although it was protected by a nearby blockhouse. Two companies rushed the opening and broke through, only to lose their captains and be forced back. As other troops rushed forward, they were able to break into the village and force the Narragansetts to fall back. The fight inside became a series of individual battles among the native dwellings.

Winslow, worried about the fierce fighting, gave the order to burn the fort to force the natives into the open. Winslow's aide, Captain Benjamin Church, tried to dissuade him, arguing that the colonials might use the fort for shelter after the battle was won. However, the militiamen began to burn the huts, with men, women, and children still inside. It was a scene reminiscent of the English attack on the Mystic Fort during the Pequot War of 1636–1638.

Soon, all the fort was afire. While some warriors escaped into the woods, many more natives—mostly women, children, and the elderly—died in the fire. Contemporary estimates of Native American dead ranged from 600 to as many as 1,000. The colonials lost 20 killed and some 200 wounded, about 20 percent of their force.

The colonials took quick stock and then prepared to move back to their base at Wickford. The weather was turning worse and now that the fort and its dwellings had been destroyed, there was no place to shelter the men, especially the wounded. They quickly fashioned stretchers and began the overnight march to Wickford. The retreat was difficult and conditions sharply deteriorated with the arrival of a winter storm. It was especially difficult for the wounded. The colonials also feared a Narragansett counterattack.

By the time the colonials had reached Wickford early the next morning, a number of the wounded had died. Within a month, the toll of the dead had risen from 70 to 80. Losses were especially high among the officers. Half of the 14 company commanders perished. While the campaign was considered a success, this came at a heavy price.

In retrospect, it is questionable whether the campaign was actually successful. Before the attack, the Narragansetts were officially neutral. While the colonials had dealt the Narragansetts a terrible blow, the tribe's survivors, determined to exact revenge, now made common cause with King Philip.

Kyle F. Zelner

See also

Appleton, Samuel; Church, Benjamin; Hungry March; King Philip's War; Metacom; Mystic Fort Fight; Narragansetts; New England Confederation; Wampanoags; Winslow, Josiah

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Grenadiers

Grenadiers were specialized infantry, developed in European armies as assault troops for siege operations. Their name was derived from the use of grenades as an offensive weapon to breach fortifications. The grenades consisted of hand-sized round shells filled with gunpowder and touched off by fuses. Grenadiers were selected from the strongest and tallest men, for they had to be able to throw the grenades the greatest possible distance. Such men also had to be able to remain steady under enemy small-arms fire. Once they had lit the fuses and then thrown the grenades, the grenadiers would assault the enemy fortification.

Grenadiers wore specialized uniforms to assist them in accomplishing their missions. The grenadier regiments adopted a bishop mitre-type headdress to enable them to sling their muskets and throw their grenades without being impeded by wide-brimmed headgear. Their headdress was usually decorated with regimental badges. Grenadiers also wore special belts for carrying fuses and received the newer models of flintlock muskets. Grenadiers were considered among the elite formations within European armies.

Austria and Spain were some of the first European countries to employ these specialized soldiers in combat. King Louis XIV of France (1643–1715) made the grenadiers a special infantry branch. By 1670, the French Army had a number of grenadier or shock troops within its regiments. By 1677, the British Army had their first grenadier company within the 1st Foot Guards.

Throughout the 17th century, many countries created grenadier companies to go along with the development of siege warfare on the European continent.

In the 18th century, the desire for grenadier units led to the creation of grenadier battalions and regiments. King Frederick William I of Prussia (1688–1740), whose one extravagance seems to have been tall soldiers, created a special unit of "Giant Grenadiers," individuals nearly seven feet tall. Grenadier units were more expensive to maintain than regular infantry and in the case of Prussia, three grenadier battalions cost as much as nine battalions of regular infantry. To reduce costs, grenadier companies were assigned to regular infantry regiments for service in the field. The cost of these units did not prevent wealthy officers from creating their own grenadier units.

In several conflicts, grenadiers were used as "heavy infantry" to assault and carry enemy fortifications. Such units were temporary organizations created for specific campaigns. In 1759, British major general James Wolfe created a special corps of grenadier companies from the 22nd, 40th, and 45th regiments for the Quebec campaign. Generally speaking, in North America these heavy units were unsuited for the mobile combat found in the forests of the continent.

The name grenadier is still used for military units, but more as an acknowledgment of their elite status. An example is the Grenadier Regiment of the Indian Army, which traces its lineage back to the grenadier companies of the Bombay Sepoys at the Battle of Talegaon, India, in 1778.

WILLIAM H. BROWN

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Infantry; Light Infantry

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Grey Lock's War

See Dummer's War

Gridley, Richard

Born: January 3, 1710 Died: June 21, 1796

Colonial artillery officer and military engineer, later a British Army officer. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, on January 3, 1710, Richard Gridley began his young adulthood as a wholesale merchant. Dis-

satisfied with his trade and naturally drawn to mathematics, he became a surveyor and then a civil engineer. Gridley soon joined the Massachusetts Militia and became a protégé of John Henry Bastide, a British Army officer. Under Bastide, Gridley mastered the essentials of artillery tactics and military engineering.

In 1745, during King George's War (1744–1748), Gridley commanded the artillery train in the successful colonial Louisbourg Expedition. He was immediately advanced to the rank of captain in Massachusetts governor William Shirley's regiment. In early 1746, Gridley assumed the task of fortifying the defenses of Boston harbor. Six years later he constructed Fort Western and Fort Halifax in Maine. Gridley served in the French and Indian War (1754–1763) as a colonel in Sir William Johnson's regiment until Major General Jeffery Amherst gave him command of all provincial artillery in 1758. He performed well in his new position and played a crucial role in both the 1758 Siege of Louisbourg and the 1759 Battle of Quebec. For his services to the Crown, at war's end Gridley was awarded a colonel's commission in the British Army. He also received a grant of the Magdalene Islands (Gulf of St. Lawrence), 3,000 acres of land in New Hampshire, and appointment as chief engineer in New England's provincial army.

On the beginning of the American Revolutionary War, both sides courted Gridley, but he joined the Patriot cause and assumed the post of chief engineer of Massachusetts and command of its artillery regiment. He laid out the defenses for Breed's Hill and was wounded in the Battle of Bunker Hill. In September 1775, probably having more practical experience in handling of artillery than any other native-born American, Gridley assumed command of the Continental Army's artillery as a colonel. Soon thereafter, however, Gridley lost his post as chief of artillery to Henry Knox, a man considerably younger than he and a favorite of Continental Army commander General George Washington. Gridley retained his position as chief engineer, however. He played an important role in the siege of Boston in carrying out the fortification of Dorchester Heights. In 1776, Gridley became engineer general of the Eastern Department. He held that post until his retirement in December 1780. Gridley died in Stoughton, Massachusetts, on June 21, 1796.

Jaime Ramón Olivares

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Great Britain, Army; King George's War, Land Campaigns; Louisbourg, Siege of; Louisbourg Expedition; Militias; Quebec, Battle of

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Guales

A group of numerous indigenous communities that lived on the coast and coastal plains of eastern Georgia. Together, the Guale set-

tlements formed a confederation led by a single king. The name Guale may have been a derivation of *wahali*, the Muskogee word for "the South." Prior to European contact, the Guales were strictly hunter-gatherers. When the French briefly settled in northern Florida, they called these people Ouades. However, French settlers in North Florida did not live in the area long enough to build significant relationships with the Guales, and thus the name the Spaniards gave the community has endured.

In 1566, Jesuit missionaries from Spain entered the region determined to spread their faith among the coastal towns of the Guales. To transform the Guales into reliable Catholics, the missionaries had to effect significant cultural changes. In particular, the Jesuits objected to the Guales' practice of polygamy and found the community's constant movement between hunting and gathering grounds an obstacle in their efforts to exert control over the region.

After six years of attempting to change the Guales, the Jesuits left the area having converted only six individuals. In 1572, Franciscan missionaries returned to continue working with the Guales, but this time Spanish soldiers accompanied the missionaries. Although the Franciscans brought only a few soldiers, the military presence created tensions between the two peoples.

As with the Jesuits before them, the Franciscans believed that the Guales had to adopt sustainable agriculture, an innovation the Guales had previously showed little interest in adopting. But the missionaries insisted on the change. Agriculture assured the missionaries a constant food supply for themselves, and kept the Guales tied to the land and within earshot of the church bells or demands of the friars. Attempts to alter Guale society did not bring the community closer to the Spaniards and their faith, however.

In 1597, the Guales violently rejected Spanish overtures. In a revolt that lasted several days, Guale warriors killed five of the six Franciscan missionaries and destroyed a chain of Catholic churches and missions that lined the Georgia coast. For the Guales, victory came at a steep price. By 1598, the Spanish returned to the area, punished those who participated in the revolt, and continued their efforts to transform Guale society and religion.

This time, the Catholics made significant gains in their efforts to convert the Guales. By 1602, the Franciscans recorded more than 1,200 conversions. In addition, the Spanish government in Florida increased its political control over the Guale territory.

Spanish inroads proved so effective that by the 1660s many Guale warriors were forced to help construct the Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine. In addition, the Spaniards also forced Guale warriors to participate in local militias. As the Europeans assumed greater control over Guale life and culture, Guale communities began to disintegrate. Eventually, by the late 17th century, a clearly defined, independent Guale culture ceased to exist.

SHANE RUNYON

See also

Castillo de San Marcos (Florida); Florida; Franciscan Order; Georgia; Jesuits; Spanish Mission System, Southeast; St. Augustine

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Gun Merchant of Okchai

Born: Unknown Died: ca. 1770s

Leader of the Abihka (proper name Enotonachee) town of Okchai, who acted as one of the headmen (Mico) in the Upper Creek Confederacy, about 1746–1775. Prior to the mid-1740s, Lower Creek headmen from the Cowetas had taken the lead in Anglo-Creek diplomacy, but a British-Coweta dispute over Mary Musgrove's land claims cooled the relationship. As a result, Upper Creek influence grew. The Gun Merchant benefited from this shift in British attention, and would remain a major figure in Anglo-Creek relations until well after 1763.

The Gun Merchant continued the Cowetas' policy of neutrality toward European powers. During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), he refused to make war on either French or British settlements. This was a difficult position to maintain, however, as the Gun Merchant's brother-in-law, the Mortar of the Okchai, continually courted the French in an effort to draw the Creeks into an anti-English alliance, during both the French and Indian War and Pontiac's Rebellion, which immediately followed in 1763.

In addition to maintaining Creek neutrality, the Gun Merchant made equity in the deerskin trade a top priority. He made peace with the Cherokees in 1749, and learned from them that Cherokee deerskins fetched better prices from British traders. Thus, he pressed the British for more favorable prices, and in 1756 went so far as to promise Creek territory for a British fort if trade prices were adjusted. His people rebuffed the fort plan, costing the Gun Merchant some prestige, but he nonetheless used his influence in an effort to preserve Creek neutrality during the American Revolutionary War until he died sometime in the late 1770s.

ROBERT PAULETT

See also

Brims of Coweta; Cherokees; Creek-Cherokee Wars; Creeks; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Indian Presents; Mortar of the Okchai; Musgrove, Mary

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Gyles, John

Born: ca. 1679 Died: ca. 1755

English colonist taken captive by Abenaki warriors during King William's War (1689–1697). John Gyles was born around 1679 and was captured by the Abenaki Indians in 1689. On August 3, 1689, an Abenaki war party attacked Pemaquid, Maine (then part of Massachusetts), overpowering its small garrison and taking some 20 captives, including 6 members of the Gyles family, John among them. He spent the next six years as a prisoner among the Abenakis, where he adjusted to the realities of his captivity. By the time the Abenakis sold him to a French Acadian merchant in 1695, John's mastery of the Abenaki language and customs made him a valuable asset to his French master. In 1698, soon after the war ended, he returned to Boston.

Despite the travail of his time in captivity, Gyles used the skills he gained in the wilderness to make a life for himself on his return to New England. Thus, he served as an interpreter and negotiator for Native Americans on the Maine frontier, eventually becoming commander of a garrison on the St. George's River. In 1736 he published an account of his nine-year captivity, which stands as one of the most interesting and detailed works in the early American "captivity narrative" genre. Gyles died around 1755.

OWEN STANWOOD

See also

Abenakis; Captivity Narratives; Captivity of Europeans by Indians; King William's War, Land Campaigns

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Haigler, King of the Catawbas

Born: ca. 1700 Died: August 30, 1763

Leader of the Catawba Nation (1750–1763). Born about 1700, most likely at the ancient Catawba ceremonial center at Pine Tree Hill (modern-day Camden, South Carolina), King Haigler reportedly spoke some English in private but refused to speak English in conference, relying instead upon interpreters. As a child he may have been one of the dozen or so hostage students at Fort Christanna. The government of Virginia decided that some Native American children would be "civilized" yet they were held as hostages to ensure compliant behavior by their parents. Haigler's English may have come from this experience.

Haigler became king in the autumn of 1750. His predecessor, King Young Warrior, and most of his headmen were murdered by a group of Iroquois as they traveled to Charles Town (modern-day Charleston). Haigler, out hunting, was the only headman left to the Catawbas and became king by this accident of history.

As king, Haigler's first task was to end the genocidal war between the Catawbas and the Iroquois. The situation had indeed become so dire that the Catawba men were afraid to venture from their village to go hunting. To accomplish the desired results, King Haigler traveled by ship from Charles Town to New York. From New York he traveled up the Hudson River to Albany, then a frontier post. He was accompanied by Gov. James Glen of South Carolina and six of his headmen. At Albany he successfully negotiated a peace treaty with the Iroquois.

In 1757, King Haigler became involved in the French and Indian War. Supporting the English against the French, he led a band of his

men to Fort Duquesne. Back home in 1760, he negotiated the Treaty of Pine Tree Hill. In this now-lost document, King Haigler reserved for his people only two million acres of the estimated original 50,000 square miles of Catawba land, ceding the remainder to the colonists. He also agreed to abandon the Catawba ceremonial center of Pine Tree Hill and relocate the nation to Kings Bottoms in Lancaster County, South Carolina. Nonetheless, North Carolina authorities were not pleased with the apparent "generosity" of South Carolina in allowing such a large Native American reservation and because the border between the two Carolinas had not yet been delineated and some of the reservation land lay within present-day North Carolina.

On August 30, 1763, King Haigler was attacked and killed by a Shawnee war party. Several months later, the Catawbas, ruled by a regent, traveled to Augusta, Georgia. The Catawbas agreed to a further reduction of their land base to 144,000 acres centered at their sacred ground at Kings Bottoms between Lancaster and York counties, South Carolina. Catawba claims to this same 144,000-acre reservation became a thorn in South Carolina's side for 230 years. The land issue created by Haigler finally ended with a settlement in 1993.

A wealth of material has been preserved on Haigler, mostly in papers preserved in South Carolina. Thinking far ahead of his time, at one point King Haigler begged the colonial governments to prohibit the sale of liquor to his people. On another occasion, he made an eloquent speech on the worth of women. Today, King Haigler is memorialized by Catawba potters who continue to make pipes in his honor, although no true portraits of him survive. If the pipes are attached as lugs to a large jar, the vessel is known as a King Haigler pot.

THOMAS J. BLUMER

See also

Catawbas; Forbes Campaign; Fort Christanna (Virginia); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Iroquois; North Carolina; Pine Tree Hill, Treaty of; Shawnees; South Carolina

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Haldimand, François-Louis-Frédéric

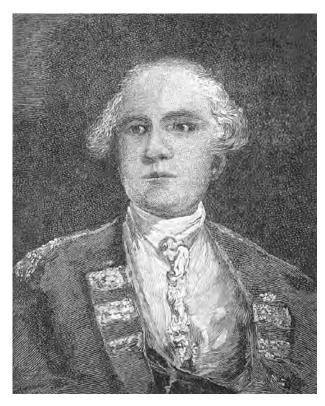
Born: August 11, 1718 Died: June 5, 1791

British Army officer and colonial governor of Quebec (1777–1786). Born at Yverdon, Switzerland, on August 11, 1718, François-Louis-Frédéric (later anglicized to Frederick) Haldimand began his military career at a young age, serving with Prussian forces during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). After the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, Haldimand transferred into the Swiss Guards Regiment of the Dutch Army. He eventually attained the rank of captain commandant.

In 1755, a fellow countryman, James Prevost, persuaded Haldimand to immigrate to North America. Haldimand was lured by potential service as a field officer in a proposed foreign Protestant colonial regiment to be raised in Pennsylvania by the British government. In 1756, he was officially commissioned a lieutenant colonel in the British Army in the 2nd Battalion of the 60th Foot (Royal American) Regiment. His affiliation with it continued for the next three decades.

Haldimand arrived in New York in the early summer of 1756 during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). His diligence contributed greatly to the regiment's early training and preparation for service. He took command of the 4th Battalion in 1758 and led it that same year in the unsuccessful British assault on France's Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga), where he was wounded. A year later, he commanded the same unit during Brigadier General John Prideaux's advance against Fort Niagara. His eight companies formed the expedition's rear guard that took station at Oswego. Their successful defense of the site on July 5–6, 1759, permitted British forces to continue the siege of Fort Niagara, which surrendered a few weeks later.

Haldimand's constancy was widely respected at New York headquarters, leading to his promotion to colonel in America in 1758 and colonel in the regular army in February 1762. He led the advance guard of Major General Jeffery Amherst's western army that swept down the St. Lawrence River, arriving at Montreal in early September 1760. The capitulation of that place on September 10 marked the fall of New France. Haldimand was honored with command of the grenadier party, which was the first to hoist British



Portrait of François-Louis-Frédéric Haldimand, British Army major general and acting commander of British North American land forces during 1773–1774. Wood engraving after a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds. (The Granger Collection)

colors over the city's battlements. He then served as liaison with the French authorities, helping to arrange for the evacuation of French civil and military personnel.

After the war, Haldimand was naturalized by parliamentary statute and continued to enjoy the confidence of imperial officials. Promotions to both military and civilian offices followed. Haldimand's subsequent appointments included brigadier general in command of the Southern Department (1767-1773) with headquarters at Pensacola. He was promoted to major general in 1772 and served as acting commander of British North American land forces (1773-1774) while Major General Thomas Gage was in England. Haldimand's patience during the time of the Boston Tea Party helped to prevent outright hostilities. Although he perhaps had the most experience in America of any British officer and enjoyed the respect of his fellow officers and the civilian authorities, he was recalled to England at the opening of the American Revolutionary War because London thought it best to have someone of English birth in command. In September 1775, he was given the post of inspector general of British forces in the West Indies.

On the resignation of British major general Sir Guy Carleton in the summer of 1777, Haldimand was sent to Quebec as his replacement. His native knowledge of French, his honesty, diligence, and his innate good sense helped in dealing with the large French Canadian population. Haldimand improved the defenses of the province and inaugurated a system of canals on the upper St. Lawrence River and provided for Loyalist refugees from the revolting colonies. In 1784 he returned to England. He was knighted a year later. He traveled frequently to his birthplace and developed a small estate on Lake Neuchatel that he had purchased in 1776. Haldimand died at Yverdon on June 5, 1791.

ALEXANDER V. CAMPBELL

See also

Boston Tea Party; Fort Niagara, Siege of; Fort Ticonderoga, Battle of

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Half-King

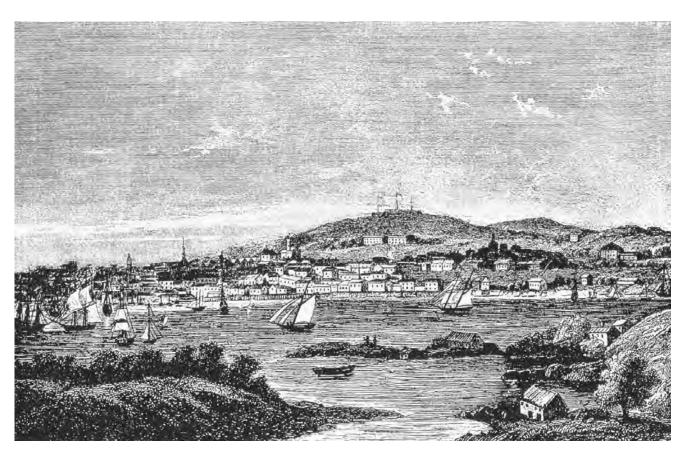
See Tanaghrisson (Half-King)

Halifax (Nova Scotia)

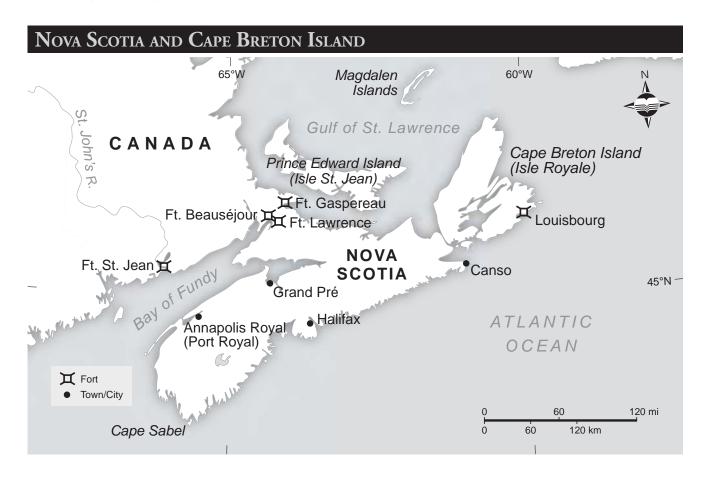
English settlement founded in 1749 on the Halifax Peninsula, located in Nova Scotia in eastern Canada. On orders of the British Board of Trade, a colony was established there in 1749 in an effort to counter the French presence at Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island and to ensure a Protestant population in what was a Roman Catholic Acadian stronghold. At the same time, the colony was to secure English access to the cod fishery. Approximately 2,500 British soldiers, settlers, and laborers arrived in the summer of 1749 under Colonel Edward Cornwallis.

This was Britain's first attempt to secure its presence on lands acquired from the French under the terms of the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht. Initially named after the bay known as Chebucto (derived from the Micmac word meaning "chief harbor"), the settlement was soon renamed Halifax in honor of George Dunk, Lord Halifax, president of the Board of Trade.

A citadel, subsequently constructed on the highest point, served to dominate both the harbor and the settlement. The citadel underwent four major periods of building and improvements during 1749–1750, 1776–1781, 1795–1800, and 1828 forward. Halifax



Halifax, Nova Scotia, was founded as a military outpost in 1749 and was Great Britain's only year-round naval base in North America. (North Wind Picture Archives)



soon became known as the "warden of the North," because of its primary function as a garrison and naval installation.

Cornwallis quickly faced hostility regarding his plans for the community. The settlers, initially more interested in acquiring title to their lots and building habitations before winter set in, were uninterested in working on town defenses. To settle land disputes, Cornwallis held a free lottery to allocate lots across the Halifax Peninsula. Nevertheless, most of the settlers failed to construct adequate shelter for the winter.

Hostility on the part of the Native American Micmacs also served to confound Cornwallis and his successors. By refusing to negotiate for the land, Cornwallis initiated a process that would lead ultimately to open warfare with the natives. A 1749 Micmac raid on a windmill under construction signaled the beginning of hostilities and led to the issuing of a scalp bounty. Be that as it may, the British remained unable to counter Micmac attacks effectively. Thus, settler discontent, Micmac hostility, and personal health problems led Cornwallis to resign in 1752.

By 1752, most of the initial 2,500 settlers had died from either disease or native attacks. Much of the remaining population had fled to colonies to the south. Yet the opportunities provided by the garrison town continued to draw people, mostly small businessmen and professionals from New England.

The colony enjoyed an influx of cash and people during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The citadel was redesigned,

naval yards were built, and the population grew to 6,000 people. Grog shops and brothels appeared to be the main businesses of the city, aside from contractors with the military. The effects of the war were most evident in 1758, when 22,000 troops were housed in Halifax preparing to attack the French fortress at Louisbourg. With the close of the war, the population dwindled to 3,000.

With the fall of the French, the Micmacs signed a series of friendship treaties that left the colony at peace for the first time. While peace reigned, Halifax's buildings were improved as the frontier aspects of the town disappeared. But its economy stagnated. The growing discontent in the 13 colonies to the south, however, led to increased spending in Halifax as Britain sought to shore up its defenses as the American Revolutionary War unfolded. Despite some support for the rebels within Nova Scotia, many of the town's merchants decided to back the British in hopes that the increased spending would reinvigorate their city and that trade normally passing through Boston and New York would be redirected northward. By the end of hostilities in 1783, Halifax's position within a changed British North America offered its citizens great promise.

With the outbreak of war in Europe in 1793, this time with revolutionary France, Halifax once again profited from the increased presence of military personnel. This conflict and the War of 1812 saw Halifax rapidly develop both economically and socially. Thus, by the end of the second decade of the 19th century, Halifax had shed its frontier image to become the premier naval establishment and com-

mercial center in British North America. It would hold this position until after 1867. To this day, Halifax remains an important seaport, and in the past 30 years the city has blossomed into a vibrant, modern city offering both cultural and commercial diversity.

KARL S. HELE

See also

Acadia; Louisbourg, Siege of; Micmacs; Scalp Bounty; Utrecht, Treaty of

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Hardy, Charles

Born: ca. 1716 Died: May 18, 1780

British naval officer and governor of New York (1755–1757). The son of Vice Admiral Sir Charles Hardy and Lady Elizabeth Burchett, Charles Hardy was born in England about 1716. Following in his father's footsteps, Hardy joined the Royal Navy in 1731 and rose rapidly in rank. After taking command of the sixth-rate *Rye* (24 guns) in 1741, Hardy sailed to North America, where his vessel was assigned to protect merchant ships from Spanish privateers along the coast of the Carolinas and Georgia. In 1744, Hardy was reassigned to convoy duty as captain of the *Jersey* (60 guns), a fourth-rate vessel, and was tried by court-martial after some vessels in his charge were captured by the French on their return voyage from Newfoundland. Hardy was acquitted and returned to duty.

Early in 1755, Hardy was knighted for his past service and appointed governor of New York. In 1757, he received promotion to rear admiral. As governor, Hardy faced the problem of securing the New York frontier at the height of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Despite his efforts to strengthen New York's defenses, the French and their Native American allies achieved several successes, including the capture of Oswego in 1756. Hardy resigned as governor in July 1757 and returned to England.

Resuming his naval duties, Hardy participated in the 1758 expedition that captured the important French fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. He then joined Admiral Sir Edward Hawke as second-in-command of the fleet blockading the French port of Brest and fought in the November 1759 Battle of Quiberon Bay, in which the French fleet suffered a crushing defeat. Hardy was promoted to vice admiral in October 1762.

Eight years later, Hardy became Admiral of the Blue, and in 1774 he was elected to represent Portsmouth in the House of Commons. He was called out of retirement in 1779, during the American Revo-

lutionary War, to take command of the fleet protecting the English coast from an anticipated Franco-Spanish invasion. Hardy made great efforts to prepare for battle, but the threat never materialized. Hardy died of a seizure at Portsmouth on May 18, 1780.

JIM PIECUCH

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Louisbourg, Siege of; New York; Oswego, Battle of

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Harmon, Johnson

Born: ca. 1676 Died: April 17, 1751

New England militia officer. Born in York, Massachusetts (now in Maine), about 1676, Johnson Harmon witnessed the Penobscot tribe's attack on his town in 1692. During Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), Harmon and his brother-in-law, Jeremiah Moulton, served in the militia and took an active part in the conflicts between the English settlers and eastern Native American tribes. Harmon was captured in 1710 and stayed in Quebec until the summer of 1711, when he was allowed to return to York in an exchange for a French officer.

During Dummer's War (1722–1727), Harmon was ordered to capture Father Sébastien Râle, a French missionary to the Norridgewock Indians. On August 23, 1724, more than 200 colonial soldiers headed up the Kennebec River from Fort Richmond (Maine) and attacked the Norridgewock village. Harmon led the raid, with Moulton as second-in-command. Whereas Harmon chose to attack through the tribe's cornfields, Moulton led his men directly into the village. The Norridgewocks were taken by surprise and tried to escape across the river but many were killed in the water. Not more than 50 reached the other shore. Râle was killed despite orders that he be captured alive. The village was looted and later burned. Thanks to the success of the mission, Harmon was promoted from captain to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He returned to York after the war and died there on April 17, 1751.

Katja Wuestenbecker

See also

Dummer's War; Moulton, Jeremiah; Norridgewock, Battle of; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Râle, Sébastien; York, Attack on

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Harquebus

A portable and usually heavy matchlock gun invented in the mid-15th century. Emerging from a century of evolution, the multiple variations of the late medieval handgun took shape in the first real small arms, the *harquebus* (obsolete French) or *arquebus* (also "hackbut" in English). The harquebus made its first real appearance in the technologically sophisticated urban centers of Europe, which possessed skilled metal workers and the necessary resources, sometime around 1450. It represented a move toward a longerbarreled firearm that used corned gunpowder. The standard harquebus had a long barrel (40 inches), a small bore (.6 inches), and was loaded through the muzzle. The barrel was mounted on a primitive wooden stock that extended beyond the barrel. Ignition required some sort of mechanical system, generally called a "lock" as it closely resembled a household door lock. These elements gave the harquebus its proverbial "lock, stock, and barrel."

The lock mechanism was usually a simple lever shaped like an "S" or a "Z" that pivoted on the side of the barrel, touching a slow match (a cord saturated with saltpeter) to a primed hole in the barrel, igniting the powder inside. The powder would then combust, the resulting gases propelling the lead ball out of the tube. Because the tube was smooth, it was impossible to fire the harquebus with any real accuracy, as the projectile lacked any spin.

The later 15th century did not see the broad use of the harquebus on the battlefield as a result of dilemmas in use. Small-arms fire was only effective in mass, and prior to its successful use at the battles of Cerignola (1503) and Pavia (1529), it gained few adherents to its tactical potential. The harquebus remained a defensive weapon, favored for use on city walls or with prepared positions. On the battlefield the *arquebusiers* (those carrying the weapon) required the protection of pikemen, especially during the time when their weapons were being loaded.

The process of loading the weapon was slow, with several distinct steps. The *arquebusier* had to place the powder and ball in the barrel and then ram it down, followed by a trimming of the match and a priming of the ignition pan with powder. This procedure could then be further complicated by movement or wet weather. When Christopher Columbus landed in Hispaniola in 1492, therefore, the Spanish still retained a preference for the cannon and the sword and buckler. Against indigenous peoples, the harquebus was at its most potent as a shock weapon rather than an effective firearm with accurate range. The harquebus was seen primarily as a weapon for defense or for hunting.

Appearing shortly after 1521 was a Spanish adaptation of the harquebus. The weight of the weapon was enough that it required



French harquebusier in New France. (Canadian Department of National Defense)

the user to employ a forked rest to facilitate tactical use. This variation took the term "musket," a title that quickly began to displace the original name, despite the primary difference being the weight of the barrel and the ball. It retained, however, all the limitations and potentials of the 16th-century harquebus, a term that quickly became obsolete.

LEE W. EYSTURLID

See also

Muskets; Pistols

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Harris, John

Born: 1726

Died: July 30, 1791

Ferry operator and Pennsylvania trader. Born in 1726, John Harris was the son of John Harris Sr., who founded what became known as Harris's Ferry and a trading station on the east bank of the Susquehanna River. Around 1705, the elder Harris constructed a

log house there and farmed as well as traded. Upon his death in 1748, the younger Harris inherited the ferry site, which came to be called Harris's Ferry and where Harrisburg was later established.

Harris operated the trading business, maintained amicable relations with Native Americans, and hosted visits from native chiefs such as the Oneidas' Scarouady and Skilkellamy, the Shawnee Peter Chartier, the Delaware Sassoonan, and the Iroquois Tanaghrisson (Half-King). In 1753, Gov. James Hamilton dispatched Harris to the Ohio River to warn friendly natives of French assaults.

When French and Native American forays threatened English settlements in Virginia and in Maryland, Harris informed provincial authorities of Pennsylvania's vulnerability. In 1756, a Native American conference was held at Harris's Ferry and after the Penn's Creek Massacre on the Susquehanna's west branch on October 16, 1755, when 25 people were either killed or carried off by the Delawares, Harris alerted the governor and cut small openings in his house through which guns could be fired. He later built a private fort by erecting a stockade around his dwelling.

Harris's Fort served as a staging depot, and its strategic significance rested on a location where backcountry roads forded the Susquehanna and provided access to the north. In early 1756, troops assembled there before marching on Shamokin, where they constructed Fort Augusta. By June 1756, soldiers in small numbers garrisoned Harris's Fort and bateaux transported provisions upriver. In January 1757, George Croghan, operating from Harris's Fort, sent messages to area tribes, and in May 1760 Colonel Hugh Mercer gathered men there prior to his western campaign.

Though the location's population failed to increase substantially, the ferry profited nonetheless. Harris received a two-year license providing that no competing ferry service would be allowed north or south for a distance of one and a quarter miles. Before his death at Harrisburg on July 30, 1791, however, Harris came under accusation of charging exorbitant rates for the ferry service.

RODNEY J. Ross

See also

Croghan, George; Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Fort Augusta (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Iroquois; Oneidas; Pennsylvania; Shawnees; Tanaghrisson (Half-King)

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Hartford, Treaty of

Event Date: September 21, 1638

Treaty signed on September 21, 1638, between English colonists in Massachusetts and the Pequot Native Americans, the terms of

which were designed to eradicate the Pequot Nation after the Pequot War (1636–1638). Angered by the Pequots' refusal to submit to English domination, leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony used the 1636 murders of several colonists as a pretext to declare war. By the end of July 1637, the colonists and their Narragansett and Wampanoag allies had soundly defeated the Pequots. In order to eliminate permanently the Pequot threat and send a warning to other tribes who might consider challenging the colonists, Massachusetts officials imposed a harshly punitive treaty upon the Pequots.

The treaty, signed at Hartford, Connecticut, effectively dissolved the Pequot Nation. Of the estimated 2,500 Pequots who survived the war, at least 30 male captives were executed, and 180 other prisoners were given as slaves to the colonists' native allies. Colonial officials sold many other Pequots into slavery in the West Indies, and some women and children became household slaves in Massachusetts. The colonists divided most of the survivors among other Native American nations, with the majority, perhaps as many as 1,000, forced to integrate into the Mohegan tribe; a lesser number were allocated to the Narragansetts. One Pequot band was exiled to Long Island and made subject to the Metoac natives there.

In addition to enslaving or relocating the remaining Pequots, the Treaty of Hartford sought to eradicate their cultural identity. The terms prohibited the Pequots from returning to their lands, speaking their tribal language, or even referring to themselves as Pequots. When a few Pequots challenged the terms shortly afterward by settling on their former land at Pawcatuck, the colonists and the Mohegans quickly destroyed the encampment. Despite the prohibitions imposed by the treaty, the Pequots managed to retain their identity and gained federal recognition of their tribal status in 1983.

JIM PIECUCH

See also

Massachusetts; Mohegans; Narragansetts; Pequot War; Pequots; Wampanoags

Reference

Cave, Alfred A. *The Pequot War*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996.

Hartford, Treaty of

Event Date: September 29, 1650

Boundary settlement between the New England colonies and New Netherland. Disputes over boundary and trade issues had led to steadily rising tensions between the New England Confederation and the Dutch colony of New Netherland during the late 1640s. Officials in the New England colonies accused the Dutch of selling arms and ammunition to the natives and of charging excessive import duties on goods New England traders brought to New Amsterdam. The Dutch in turn complained that English colonists at New Haven, Connecticut, were encroaching on Dutch territory. Meanwhile, conflicting claims to Long Island also remained unresolved.

Gov. Petrus Stuyvesant of New Netherland had long been eager to negotiate a settlement, and realized compromise was essential after New Haven governor Theophilus Eaton threatened in 1649 to use force to challenge Dutch territorial claims in the Connecticut River Valley. After securing the backing of the Dutch West India Company, Stuyvesant journeyed to Hartford in 1650 to confer with representatives of the New England Confederation.

The resulting agreement established a boundary line on the mainland extending northward 20 miles from a point west of Greenwich Bay. Extension of the line would be determined in the future, but the western boundary of New England could not come closer than 10 miles from the Hudson River. The Dutch were allowed to retain Fort Good Hope at Hartford, their only remaining post east of the boundary line. Long Island was divided into halves by a line running southward from the western end of Oyster Bay; the Dutch received the territory west of the boundary and the English the eastern portion of the island. The negotiators failed, however, to resolve the disputes over trade duties and arms sales to the Native Americans.

Stuyvesant, whose primary goal was to maintain peaceful relations with New England, was satisfied with the agreement, but many Dutch colonists criticized the treaty for making too many concessions to the English. Although many English colonists ignored the boundaries and continued to settle on Dutch lands, the treaty remained in force until 1664, when the English conquered the New Netherland colony.

Јім Ріесисн

See also

Connecticut; Fort Good Hope (Connecticut); Long Island; New England Confederation; New Netherland; Stuyvesant, Petrus

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Hatfield Fort (Massachusetts)

Fort built in 1675 at the Hatfield settlement, on the west bank of the Connecticut River, in modern Hampshire County, Massachusetts. In the autumn and winter of 1675, during King Philip's War (1675–1676), Hatfield residents erected a stockade 10 to 12 feet high and 400 feet long that enclosed about half of their houses. The fort had a gate at either end, and four small houses formed the corners.

Local authorities had believed that they could count on the loyalty of Native Americans in the Connecticut Valley. But a large number of them joined the forces of King Philip (Metacom) and attacked Brookfield, Northfield, and Deerfield, each of which was abandoned. The Massachusetts Militia responded by sending troops to Hadley, Hatfield, and Northampton. Captains Samuel Moseley and Jonathan Poole had charge of Hatfield's defense, operating under the command of Major Samuel Appleton in Hadley, across the river.

Hadley and Northampton sent reinforcements to Hatfield after that town's scouting party was ambushed on October 19, 1675. Later that day several hundred native warriors attacked Hatfield for about two hours but were fought off with the loss of one soldier. Although a relatively minor engagement, Hatfield was the first town to repulse such an attack, and the colonial authorities treated it as a great victory. At that point the stockade was constructed.

Another band of warriors attacked Hatfield on May 30, 1676. They burned 12 outlying structures and seized cattle and sheep, but they did not breach the stockade. Twenty-five men rowed from Hadley to assist, but they were soon trapped between the river and the stockade, and Hatfield had to send out a detachment to rescue them. Further reinforcements arrived, and the natives eventually withdrew. The English suffered seven killed and five wounded, most of them during the rescue.

The final assault on Hatfield occurred on September 19, 1677, more than a year after the death of King Philip. This unexpected attack was carried out by 40 or 50 natives who were now refugees from the Connecticut Valley. They caught townsmen working in the fields or engaged in a house raising. The warriors killed 12 residents, wounded 4 others, and took 17 more as prisoners. This time, however, the attackers did not attempt to breach the stockade. The 1677 assault on Hatfield marked the last significant engagement of King Philip's War.

SCOTT C. MONIE

See also

King Philip's War; Massachusetts; Metacom

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Havana (Cuba)

The main colonial port city for the Spanish empire in the Americas, located on the island of Cuba. Havana was the key Spanish settlement in the New World, from which Spanish officials controlled much of the Spanish empire in the Americas. Havana, located on the island's south coast, was first founded in 1511.

In 1519, Spanish conquistador Diego Velázquez Cuellar relocated Havana (or San Cristóbal de la Habana) to Cuba's north coast on Carenas Bay, which made its location all the more important. Indeed, from its new location Havana afforded the Spanish a commanding presence in the Caribbean, and helped them control the sea lanes in the Florida Straits. From Havana, the Spanish could control access to the Gulf of Mexico as well as to much of Central America. The Tainos, the indigenous people of the island, numbered some 50,000 people in the first decade of the 16th century. Because they had no resistance to European diseases, they were all but wiped out by 1560.

Beginning in 1518, Habsburg emperor Charles V decided to use Havana as the launching point for conquistador expeditions to con-

quer the Americas. Reports of the dazzling Aztec and Inca Empires led to a number of such expeditions from Havana. Soon that port was firmly established as the official control center and shipping capital for Spain's empire in the Americas. Silver and cash crops flowed out of the Americas to Spain through Havana, generated by native forced labor via encomiendas (labor grants) in mines and on sprawling plantations. As the Native Americans died off, encomiendas were supplanted by West African slaves who worked cash-crop plantations centered on tobacco and sugar.

The lure of Spanish wealth at Havana proved irresistible for pirates. In 1538 French pirates incited a slave revolt while plundering the town. Havana was burned to the ground. Spanish authorities called for the erection of the Castilla de la Fuerza to ward off further attacks, but in 1555 French pirate Jaques de Soares (Sores) attacked and plundered the city. In 1597 the Spanish built another fort, Castillo del Morro, above the east harbor. However, English free-booters successfully attacked in 1622 and again in 1638. By the late 1600s, silver fleets leaving Havana for Spain became easier targets than the town itself as the once mighty Spanish Habsburg empire crumbled. In the early 1700s, French Bourbon rule in Spain led to a loosening of restrictions, and Havana once again boomed. By the 1760s, however, the emergence of New Orleans and other Gulf Coast cities cut into Havana's trade.

During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), in which Spain and England were enemies, English forces captured Havana in June 1762. After the war, England returned the city to Spain in exchange for Florida. Spain then heavily fortified all of Havana, as signs of growing resentment toward Spain in the Americas grew. By the 1830s, revolutions in the Spanish empire in the Americas led to the end of Spanish power. Havana remained one of Spain's last strongholds in the New World. Spain continued to control Havana until Cuba achieved its independence as a consequence of the Spanish-American War of 1898.

CHRISTOPHER HOWELL

See also

Encomienda; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Piracy; Spain; Spain, Navy

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Haviland, William

Born: 1718

Died: September 16, 1784

British general. Born in Ireland in 1718, William Haviland joined the British Army at a young age. He fought in the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744, known as the War of Jenkins' Ear in North America),

participating in the battles at Portobelo, Panama, in 1739 and Cartagena in 1741. During the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 he served as an aide to Major General William Blakeney. Following the outbreak of the French and Indian War, Haviland was posted to America in 1757 as lieutenant colonel of the 27th Regiment under British commander in chief James Campbell, Lord Loudoun. It was in this capacity that Haviland participated in Major General James Abercromby's botched assault on Fort Ticonderoga on July 8, 1758. After assisting Major General Jeffery Amherst in seizing Fort Ticonderoga the following year, Haviland was left in charge of reconstructing the fort.

Promoted to brigadier general in 1760, Haviland commanded the second of the three prongs of Amherst's expedition against Montreal, advancing along the Lake Champlain corridor from Crown Point. Haviland set out on August 11 with 3,500 British troops and colonials. At Île-aux-Noix in the Richelieu River, Colonel Louis Antoine de Bougainville blocked Haviland's advance with a force of 1,450 men. The French had also erected temporary dams to flood the land on either side of the river. On August 19, Haviland opened a bombardment of the fort, which the French evacuated on the night of August 27–28. Haviland then leisurely pursued Bougainville, who retreated overland to Montreal, burning Fort St.-Jean and Fort Chambly on the Richelieu. Haviland's force then moved on Montreal from the south shore, joining Amherst there in September 1760.

Haviland was second-in-command of the British force that took French Martinique in the West Indies in February 1762, and he commanded the 4th Brigade in the siege of Spanish Havana. Haviland was promoted to lieutenant general in 1772 and to full general in February 1783. He died on September 16, 1784.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Abercromby, James; Amherst, Jeffery; Fort Ticonderoga, Battle of; Fort Ticonderoga (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns

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Henrico Forts (Virginia)

Series of forts built about 1611–1620 near a native village located along the James River, approximately 10 miles south of modern-day Richmond, Virginia. Shortly after the establishment of Jamestown, English traders and explorers moved up the James River. In 1611, Sir Thomas Dale took a party of settlers to an area south of the James near Hatcher Island. There he established the "Citie of Henricus" (city of Henrico), the second permanent English settlement in

Virginia. It soon had three main streets and palisaded defenses with corner bastions. The settlement, in effect, was a walled city. Dale also ordered that five small defensive outposts be built to protect against a cross-river assault. They included Fort Charity, Fort Hope in Faith, Mount Melado (a sanatorium for the ill), Fort Elizabeth, and Fort Patience. Settlers also laid foundations for both a church and a university—England's first in the New World, which would have had facilities for natives as well as colonists.

By 1622, Henrico had become a center for tobacco cultivation. Further settlements had sprung up along the James at Hopewell, Rochdale Hundred, and Bermuda Hundred, securing the river back toward Jamestown. These settlements flourished so remarkably that their inhabitants began expanding into land claimed by the natives, angering their Powhatan neighbors.

Soon enough, the Powhatans responded to the encroachments with violence. In 1622 the Powhatans attacked the forts of Henrico using the colonists' own weapons against them. The settlement and its network of forts were all destroyed. Using a Dutch fortification technique, Dale later built a series of palisaded ditches around the remnants of the settlement. Though the forts and much of the village lay in ruins, along with many of the other James River settlements, colonists soon repopulated the area. Fortifications at Henrico thereafter were based in part on Dale's Dutch Gap.

Henrico subsequently served as a staging ground for British reprisal expeditions against the local natives, driving them from the Chesapeake region and the James River Valley. During 1676–1677, Henrico was also the base of Nathaniel Bacon's short-lived rebellion against Gov. William Berkeley. Thereafter, the Henrico forts faded into obscurity as the colony of Virginia stabilized and as its frontiers pushed westward.

MATT SCHUMANN

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Bacon's Rebellion; Jamestown; Powhatans

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Howe, Sir William

Born: August 10, 1729 Died: July 12, 1814

British Army general. William Howe was born in England on August 10, 1729. He was the third son of Emmanuel Howe, Second Viscount Howe, and Mary Sophia, daughter of Baroness Kielmansegge, the half-sister of King George I. The family connection may have helped his career, but Howe was nonetheless a capable officer. His older brothers were Brigadier General George Howe, who was killed at the Battle of Ticonderoga in 1758, and Admiral Richard Howe.



British colonel William Howe distinguished himself in fighting in America during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Later, as a major general, he commanded British forces during the early part of the American Revolutionary War. (Library of Congress)

In 1746, Howe began his military career with the Duke of Cumberland's Light Dragoons. At the beginning of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Howe commanded the 58th Regiment of Foot. Howe served with distinction during the 1758 Siege of Louisbourg, and he later commanded the light infantry during the Battle of Quebec in 1759. Howe also participated in the later engagements at Montreal in 1760 and the 1761 Siege of Belle Isle Island. In 1762, Howe was an adjutant general during the British conquest of Havana. Howe's military performance during the French and Indian War marked him as one of the most promising officers in the British Army.

Howe commanded the 46th Regiment of Foot in 1764 and later served as lieutenant governor of the Isle of Wright in 1768. He advanced to major general in 1772. In 1774 he taught light infantry tactics at Salisbury. In 1775, Howe was sent to Boston, Massachusetts, and was appointed second-in-command to the British commander in North America, Major General Thomas Gage. He would become a key figure in the American Revolutionary War. Howe led

the British assault against Patriot forces on Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill on June 17, 1775. He replaced Gage as commander in chief in October 1775, serving in that post until 1778.

In July 1776, Howe led the largest expeditionary force to that point in British history, against New York City. In September he undertook, in concert with his brother Admiral Richard Howe, peace negotiations with representatives of the Second Continental Congress but nothing came of this effort. Victorious in New York, General Howe drove Major General George Washington's Continental Army across the Delaware, only to suffer reversals at the end of the year at Trenton and Princeton, New Jersey. In 1777, Howe shifted his effort to Pennsylvania, defeated Washington again in the Battle of the Brandywine, and secured Philadelphia, a prize devoid of military significance. Howe resigned his commission in May 1778.

Howe returned to Britain to face his critics in Parliament and in the British press over his conduct of the war in America. His critics stilled, Howe continued his military career. He became a full general in the army in 1793. Howe died in Plymouth, Devonshire, England, on July 12, 1814, while serving as governor of Plymouth.

WILLIAM H. BROWN

See also

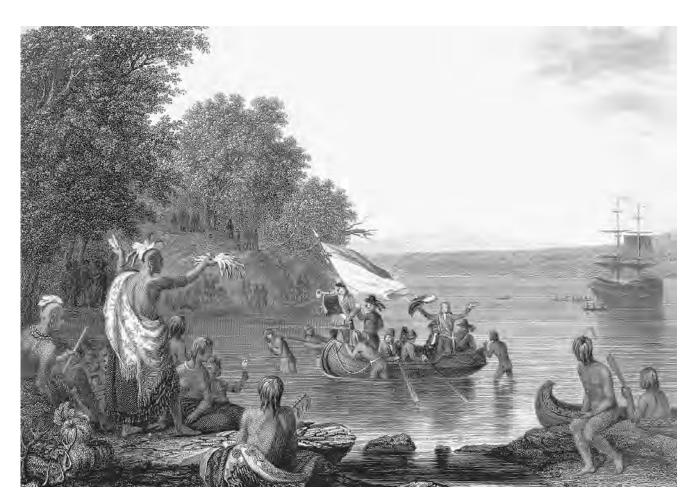
Fort Ticonderoga, Battle of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Great Britain, Army; Louisbourg, Siege of; Quebec, Battle of

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Hudson Bay

A vast gulf or inland sea located in northeastern Canada. Hudson Bay can be seen as part of either the Atlantic or Arctic oceans. It is connected to the Atlantic by Hudson Strait and the Arctic by Foxe Channel and Basin. The bay is more than 1,000 miles long and roughly 600 miles wide and is bordered by Quebec on the east and Ontario, Manitoba, and Nunavet (formerly part of the Northwest Territories) on the west. The watershed of the bay includes the St. Lawrence River to the south, the Mississippi Valley to the southwest and the Rocky Mountains to the west. Its shores are cold and



Depiction of explorer Henry Hudson and his men being greeted by Native Americans upon their arrival in North America, probably in 1609. (Library of Congress)

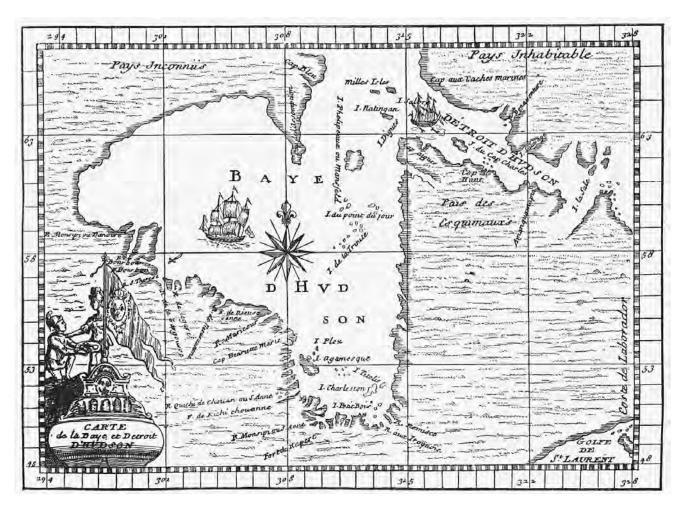
bleak and covered in snow and ice for a large part of the year. Despite the seeming harsh nature of the environment, Hudson Bay was a place of extreme importance and conflict during the colonial period in North America.

Hudson Bay was discovered by and named after the explorer Henry Hudson in 1610. Hudson was searching for a Northwest Passage to the Pacific in his vessel *Discovery* when he found the bay. On this voyage his crew mutinied and set him adrift, and although his ultimate fate remains a mystery, the bay still holds his name. Subsequent explorers, including Thomas Button (1612), William Baffin (1615), Jens Munck (1619), and Luke Foxe and Thomas James (1631), fully charted its coast and discovered that Hudson Bay would not lead them to the Pacific Ocean. These later explorers also established several trading posts at the mouths of various rivers flowing into the bay, including the Nelson, the Moose, and the Albany. The fur trade on Hudson Bay grew quickly as the potential it held for wealth quickly became apparent to colonial powers.

Because of Hudson Bay's importance to northern fur trading, it became a site of conflict between the English and the French in their struggles for domination of the north. The English laid initial claim to the bay upon Hudson's discovery in the name of the English empire. In 1670, the Hudson's Bay Company received its charter, giving it control over the entire watershed basin of the bay in return for which it was to rule according to English law. But despite official English control, the French believed that Hudson Bay should be controlled by New France. These conflicting claims led to almost continual warfare over control of the Bay between French and English fur-trading factions, despite periods of peace between France and England in Europe.

After the Hudson's Bay Company received its charter in 1670 the trading posts around Hudson Bay were controlled by the English; however, after 1686 and until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the French and the English were continually fighting over control of the prosperous Hudson Bay area. In 1686 the Battle for James Bay began the colonial warfare in the Hudson Bay region. In this battle the French attacked and captured the trading post at James Bay, leaving the British in control of Moose Factory, Fort Charles, Fort Albany, and York Fort.

In 1689, King William's War saw England and France at war again and the conflicts over Hudson Bay increased. The French attempted to take York Fort in 1690 and 1691 but failed. In 1693 the British regained the James Bay posts they had lost in 1686. The French were victorious at York Fort in 1694, but lost it to the English in 1696.



An 18th-century woodcut of Hudson Bay, Canada, 1722, showing Hudson Strait. (North Wind Picture Archives)

This period of colonial conflict in Hudson Bay culminated in the Battle of Hayes River in 1697, which the French won. The Treaty of Ryswick later that year ended the conflicts in Europe and called for a status quo ante bellum for the colonies as of 1692. This decision gave France the James Bay posts and the English York Fort, but because fierce battles had been waged over these, the colonists ignored the treaty.

The English remained at James Bay and the French at York Fort (which they had renamed Fort Bourbon). During Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) conflict arose over the bay once again, but the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 finally dictated that the English would control the Hudson Bay area and 40 years of colonial warfare in Hudson Bay finally came to a close.

TAKAIA LARSEN

See also

Hudson, Henry; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Ryswick, Treaty of; Utrecht, Treaty of; York, Attack on

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Major river located in the northeastern part of North America, important for trade as well as warfare. The Hudson River is 279 miles long and has a basin area of 14,000 square miles. It flows into the Atlantic Ocean between New York's Manhattan Island and New Jersey. The source of the Hudson River, which flows entirely through modern-day New York State, is Lake Tear of the Clouds in the Adirondack Mountains.

When the explorer Henry Hudson first sailed up the river in 1609, he was seeking a passage to Asia, but what he found instead became one of the most important rivers in American history. At the time, the Hudson River was the only known interior route between Chesapeake Bay and the St. Lawrence Valley. As such, the river and its valleys became a great commercial center. Because of its importance to the fur trade, the Hudson River eventually became an important site of conflict between warring colonial factions.

The Hudson River was named for Henry Hudson, but the river has also had several other names. The Mahicans called it Muh-he-kun-ne-tuk, meaning "the river that flows both ways." Hudson himself named it Mauritius, after the Prince of Orange. It was also commonly called the North River by Dutch settlers because it marked the northern part of their colony.



Henry Hudson's ship *Half Moon* arriving in the Hudson River in 1609. (North Wind Picture Archives)

Just as the name of the river changed over time, so did control of the area around it. When Hudson explored it in 1609, he laid claim to the area for the Dutch. Under their control the area was called New Netherland and was settled by colonists who engaged in small-scale farming and the lucrative fur trade. In 1624, the Dutch erected Fort Orange (modern-day Albany), located along the river, which became a key trading outpost. In 1664, England annexed the colony, and the 1667 Treaty of Breda gave them formal control over it. Soon thereafter, the name of the colony was changed to New York.

Within the Hudson River Valley, conflicts occurred as European colonists fought their imperial rivals, native peoples warred with neighboring tribes, and colonists and natives fought one another. Because of its immense importance to the early American fur trade and its rich resources, the Hudson River became a key site of warfare in the colonial era. Because its upper reaches were close to Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River, providing relatively easy access to the St. Lawrence Valley and the heart of New France, the British employed the river and used Albany as a staging area in several of the colonial wars, particularly in expeditions against French Canada.

Similarly, the French in Canada and their native allies tried to make use of the Champlain Valley–Hudson River route to threaten Britain's northern colonies.

TAKAIA LARSEN

See also

Fort Amsterdam (New York); Fort Orange (New York); Hudson, Henry; Iroquois; New Netherland; New York

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Hudson, Henry

Born: ca. 1570 Died: ca. 1611

English explorer who tried to locate a passage to Asia from the North Atlantic. Henry Hudson's date and location of birth are unknown, although it may have been 1570 in England. There Hudson married and had three sons, one of whom, John, accompanied him on his voyages.

In May 1607, Hudson set sail on the *Hopewell* on the first of four voyages. The trip was financed by a consortium of London merchants known as the Muscovy Company in an effort to locate a shorter, northern passage from Europe to Asia. Departing England in May 1607, Hudson traveled north to the island of Spitzbergen and came within 600 miles of the North Pole. Treacherous weather prevented further exploration, and Hudson returned to England in the *Hopewell* that September. Although Hudson failed to find the route he was seeking, he did establish that there was far too much ice to pass over the North Pole to the Far East.

Hudson sailed on his second voyage on the *Hopewell* from London in April 1608, again underwritten by the Muscovy Company. This time he decided to seek a northeast passage by sailing along the northern coast of Siberia to the Pacific. The *Hopewell* sailed north along the coastline of Norway and into the Barents Sea. Hudson then attempted to reach the Kara Sea, but only reached Novaya Zemlya Island. Once again, inhospitable climate, ice, and storms, prevented further travel. Hudson returned to England in August 1608 with nothing to show for his efforts save walrus hides, tusks, and blubber.

By 1609, English interest in finding the Northeast Passage had dissipated, and Hudson's third voyage began in 1609 under the auspices of a company in Holland, the newly formed Dutch East India Company. His assignment was to sail around the northern shores of Novaya Zemlya, then head south in search of a northeast passage. Hudson embarked in March 1609 aboard the *Half Moon*. He made it as far as the North Cape (the northern tip of Norway) before weather conditions forced him to turn back.

Instead of returning to Holland, Hudson decided to ignore the Dutch East India Company's orders and to sail to the Atlantic Coast of North America, convinced that the way to the Far East lay through the northwest, not the northeast. Hudson was also persuaded by mutiny on the part of his Dutch crew, who had little desire to explore the extremely cold and icy regions of the north. Reaching the coast of North America, Hudson began an investigation of the coastline around Chesapeake Bay and then moved north. On September 12, the *Half Moon* entered a large river leading north, later named in Hudson's honor. Hudson returned to England in November 1609.

Hudson's fourth and last voyage was again under English employ, this time financed by the Virginia Company and the British East India Company. This time he received approval to seek the Northwest Passage. Toward that end, he had at his disposal a newer and larger ship, the *Discovery*. Hudson set sail with a crew of 23 men in April 1610.

Sailing west, Hudson reached Iceland in May, then skirted the southern tip of Greenland in June to continue west. At the end of June, the *Discovery* entered what later became known as Hudson Strait at the northern tip of Labrador and in early August it sailed into what became known as Hudson Bay. In November, the ship became icebound in James Bay and the crew moved ashore for the winter.

Hudson and his men faced severe food shortages and the test of fierce winter storms. Short of food, supplies, and adequate clothing and shelter, his crew succumbed to scurvy and frostbite. With the arrival of spring, Hudson wanted to continue explorations, but on June 22, 1611, most of the crew mutinied and set Hudson and several other crew members, including his son Richard, adrift in a small boat. The mutineers then sailed for England, where they were subsequently tried and acquitted. Hudson and the others were never seen again.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Great Britain; Hudson Bay; Hudson River; New Netherland

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Hungry March

Start Date: January 26, 1676 End Date: February 1676

Name given to the effort by the New England colonists to capture retreating Narragansett natives during King Philip's War. In the aftermath of the Great Swamp Fight of December 1675, both sides, colonial and native, disengaged to assess the situation. Despite the success of the colonists in the Great Swamp campaign against the Narragansetts, it brought into the conflict an entirely new group of

enemies, as this previously neutral tribe now openly joined the other New England tribes under King Philip (Metacom).

Acting on intelligence from prisoners that a large number of Narragansett Indians were moving in the direction of King Philip's winter headquarters, colonial military leaders began their preparations for a pursuit. The Army of the United Colonies, comprised of veterans of the Great Swamp battle along with many fresh recruits, numbered between 1,400 and 1,600 men.

Led by Gov. Josiah Winslow of Plymouth, the colonial force set out on January 26, 1676, moving northwest toward Nipmuck territory. Along the way, the army witnessed the wrath of the natives, coming upon numerous devastated homesteads. Occasionally, advance detachments of scouts encountered small native raiding parties and killed or captured a number of natives. The main force, however, was always too late to catch up with and engage the main body of natives.

Because of the harshness of the winter season and the distance from their base, the colonials were critically short of supplies, especially food. Severe cold and icy conditions during the march only made the situation worse, and the men suffered greatly. At one point they were forced to kill and eat their own horses in order to keep from starving.

After chasing the natives some 70 miles in steadily worsening winter conditions with no hope of catching the main body, and with his own forces freezing and near starvation, Winslow gave up the chase and released the men in early February to return to their homes. The retreating Narragansetts soon joined with the other tribes fighting with King Philip, strengthening his cause. Although many in New England criticized the expedition as a failure, the participants in what came to be known as the Hungry March knew they had done their best.

Kyle F. Zelner

See also

Great Swamp Fight; King Philip's War; Narragansetts; New England Confederation; Skulking Way of War; Winslow, Josiah

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Hurons

Confederation of Iroquoian-speaking native peoples who lived north of Lake Erie, and along the shore of Lake Huron's Georgian Bay. Although Jacques Cartier did make contact with Iroquoian-speaking natives along the St. Lawrence River during his explorations in the 1530s, it is impossible to ascertain if they were ancestors of the Hurons. However, Samuel de Champlain did encounter them in the early 17th century.

The Hurons attracted French attention because of their numbers and long-range trade practices. Indeed, the Huron trading circle extended north to Hudson Bay and west to Lake Superior. Subsisting mainly by agriculture, the Hurons produced enough maize (corn) for trade with their neighbors, and the French quickly realized the value of the Hurons as trade partners. Knowing that the French would need the pelts that the Hurons would funnel to them, Champlain reluctantly joined them in an offensive against the Five Nations in 1609.

Eager to ensure that the Hurons would remain allied to them, the French sent missionaries to live and work among them as early as the 1620s. The trade relationship worked well for the French, as the Hurons acquired thick, high-quality pelts from their native trade partners and traded them to the French for European trade goods such as woolens and iron tools.

However, the activities of the French missionaries tended to cut both ways. Although the Jesuits did gain many converts, they also made enemies of Huron shamans, who encouraged people to resist the Christian message. In order to minimize the influence of the shamans, the Jesuits established separate villages where Huron Christians could live without the influence of their unconverted brethren. Unlike the so-called praying towns established by New England Puritans, Hurons could come and go in these villages as they pleased and did not have to surrender their cultural identity.

The trade relationship with the French benefited the Hurons greatly, and some historians have described the Hurons as middlemen in the fur trade. The Five Nations of the Iroquois attempted to gain part of the fur trade, mainly by pilfering Huron trading canoes, and redirecting the booty away from Montreal to their Dutch trading partners at Fort Orange.

From the 1630s on, Huron fortunes ebbed. At the time of contact, there were an estimated 20,000 Hurons living in some 20 towns. But large-scale epidemics of European diseases and war with the Iroquois had cut their numbers in half by 1650.

The Five Nations launched a series of devastating attacks in 1649 and 1650, destroying whole towns and carrying many Hurons off into captivity. Shaken, Huron leaders—over Jesuit objections—decided to abandon Huronia and relocate to Ganadoe (now Christian) Island in Georgian Bay. However, the soil there was too poor to support large plantings of maize, and many Hurons perished of starvation over the next year.

From Ganadoe Island, many Hurons fled west to the upper Great Lakes and the Ohio Country, joining native communities in those regions. Others migrated east to live near French colonists in Quebec, and still others sought out and surrendered to the Iroquois, being adopted and assimilated into their nation.

ROGER M. CARPENTER

See also

Beaver Wars; Champlain, Samuel de; Indian Presents; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Jesuits; Native Warfare; Ohio Country

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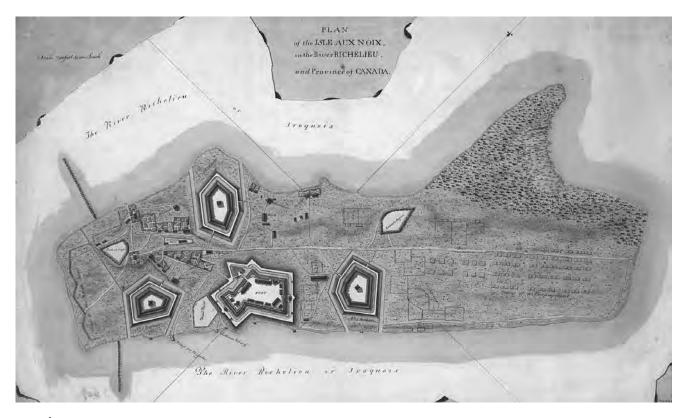
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Île-aux-Noix

Island fortification in the Richelieu River situated at its exit from Lake Champlain, built by the French to protect Montreal some 25 miles distant. At the time of the French and Indian War (1764–1763), the best way to travel from Lake Champlain to Montreal was by sailing up the Richelieu River, for there were no trails capable of accommodating a large military force.

In 1759, British troops under Major General Jeffery Amherst captured France's Fort Carillon (renamed Fort Ticonderoga) and



Map of Île-aux-Noix in the Richelieu River, ca. 1760. (Library of Congress)

Fort St. Frédéric (Crown Point). Amherst's next objective was to capture Île-aux-Noix, a task he assigned to troops under Brigadier General William Haviland. Haviland was unable to begin the expedition until August 11, however, because of difficulties moving supplies from Albany to his force at Crown Point.

Louis Antoine de Bougainville commanded a force of 1,450 men at Île-aux-Noix. The French had two ships supporting their defense on the river and they had also built dams to flood the shores along the river.

Haviland's force arrived at Île-aux-Noix on August 16. It took several days to place the siege artillery, but bombardment of the island commenced on August 19. It continued until Bougainville withdrew his force. Bougainville's withdrawal came not so much from the bombardment, but a British raid. On August 23, Haviland ordered Robert Rogers and his rangers to take three artillery pieces and move downstream of Île-aux-Noix, where they opened fire on the two French ships. The French had not anticipated such a maneuver, which they believed to be impossible because of swamps. Rogers's bombardment forced the French ships ashore, where they were captured. With the loss of these vessels, Bougainville could not stop the British from bypassing his position and cutting it off from Montreal. Thus he was compelled to evacuate his troops, which he did on the night of August 27–28, marching them to Montreal.

DALLACE W. UNGER JR.

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; Bougainville, Louis Antoine de, Comte de Bougainville; Crown Point (New York); Fort Ticonderoga (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Haviland, William; Montreal; Quebec, Battle of; Rogers, Robert

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Illinois

Algonquian-speaking tribes living in the upper Mississippi River Valley in present-day Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, and Wisconsin. The Illinois tribes comprised the Kaskaskias, the Cahokias, the Peorias, the Tamaroas, and the Michigameas.

During the 17th century, the Illinois suffered heavy losses from the Beaver Wars as the Iroquois drove tribes, including the Potawatomis, the Miamis, the Kickapoos, the Sauks, the Fox, and the Osages, out of the eastern Great Lakes. Their encroachment onto Illinois lands forced the Illinois to relocate in present-day southern Illinois along the Ohio River and its tributaries. The French first established contact with the Illinois in 1667 as Jesuit priest, Claude Allouez, was traveling to Chequamegon Bay on Lake Superior and encountered Illinois fur traders. In 1673, Jesuit Jacquette Marquette and fur trader Louis Joliet established contact with the Illinois while exploring the upper Mississippi River, and in 1675 Marquette returned to establish a mission among the Illinois at Grand Kaskaskia near present-day Utica.



An 18th-century depiction of Illinois Native Americans passing the peace pipe with settlers in the early 1700s. (Library of Congress)

By the beginning of the 18th century, the Illinois had lost most of their traditional lands and were reduced to territory along the Mississippi River and Illinois River. The Illinois joined forces with the French in the Fox Wars, which would see the Illinois settle old scores with their Fox enemies. Illinois warriors from the Peoria band participated in the Detroit massacre of the Fox, which in turn led to a cycle of revenge between the two tribes. Although the Illinois prevailed in battles with the Fox (who were almost wiped out), they lost many of their warriors.

In the aftermath of the Fox Wars, the Illinois became even more dependent on the French and as a consequence would suffer heavy losses while fighting alongside the French in the Chickasaw Wars. As other tribes sought to take advantage of their increased weakness, the Illinois sought protection from the French. The Peoria band, for example, relocated at the French mission at Kaskaskia. Although the Illinois had fewer than 500 warriors left by the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1754, they remained loyal to the French and participated in attacks against British settlements in Pennsylvania and Virginia. While participating in Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm's, campaign in northern New York in 1757, Illinois warriors contracted smallpox, which they brought back to their villages, further decimating the tribe.

In May 1763, the Illinois supported Pontiac's Rebellion against the British. When Pontiac made peace with the British, the Illinois regarded this as a betrayal and murdered Pontiac when he visited Caholia in 1769. To avenge Pontiac's murder, the Ottawas, the Ojibwas, the Potawatomis, the Sauks, the Fox, the Kickapoos, the Mascoutens, and the Winnebagos joined forces against the Illinois, nearly wiping out the tribe. Approximately 600 Illinois survived and fled to Kaskaskia, and their enemies divided up their lands. In 1803, the Illinois ceded all claims to their homeland and placed themselves under U.S. protection. In 1818, the Illinois agreed to removal west of the Mississippi, settling first in Missouri in 1818, then in eastern Kansas in 1832. In 1854, the Illinois merged with the Weas and the Piankashaws and relocated with them in 1867 to northeastern Oklahoma where their descendants live today.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Chickasaws; Fox War; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Hurons; Iroquois; Kickapoos; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Ogoula Tchetoka, Battle of; Ojibwas; Osages; Ottawas; Pontiac (Obwandiyng), Chief; Pontiac's Rebellion; Sauks and Fox

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Impressment, Army

Impressment is the forcible recruitment of manpower or supplies for military service. It was the forerunner of modern-day conscription. In England, impressment was common by the colonial era and included the seizure of the poorest class of subjects as well as foreigners. After 1800, impressment was primarily restricted to the naval service in Britain, as desertion rates among impressed soldiers were very high. In Prussia, impressment became common in the 18th century. It reached its height under King Frederick II (Frederick the Great, 1740–1786), particularly in the recruitment of replacement troops while the army was on foreign soil. Virtually all of the European powers employed impressment to some extent during the colonial era.

Impressment was often used as a tool to remove undesirables from society. Most property holders and skilled laborers remained exempted by law. They could also bribe impressment officers to avoid service. Impressment was often carried out by press gangs, groups of men paid to find recruits by virtually any means and paid according to the number of recruits produced. Press gangs were an unpopular but accepted form of military recruitment. Nevertheless, local officials often openly opposed them by force of arms. Because pressed men received no bounty for joining military service, many chose to "volunteer" when confronted by a press gang in order to make the best of a bad situation. Impressment was often a last resort to raise manpower, for those forced into service by this means were usually undisciplined.

There were distinct drawbacks to impressment. Indeed, it filled the ranks of European armies with men ready to mutiny or desert at the slightest provocation. And it disrupted voluntary recruitment by lowering troop morale. By the 19th century, it had largely been replaced by conscription, in which each region was assigned a quota of acceptable military recruits to be procured by local leaders, often by offering service bounties.

In the American colonies, impressment was a common means to fill the ranks of militia forces for specific military expeditions. Impressed men were typically given the option to serve or to hire a substitute in their place. In many cases, militia commanders impressed more than the required number of recruits. They would then select from the pool of pressed men those who would actually serve. Sometimes they would allow the pressed men to share the cost of hiring a substitute to serve in their place. In certain instances, particularly during colonial wars with other European powers, British regular officers impressed members of colonial militias to fill the ranks of the British Army. These pressed men were often looked down upon by the regulars, who considered them undisciplined and unfit for military service.

Paul Joseph Springer

See also

Desertion, Army; Great Britain, Army; Impressment, Navy; Mutiny, Army; Recruitment

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Impressment, Navy

During the American colonial era, the British Navy manned its ships in wartime by both enlisting volunteers and impressing—or forcing—men into its service as sailors. Pay and living conditions were poor and discipline was often brutal, so invariably there were personnel shortages. Impressment dated to the Middle Ages, when select English ports had the duty of providing the Crown with ships and men in naval campaigns in exchange for special trading rights and privileges. The practice spread to the Western Hemisphere in the 17th century, but it never claimed large numbers of colonial seafarers. Rather, British Navy press gangs (usually groups of between 2 and 12 men led by a lieutenant) seized sailors in North America and the West Indies as needed to compensate for losses due to death, disease, and desertion. Impressment, despite its limited use in America, was always controversial. Not surprisingly, it inspired acts of fierce resistance.

Controversy surrounding impressment owed in large part to confusion over its legality in America. In 1707, Parliament passed legislation that banned impressment in America and the West Indies except for deserters. Known as the "Sixth of Anne," the law did not make clear whether it continued past the War of Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War) in 1713. After sending conflicting signals about the issue, the Royal Navy resumed impressing colonial sailors during Britain's next series of conflicts in the 1740s. In 1746, Parliament omitted North America from a bill that banned impressment permanently in the British Caribbean.

The 1746 law added to tensions over impressment in colonial American seaports. In November 1747, the town of Boston erupted in a three-day riot against the impressment practices of Admiral Charles Knowles. The so-called Knowles Riot constituted the largest disturbance against British imperial authority in North America in the generation before the Stamp Act crisis. During the French and Indian War (1754-1763), British naval officers tried to avoid such confrontations by pressing men from colonial merchant ships off colonial ports. In order to procure sufficient men for Lord Loudoun's expedition to capture Louisbourg, after midnight on May 20, 1757, naval press gangs supported by 3,000 British soldiers roamed the streets of New York, seizing almost 800 men. This and other instances of impressments increased tensions between the British military and the colonists, and on several occasions press gangs encountered violent resistance in colonial ports. During the American Revolution era, press gangs caused additional riots, helping to further politicize



Satirical English cartoon of impressment of seamen by an English press gang, ca. 1770. (The Granger Collection)

American seaport communities. The impressment of American seamen continued even after the American Revolution and was a leading cause of America's second war with Britain in 1812.

DENVER BRUNSMAN

See also

Admiralty Law; Desertion, Navy; Discipline, Navy; Great Britain, Navy; Impressment, Army; Mutiny, Navy; Piracy; Recruitment; Sailors

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Indian Presents

The term used to describe goods designated as gifts for use in diplomacy between Native American peoples and European colonists throughout the colonial era. Because these goals were used by diplomats as well as traders who interacted with Native Americans, Indian presents are also referred to as Indian goods or trade goods. All European powers used presents in their diplomacy with native peoples.

Wampum (shell or other beads strung in the form of collars, girdles, belts, or strings) is commonly associated with diplomatic meetings. However, toys, fishing equipment, lead shot for firearms, knives, food, scalps, furs, tomahawks, rum, tobacco, clothing, and

other textiles were also used in these rituals of exchange between colonists and natives. Metal objects were particularly sought after by American Indians. These included such items as silver medals, gorgets (half-moon shaped or round plaques, and often worn on a string like a necklace), earrings, and rings. Iron axes and knives, and other small metal goods, such as thimbles, fish hooks, and bells, were likewise exchanged. Glass mirrors and glass beads were highly prized by native recipients, as were cloth goods like wool coats and blankets (often made of imported wool fabrics called stroud, duffle, and ratteen), and decorative accessories such as ribbons and handkerchiefs. Every type of European-style clothing was exchanged except for wigs and breeches. Mind-altering products such as tobacco, rum, and other alcoholic beverages were also used as barter. Also ivory objects and pigments for face painting are often listed in inventories of trade goods and presents.

Although some of the objects presented by traders and diplomats were of utilitarian value, they were also often highly



A contemporary cartoon of William Penn's "circumvention of the native" shows the statesman at work "burying the hatchet" with Native Americans who have offered a wampum belt in treaty. Penn is remembered for his respectful dealings with Native Americans. (Library of Congress)

decorative. They sometimes served the aesthetic needs or desires of the native recipients. Objects used for trade were both manufactured in America (silver and iron) and imported from Europe (textiles and beads). Many colonial forts and military encampments or expeditions counted craftsmen, capable of creating trade goods, among their numbers.

Although Indian presents were goods designated for diplomatic exchange between agents of the colonial governments and native leaders, the same types of goods were also used in purely economic exchanges. Gifts were often presented as part of reciprocal giving for diplomacy or were given to natives as military awards. In contrast, the goods used for trade were exchanged for furs or other items. Documents reveal that the types of goods used for Indian presents were also purchased by Native Americans, and some were even manufactured by native craftsmen for use within their own communities or for trade.

Presents were an essential part of native diplomacy and played a major role in colonial warfare and diplomatic relations with native peoples. Gift giving and reciprocity had been a routine part of native life before European arrivals and were often given to commemorate events like births, death, marriage, and ceremonies. They were also sometimes exchanged during council meetings and treaty parties. Gift exchanges acted as material signs of commitment to agreements made between groups. Often these agreements concerned access to land, trade rights, and other political matters.

Well versed in these gift-giving practices, many natives used presents to negotiate among European political groups and to maintain power in an ever-encroaching imperial world. From the earliest years of settlement, Europeans realized the importance of reciprocity with native peoples and quickly adopted the diplomatic practices of gift giving to achieve their goals for settlement and expansion in the New World.

These reciprocal exchanges of gifts continued throughout the colonial era. However, there was a significant rise in the number of gifts given between the late 1740s and the 1760s. This coincided with an increased level of contact and conflict between natives and colonists as encroachment onto native lands increased and colonial wars, particularly the French and Indian War (1754–1763), took place. In addition, there was a dramatic rise in the creation and use of certain types of goods, like silver objects, after the mid-1700s. After the 1760s, the price of many of these goods began to fall and the availability and variety of goods increased.

A number of Indian presents exist today in museum and private collections. Inventories and accounts in private manuscript collections and governmental records also record the variety of goods used. Indeed, they underscore the importance of Indian gifts for understanding colonial diplomacy, native-white relations, and westward expansion throughout the colonial era.

CATHARINE DANN ROEBER

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Native American Trade; Wampum

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Indian Uprising of 1747

See Uprising of 1747

Infantry

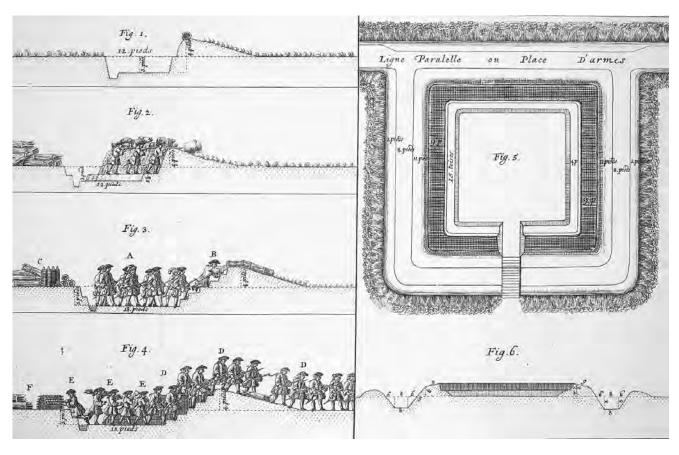
Military units that fight on foot, equipped with small arms. Infantry have existed from the beginning of warfare, but in the early 17th century Spain revolutionized European land warfare with the introduction of an improved matchlock musket and units of professional foot soldiers. These latter were known as "infantry," from the custom of adopting Spanish princes, or *Infantes*, as honorary colonels of various regiments. Originally composed of a combination of musketeers (*fusilieurs* in France) and pikemen who provided protection against cavalry attack, infantry provided both firepower and shock action, and they were employed both offensively and defensively.

In colonial North America, pikes—the long spears employed both to defend against cavalry attack and to disrupt enemy formations—proved largely ineffective, particularly in wooded areas when dealing with Native American adversaries on foot and armed with bows and arrows. In consequence, pikemen soon disappeared from the colonial order of battle. The pike was soon replaced in Europe, in any case, by the socket bayonet, which fit into a sleeve at the end of the musket barrel. In effect, every soldier was now a pikeman if needed.

In addition to musketeers and pikemen, there were also grenadiers, specialized infantry that appeared in the 17th century. The French were the first to introduce grenadiers, in 1667. They appeared in the British Army in 1678. Grenadiers were special assault troops equipped with grenades and often given the task of storming an enemy position.

Infantry came to be classed as line or heavy infantry for close combat and light infantry for irregular warfare. The largest basic tactical infantry unit was the regiment, commanded by a colonel. Regiments could be as small as a single battalion and so these two designations were largely interchangeable for the colonial period. The regiment or battalion was in turn divided into companies of 80 to 100 men commanded by a captain, then into platoons or firings (as contemporaries sometimes described them).

The size of the regiment and the number of companies varied widely from one unit to another, even within the same army.



French engraving illustrating infantry attacking a fortification, ca. 1766. (The Granger Collection)

Authorized strength usually put regiments at roughly 12 companies, the equivalent of between 800 and 1,000 men. Field regiments seldom numbered more than 850 officers and men, however. There were usually 8 to 10 line companies in a regiment, with grenadiers and later light infantry forming additional companies. Grenadier and light infantry companies were often removed from their parent units and combined with other like troops to form specialized formations.

In the fighting in North America new infantry formations appeared, the consequence of special challenges posed by terrain and climate as well as different enemies. These included not only provincial troops and militia but also rangers. The latter evolved as a response to the challenge posed by the Native American method of war (the "skulking way of war"), which differed markedly from that employed in Europe.

Officers and men came from two very different social strata. Officers in the British Army, as in the other European armies of the period, were almost entirely drawn from the nobility and most often purchased their commissions, save for the rank of general. Soldiers, on the other hand, tended to come from the lowest social classes. Often they were forced to enlist in lieu of imprisonment for petty crimes or were swept up by so-called press gangs. Recent studies have shown that at least in the British Army a number of

soldiers came from the artisan class who had fallen prey to economic downturns and were thus forced into military service from financial need.

All armies of the day relied on constant drill to produce automatic action under fire. Ferocious discipline was held necessary to keep the soldiers in line. Officers had absolute authority; any soldier who raised his hand against an officer was condemned to death, whereas officers were free from accountability toward their men. Floggings, beatings, and other punishments were imposed for the smallest offenses.

The common infantry firearm in North America was the flint-lock musket, which replaced the matchlock and harquebus at the outset of the 18th century. Easier to load and more reliable in fire, the musket could also mount a socket bayonet, which was often employed in the final stage of an assault. Officers carried edged weapons. Likewise, soldiers of infantry units in the first half of the 18th century were armed with a short sword known as a hanger, and the men of some grenadier units carried sabers.

Other equipment carried by most infantrymen apart from the rifle and bayonet were a cartridge box, a canteen, and a pack containing extra clothing and rations. The average soldier in the 18th century might be encumbered by as much as 70 pounds or more of extra weight.

In order to meet the demands of the terrain and climate in North America as well as its tactical requirements, troops modified their equipment. Thus the long coats typically worn by the British infantry in Europe were often shortened to jackets for service in North America. Hats, likewise, were cut off closer to the crown. Grenadier sabers were packed away. Even the Highland units sent to campaign in North America found it useful to replace their heavy wool kilts with pants. In New France, especially among the locally recruited militia, dress and tactics both resembled those of the Native Americans to a much larger degree than in other European colonies.

Eighteenth-century European infantry tactics stressed linear, tightly packed formations in order to produce the maximum fire-power on a similarly arranged enemy line. Firing occurred almost at dueling pistol ranges, for the smoothbore flintlock musket with its significant windage was largely inaccurate beyond 100 yards. The stress on volley fire made drill vastly important, as contemporary infantry manuals make clear. Individual action was usually impossible and in any case was strongly discouraged.

All armies of the colonial powers bore a general resemblance to one another, in equipment, in social composition, and in tactics. By the same token, each army adapted in various ways to meet the special demands posed by climate, terrain, and adversaries encountered in its colonial experience.

JAMES R. McIntyre and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Bland, Humphrey; Cavalry and Cavalry Tactics; Discipline, Army; Edged Weapons; Grenadiers; Harquebus; Infantry Tactics; Light Infantry; Militias; Muskets; Provincial Troops; Rifle; Skulking Way of War

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Infantry Tactics

Infantry tactics are the methods employed by foot soldiers in the prosecution of combat at the level of a skirmish or battle. The manner in which the infantry fought underwent a great deal of change in the period between the end of the 15th and the third quarter of the 18th centuries. To a large extent this transformation, a process so profound that a number of historians have labeled it a "military revolution," resulted from changes in technology.

Infantry tactics in Europe underwent a steady process of development. These combat methods underwent further transformation when Europeans arrived in North America and came into conflict with Native Americans. Terrain as well as the techniques of new foes played a role in these changes. Another factor in these developments lay in the goals of combat in the two regions. In Europe, the aim of a battle was usually to drive the opponent's army from the field. In North America, by contrast, the desired result in battles between Europeans and Native Americans was the extirpation of the opponent. Over time, especially in the French and English colonies, a hybrid form of tactics developed that featured a combination of European and Native American fighting techniques.

From the 15th century on, Europe witnessed increasing numbers of individual firearms on the battlefield. These weapons evolved, from the harquebus to the matchlock and finally to the flintlock musket and socket bayonet combination. Such improvements slightly altered the nature of infantry tactics so that firepower gradually replaced shock as the decisive element on the battlefield. Essentially, technological advances made it possible to kill enemies slightly more effectively with projectiles at a distance than with brute strength in hand-to-hand combat. In the last stage of development in the period, the combination of musket and bayonet enhanced the versatility of the infantry by allowing it to switch rapidly from a defensive to an offensive posture. For instance, infantry could use the fire from their muskets to break an enemy line, or resist a charge from enemy infantry or cavalry. Bayonets were employed at close quarters and were as important in the charge as the musket.

The roots of this tactical evolution began in Spain, where the units were known as *tercios*. Infantry *tercios* were organized with specific tasks in mind. This organizational reform laid the groundwork for future changes. Strides in infantry tactics and organization were made in the Dutch United Provinces under Maurice of Nassau. This prince is credited with the reintroduction of drill into early modern armies. Maurice's focus on having a well-drilled military force was one of the key factors enabling him to hold off the Spaniards in the Dutch Wars. Infantry tactics recognized the inherent inaccuracy of the smoothbore gunpowder weapons then in use by infantry. This forced commanders to employ massed fire at close range. It likewise led to the employment of volley fire on the part of many European armies, beginning with the Dutch.

Maurice's reforms focused precisely on increasing the rate of fire his soldiers were able to deliver. He achieved this by the musketry technique known as the countermarch in which successive ranks of musketeers fired a shot then moved to the rear to reload. The countermarch led to thick groupings of infantry, sometimes as many as six ranks deep or more. As each consecutive rank fired and marched to the rear, the entire unit gave some ground in the process. The countermarch, then, can be seen as more a defensive method of fighting. A continuing problem lay in the fact that mus-

keteers were essentially defenseless while reloading. They thus required large numbers of pikemen to defend them against cavalry attack. Even with these shortcomings, the tactical methods of Maurice of Nassau played a significant role in the winning of Dutch independence from Spain.

In the early 17th century, the Swedish warrior-monarch Gustavus Adolphus adopted the countermarch technique from the Dutch, and he employed pikemen to cover the musketeers in case of cavalry attack. Likewise, he employed the countermarch as an offensive tactic by training his men to advance and shoot as well as shoot and retire. Gustavus introduced many changes, including lighter, standardized artillery. Such innovations, as well as others in army organization, led to the great Swedish successes during the early part of their involvement in the Thirty Years' War.

Technological advances on the battlefield gave rise to tactical reforms as well. Tactics became linear as musketeers lined up on the battlefield to trade mass volleys of gunfire. These musketeers were interspersed with pikemen who defended them from cavalry attack. As the numbers of muskets increased and they became more reliable, the ranks of massed infantry thinned and extended. By the 18th century, three to four ranks were the norm, rather than the earlier six. Likewise, the pike largely disappeared, for the socket bayonet, which fit on the end of the musket, made every musketeer his own pikeman.

But fighting in North America was vastly different from that in Europe, with its cleared, open fields. Most of America was wooded and the terrain was in places difficult. The natives took advantage of their knowledge of the land and used cover and concealment and stealth. Seldom were there large pitched battles in the open.

The Spanish were the first Europeans to have significant contact with the Native Americans. In their first warfare with the Native Americans, the Spanish tended to rely on edged weapons in close combat. Although they possessed firearms, they were in such small numbers that they did not play a decisive role. The psychological effect attached to the discharge of gunpowder weapons, however, was of great value in breaking the morale of native opponents. Wherever possible, the Spanish tended to augment their forces with native allies. The European pike, however, proved all but useless in the woodlands of America and it largely disappeared as a weapon.

Once the French and the English came into contact with Native Americans, it quickly became apparent that although European weapons technology was certainly superior, the tactics of some native groups often more than compensated for this. Fighting in open order, Native Americans did not present a ready target for massed, volley fire. In addition, Native Americans often attacked from ambush and concealment, and they spread their forces.

Terrain was an important factor. Much of North America was covered in dense old-growth forests and underbrush. Paths were few and narrow. Tightly packed European infantry columns made an appealing and easy target for ambushes. The colonists learned to adapt to these native tactics and use them as their own. Ranger units emulated native raiding parties.

The colonists also employed aimed fire to much greater degree. The rifle was an ideal weapon for this sort of warfare, though it did possess some major drawbacks. Its chief shortcoming was the increased time in reloading over the musket. In addition, most rifles were manufactured for hunting and thus lacked a lug for mounting a bayonet.

During reloading, riflemen were virtually defenseless. To compensate, in many instances frontiersmen fought in pairs to allow one man to reload while another fired. To make their fire more effective, many frontiersmen began to employ a combination load known as buck and ball in which they loaded a musket ball with several rounds of buckshot in order to make the most of their first volley.

Thus, colonial fighting tactics were a blend of European and Native American methods. Not only did the means of firing change, but the way in which infantrymen moved into combat changed as well. Again, this transformation was the result of the combination of terrain and native tactics. To adapt to the narrow paths and reduce the possibility of ambush, militias and provincial troops began to mimic the practices of their native opponents and march single file. This practice came to be referred to as "Indian File."

The evolution in military practices that characterized the period known in the West as the military revolution had profound effects on the tactics employed by Europeans in their earliest conflicts with Native Americans. European technology was certainly superior, but for that superiority to tell, it required a fair amount of tactical adaptation. Even as tactics changed in Europe to assimilate the new technology, they changed in America to confront the realities imposed both by terrain and a new opponent.

James R. McIntyre

See also

Ammunition, Small Arms; Bow and Arrow; Cavalry and Cavalry Tactics; Edged Weapons; France, Army; Great Britain, Army; Harquebus; Lance; Militias; Muskets; Provincial Troops; Raiding Party; Rangers; Rifle; Shield; Skulking Way of War; Spain, Army; Tomahawk; War Club

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Ingle, Richard

Born: ca. 1609 Died: 1653

Merchant and ship's captain who took control of the government of the colony of Maryland in 1645. Born in Redriff, Surrey, England, around 1609, probably in a middle-class Protestant family, Richard Ingle became a merchant trader and ship captain. In the 1630s he became active in transporting goods from Maryland to England, especially tobacco.

When the English Civil War began in 1642, Ingle sided with the Parliamentary forces. This put him at odds with the Catholic leaders of Maryland. Acting on charges brought from a rival trader, no doubt financially motivated, that Ingle had insulted King Charles I, in January 1644 the overly zealous and not terribly politically astute Giles Brent, acting governor in the absence of Gov. Leonard Calvert, ordered Ingle arrested on a charge of high treason and his pinnace, the *Reformation*, and all of its goods, seized. Allowed to board his ship in the company of a sheriff, Ingle and several of his men seized control of the vessel and put their guard ashore. They then set sail. At the mouth of the St. Mary's River, Ingle captured several small ships and took their guns and some goods. He told their crews that he would attack and destroy the dwellings of prominent Marylanders, including that of Brent. It was not a hollow boast.

Having prevented any immediate pursuit, Ingle set sail for England. Still angered over what had transpired, in late December 1644 Ingle returned to Maryland in the *Reformation*, bearing with him a letter of marque and reprisal from Parliament that authorized him to cruise the waters of the Chesapeake and seize all ships and vessels and their goods belonging to those hostile to Parliament. Ingle now had authority to wage war against the supporters of King Charles I.

Recruiting local sympathizers, on February 14, 1645, Ingle attacked and seized the Maryland capital of St. Mary's. He also took as prisoner Brent and other Maryland leaders. Calvert managed to avoid capture and to gather sufficient armed supporters to establish a stronghold nearby.

Calvert, however, could not prevent Ingle and his supporters from pillaging and burning the homes of wealthy Catholics and royalist supporters, including a large property on St. Inigoes Creek belonging to Thomas Cornwaleys, the richest man in Maryland. Ingle cloaked his vindictive plundering in the mantle of duty to Parliament, but many Marylanders regarded him as little more than a pirate, calling him "that ungrateful Villaine." This episode is known in Maryland history as the Plundering Time. After 14 weeks, and having done about all the damage he could, in early April 1645 Ingle set sail for England, taking with him the Dutch trading vessel *Speagle*, which he had previously promised to return to its master, much plunder, and two Jesuit priests in chains. Ingle's supporters in Maryland formed a provisional government loyal to Parliament.

Sporadic fighting occurred in Maryland thereafter, until late 1646, when, with aid sent by Gov. William Berkeley of Virginia, Governor Calvert managed to reassert his control over the colony, bringing to an end Ingle's Rebellion. The restored government specifically excluded Ingle from its amnesty proclamation.

Later taken to court in England, Ingle was ordered to pay reparations to some of those whom he had plundered in Maryland, chiefly Cornwaleys. Ingle died in 1653.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

English Civil War, Impact in America; Maryland; Maryland, Protestant-Catholic Conflict in

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Intercolonial Relations

The colonial wars of prerevolutionary North America decisively influenced political and military relations among the 13 English colonies as well as their relationship with the mother country. In seeking cooperation, the colonies had to overcome barriers arising from differing origins, religious values, ethnicity, economic and cultural development, governing structures, and increasingly, competition in the trans-Appalachian area for land, political influence, and trade with Native American tribes. In addition, the colonies had to respond to political pressure from the home government in London. How they reacted to military threats from the other colonial powers and their Native American allies and to British policy often reflected their differences. Facing outside danger, the colonies had only limited success in developing a cooperative framework, but their efforts laid a foundation for the nation that emerged from the American Revolutionary War.

The strongest influence on early relations among the colonies of English America was their differing origins and political, economic, and social development. They were founded separately, often by religious minorities from England and Europe and were influenced by changing political circumstances in Britain. They also developed in vastly different political, economic, social, and geographical conditions.

In this context, individual colonies fought the earliest wars against Native Americans independently of one another. These conflicts sprang from local conditions and could be carried out with local resources. A New England confederation for defense (minus

Rhode Island) was organized in 1643 partly in response to Native American violence during and following the Pequot War (1636–1638), but it collapsed after King Philip's War (1675–1676). Thus the Pequot War and King Philip's War were fought by New England colonial militias financed largely by their own communities. Dutch soldiers and a few mercenaries fought the Dutch-Indian Wars (1641–1664) with only limited support from the Dutch West India Company. Jamestown colonists fought a continuing 30-year struggle with the Powhatan Confederacy beginning in 1610. Although these conflicts placed a continuing strain on the financial and manpower resources of the colonies involved, they were nevertheless able to sustain the costs. England, beset by religious strife and civil war, provided little money and few men.

The emerging threat from French Canada in the late 17th and early 18th centuries along with a corresponding surge in French-instigated American Indian violence on the northern and southern frontiers made the need for more cooperation among the colonies readily apparent. The military failures of the New York and New England colonies in King William's War (1689–1697) revealed the need both for cooperation among the colonies and more involvement by Great Britain. The English colonists bungled two major expeditions against Montreal and Quebec in 1690 and 1691 largely because of political squabbling within and between colonies over control of resources, financial support, and manpower.

As the largest contributor of both men and money, Massachusetts resented the indifferent performance of New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. New Yorkers, for their part, having exhausted their financial resources in the failed overland expeditions of 1690 and 1691, unsuccessfully sought loans from Massachusetts and Virginia. And all of the colonies involved resented the London authorities for embroiling them in a war of unprecedented cost and violence without providing them with direct military and naval support. The only attempt at cooperation was an April 1690 meeting in New York City—a meeting convened to organize the offensive against French Canada and respond to Native American attacks on the northern frontier.

Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) raised the same concerns. This conflict involved not only the northern colonies but also the Middle Atlantic and southern colonies. The strongest efforts at intercolonial cooperation came again in the north. In 1706, New England officials persuaded most of the English colonies to provide men or money for an expedition against French Canada. The effort faltered because England failed to furnish troops and ships. Later attempts at cooperation, sustained by small military and naval units from Britain, led to limited successes against Acadia (Nova Scotia). For the most part, however, the colonies mounted their operations independently.

The subsequent colonial wars of the early to middle 18th century followed this same pattern. The colonies attempted cooperation when military necessity dictated it, but these efforts were constantly plagued by political factionalism, self-aggrandizement,

and economic competition. The lack of coherence proved a hindrance to relations between English America and their strongest Native American allies, the Iroquois Confederation.

The threat from French Canada and its Native American allies in the north and the west was a continuing concern for the colonies and for policymakers in London. The strongest effort to strengthen colonial unity and formulate a unified policy toward the Iroquois came in 1754, on the eve of the French and Indian War (1754-1763). A combination of French encroachments and Iroquois discontent with American trade and land policies finally led the home government to act. In July, the colonial governments of New York, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, on orders from London, sent representatives to a conference at Albany to address ways to improve relations with the natives and promote frontier defense. Even with war imminent, however, the colonies had difficulty seeing beyond their own interests. Their selfishness was apparent in matters of frontier defense. When New York delegates sought financial help to build forts along their exposed northern frontier, New England representatives balked at paying for forts that would do nothing for their own security. Thus they failed to agree on a common policy toward the Iroquois because of conflicting interests in the Native American trade and land speculation.

Nevertheless, the Albany Conference went further than any previous effort toward fostering colonial unity. The delegates agreed on strengthening frontier fortifications (although not on how to finance them), the consolidation of native policy under a single superintendent, and Crown control of the acquisition of Native American lands. Most significantly, a committee chaired by Benjamin Franklin proposed the Albany Plan of Union that would have created a grand council elected by the colonial assemblies and a president-general appointed by the Crown. This measure would have centralized control of Native American policy, external affairs, and the common defense in one governing body. The plan foundered in the colonial legislatures, however. Although it set an early precedent for American union, its short-term failure meant that Britain would have to bear the burden for fighting the French and Indian War, the costs of which the mother country would try to pass on to the colonies with momentous consequences.

Walter F. Bell

See also

Acadia, British Conquest of; Acadia, New England Attack on; Albany Conference; Canada, New England Expedition against; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King Philip's War; King William's War, Land Campaigns; New England Confederation; Pequot War; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns

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Iron Act

Event Date: June 24, 1750

Attempt by Great Britain to control the iron industry in British North America. The British Parliament passed the Iron Act in 1750. In effect from June 24, 1750, it was designed to promote the export of American iron to England while restricting the iron manufacturing industry of the American colonies. At the time, the British government practiced an economic policy known as mercantilism. Under it, the British colonies were encouraged—and sometimes forced—to purchase manufactured goods from the mother country. In turn, they were expected to provide the latter with raw materials, agricultural products, and minerals.

By the early 18th century, the British imported most of their iron from Sweden and Russia, which raised concerns about dependence on foreign sources. Under mercantilism, the British hoped to eliminate this dependence by either developing domestic sources or relying on colonial production. To avoid any supply disruptions that might arise from war or other crises, the British government opted to secure iron from its American colonies.

Fortunately, iron ore proved to be abundant in the American colonies. John Winthrop Jr. opened the first working iron furnace in Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1643. The furnace could produce up to eight tons of pig iron a week. American colonists required iron for the production of farm tools, kitchen utensils, and other products, and by the mid-18th century, iron furnaces and forges emerged in nearly every colony to exploit the resource and produce goods that were in constant demand. The southern colonies tended to produce raw iron ore whereas the northern colonies specialized in manufacturing products from the metal.

Parliament attempted to slow the growth of the iron manufacturing industry and spur the production of iron ore with the passage of the Iron Act in 1750. The act permitted the reduced-duty importation of American pig and bar iron needed by British industry. Colonial goods domestically manufactured with iron could be sold only in the colonies in which they were made. This was meant to restrict the intercolonial iron trade and increase imports from England. The construction of new iron mills, furnaces, or forges was forbidden. By 1757, the British eliminated all duties on the importation of American iron. The Iron Act proved difficult to enforce in the American colonies and the British tended to ignore it through an unofficial policy known as salutary neglect.

The American colonists did appreciate the eager British markets for iron as guaranteed under the Iron Act. Nevertheless, they resented the fact that London held a buyer's monopoly and could dictate prices. Nor did the Americans like Parliament's attempt to stifle manufacturing and intercolonial trade with the Iron Act. Despite the Iron Act, however, the iron industry grew quickly in the colonies, and the total number of American furnaces and forges outnumbered those in England and Wales by 1775. American output of bar and pig iron exceeded the production totals of Great Britain at the opening of the American Revolutionary War. Annual American exports of iron to Great Britain totaled 8,000 tons in 1770. Although the British tended to enforce the Iron Act rather loosely, its existence helped to fuel the colonial displeasure that would erupt into the American Revolutionary War a quarter of a century later.

TERRY MAYS

See also

Cannon Founding; Mercantilism; Molasses Act; Navigation Acts

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Iroquois

At the time of European contact, the Iroquois Confederation, which consisted of five tribes—the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas—was located in what is now upstate and western New York. A sixth nation, the Tuscaroras, joined the confederation in the 1720s. By virtue of their numbers, geographic location, and military reputation, the Iroquois served as a potent counterweight to the ambitions of both the English and the French in the North American Northeast for most of the colonial period.

The five Iroquois tribes lived in large villages, usually on easily defensible hilltops. Organized into clans that were headed by a matriarch, the Iroquois believed that in order to sustain spiritual and temporal power, captives had to be obtained to replace the dead. According to the founding myth of the Iroquois Confederation, the five tribes warred against one another until a supernatural being, Deganawida, and his human helper, Hiawatha, traveled among them, preaching a message of peace and unity. However, this message did not preclude the Iroquois from attacking other groups of native people, who were outside the "Longhouse," the traditional Iroquois dwelling that was used to metaphorically describe the confederacy. The founding of the confederation created something of a paradox, however. Although the Iroquois now lived in peace with one another, they increasingly



An 18th-century depiction of an Iroquois warrior. The Iroquois Confederation included six different tribal groups. (Library of Congress)

engaged other native peoples in warfare in an attempt to secure captives and strengthen their power.

Samuel de Champlain encountered the Iroquois on July 30, 1609, when his native allies encouraged him to join them in an expedition against the Mohawks, during which Champlain personally killed three warriors. Some historians have pointed to this small battle as the genesis of the century and a half of enmity between the Iroquois and the French.

For the rest of the 17th century, the Iroquois remained embroiled in conflicts with the French and their native allies, which occasionally were punctuated by brief truces. In order to maintain access to European trade partners to secure metal, cloth, firearms, and other items of European manufacture, the Iroquois fought other native people. The Mohawks forced the Mahicans to leave the vicinity of New Netherland's Fort Orange (now Albany, New York) after a bloody four-year conflict in the 1620s.

Unlike the Hurons, the Iroquois did not have direct access to the western Great Lakes and the regions south of Hudson Bay, where the best furs were to be found. Beginning in the 1630s and escalating in the 1640s, the Iroquois launched attacks on Huron furtrading parties, taking both furs and captives. The rerouting of furs

to the Dutch traders at Fort Orange, and away from the French in Montreal, threatened New France's economic survival.

The French and the Iroquois remained locked in conflict that varied in intensity for much of the 17th century, but this hostility actually helped the other economically. The Iroquois served as a barrier that separated northern Native Americans from the Dutch at Fort Orange and their high-quality and reasonably priced trade goods. Northern natives, who had access to higher quality pelts, were forced to trade with the French in order to obtain European goods. Thus, the Dutch could not obtain better quality furs, save for those the Iroquois pillaged from other native peoples.

In the late 1640s, in need of captives to replace the dead, and wanting to gain the Hurons' "middleman" position in the fur trade, the Iroquois launched a series of attacks that destroyed two major Huron towns and prompted the Hurons to abandon their country, the majority of them becoming refugees throughout the Ohio Country and the western Great Lakes region.

The assaults against the Hurons, however, were only partially successful. Although the Iroquois gained an impressive number of captives—French Jesuits claimed that there were more non-Iroquois adoptees than natives among the Iroquois—they did not gain control of the fur trade. Instead, the focus of the trade shifted farther west, and peoples such as the Ottawas replaced the Hurons as middlemen. With the founding of the English Hudson's Bay Company in the 1660s, both the Iroquois and the French lost access to many of the high quality furs of the north.

The Iroquois did not give up on their attempts to gain control over the fur trade, however. From the 1640s to the end of the 17th century, they routinely attacked other native peoples in the Ohio Country and the Great Lakes. In the early 17th century, the Iroquois could easily obtain firearms from the Dutch, the English, or the Swedes. After the 1660s, other native peoples were at least equally well armed, and the Iroquois suffered horrible losses as a result. But this did not stop the warfare. The dead, according to Iroquois tradition, still had to be replaced.

Beginning in the 1660s, a series of events forced the Iroquois to reevaluate their position. In 1664, the English seized New Netherland without firing a shot. The English promised that they, like the Dutch, would be faithful trade partners and allies. But when a French expedition devastated Seneca villages in the late 1680s, the English provided no help. Iroquois warriors continued to die in large numbers as the Beaver Wars continued.

The Iroquois response to this was what has become known as the Grand Settlement of 1701. In two separate treaties, the Iroquois promised the French that they would remain neutral in any future conflict between France and England. However, in a separate agreement, the Iroquois informed the governor of New York that they would consider lending the English military assistance—provided that the English secure Iroquois hunting grounds in Ontario. The Iroquois, of course, realized that it was impossible for the English to fulfill this condition in 1701. Throughout the first half of the 18th

century, the Iroquois played the English and the French off against one another, threatening to join one side or the other, and receiving gifts to keep them neutral or to encourage them to join in a war (which they never did).

The 1701 treaties, however, did not diminish Iroquois influence, particularly among the English. For years having dealt almost exclusively with the colony of New York, the Iroquois also formed an alliance with the colony of Pennsylvania, evicting the Delawares (Lenni Lenape) on the colony's behalf after the fraudulent "Walking Purchase" of 1737. But the Iroquois did not always enjoy good relations with the English. Indeed, in the 1720s they tried to persuade the Delawares and the Shawnees to join them in a war against the English. Both tribes refused to take part, and the scheme was never put into effect.

The Iroquois became more useful to the English as time went on. The Confederation claimed that they owned the lands comprising the Ohio Country, and the British government, arguing that the Iroquois were their subjects, used this claim to assert that they held legal title to the region. The French, however, also claimed the area. Iroquois diplomats oversaw some of the Delaware and Shawnee towns in the area, and their presence caused some resentment among some of these peoples. Offered a chance to join the French, and the possibility of regaining their lands, many of the peoples of the region went to war against the English.

For the most part, the Iroquois sat on the sidelines and watched as English forces performed poorly in the early phases of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Despite being given wagonloads of gifts at the 1754 Albany Conference, most Iroquois, with notable exceptions such as the Mohawk sachem (chief) Hendrick, chose to remain neutral.

In the later phases of the war, as the British began to win some significant victories, the Iroquois entered the conflict on the side of the Crown. Realizing that a British victory could mean the eviction of the French from the continent, the diplomatic maneuvering that served the Iroquois so well for half a century would be useless. The next best thing was to be on the winning side, and then to later remind the English of their usefulness as allies.

After the French and Indian War, Iroquois relations with the English remained unsettled. The Senecas sent a war belt to the western tribes in an attempt to raise a rebellion against the English, but none accepted. In the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix, the Iroquois ceded most of present-day Kentucky and Tennessee to the British, which led to conflicts when colonists entered the region and came into conflict with Cherokees, Shawnees, and other peoples who lived there.

With the beginning of the American Revolutionary War in 1775, most of the Iroquois decided, initially, not to become involved in what they regarded as a family dispute. However, British partisans like Joseph Brant (Thayendanega) of the Mohawks, and Sir William Johnson's successor as Britain's agent to the northern tribes, Guy Johnson, were able to make a compelling case that an American victory would not be in the best interests of the confederation. The

Onondagas and the Oneidas however, chose to side with the Americans, rupturing the Iroquois league.

ROGER M. CARPENTER

See also

Beaver Wars; Brant, Joseph (Thayendanega); Cherokees; Delawares (Lenni Lenape); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Hurons; Indian Presents; Iroquois Confederation; Iroquois Treaties of 1700 and 1701; Mahican; Mohawk-Mahican War; Mohawks; Mourning War; Native Warfare; New York; Ohio Country; Oneidas; Onondagas; Ottawas; Senecas; Shawnees; Trois-Rivières, Treaty of; Tuscaroras; Walking Purchase

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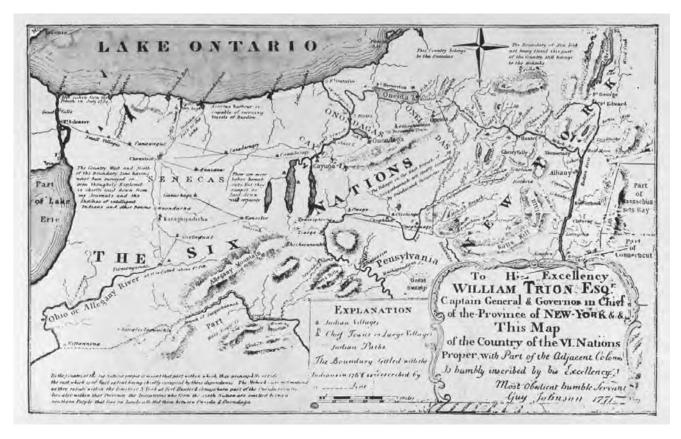
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Iroquois Confederation

The Iroquois Confederation was made up of different Native American nations that inhabited present-day upper and western New York state. Originally the league consisted of five closely related linguistic tribes: the Senecas, the Cayugas, the Onondagas, the Oneidas, and the Mohawks. In 1721, the Tuscaroras, who migrated from North Carolina, joined. Only the French called these people the Iroquois; the English referred to them as the Five Nations, then the Six Nations, or simply used the individual nation name. Within the confederation itself, however, the preferred self-descriptor was *Haudenosaunee*, meaning "People of the Longhouse," "the extended house," or "the whole house." Most scholars date the confederation from 1570, although some have it beginning far earlier. Iroquois oral tradition recounts the story of how two prophets, the Peacemaker and Hiawatha, brokered a peace to reduce conflict and bring the *Haudenosaunee* together.

Rarely did the members of the confederation act as a single unit. Rather than present a unified front to the French or the English, the confederation's primary purpose was to maintain peace among its component nations. Within the confederation, the village rather than the nation was the primary political unit.

Throughout the mid-1600s, the Iroquois became entrapped in a series of conflicts, known as the Beaver Wars or the French and Iroquois Wars, that were essentially struggles for control of the fur trade. In the 1640s, the Iroquois attacked Huron towns along the St. Lawrence River and by the end of the decade had displaced the inhabitants. During the latter half of the 17th and throughout the



Map showing the territory of the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederation in 1771. The Iroquois were the dominant Native American military power in North America during the 18th century. (North Wind Picture Archives)

18th century, however, the confederation suffered many setbacks. The Five Nations lost their Dutch trading partners as a result of the Second Anglo-Dutch War of 1664–1667, and at the same time they faced invading French troops, who burnt a number of Mohawk villages. This was followed by French-Huron attacks against the Senecas in 1687, the Mohawks in 1693, and the Onondagas and the Oneidas in 1696. The confederation sued for peace in 1698 and signed the Grande Paix in Montreal in 1701, bringing to a temporary end a century of nearly continuous conflict. The confederation then allied with the British, although it remained largely neutral throughout the first half of the century. Its component nations did, however, eventually side with Britain against the French during the latter years of the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

The final blow to the confederation came as a consequence of the American Revolutionary War. At first neutral, the Six Nations eventually divided their loyalties between the Patriots and Britain. After the conflict, many Iroquois migrated to Canada; those who remained had to contend with the expansionary land policies of the United States. Those who remained of the Six Nations played only a very limited role in the wars of the Northwest Territory that followed.

JONATHAN A. CLAPPERTON

See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Beaver Wars; Cayugas; Champlain, Samuel de; Dutch-Indian Wars; Dutch-Mohawk Treaty; Firearms Trade; Fort Orange (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Hurons; Iroquois; Iroquois Treaties of 1700 and 1701; Mohawk-Mahican War; Mohawks; Mourning War; Native Warfare; Oneidas; Onondagas; Seneca, French Attack on; Senecas; Tuscaroras; Tuscarora War

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Iroquois Treaties of 1700 and 1701Event Dates: September 1700 and August 1701

Agreements between the Iroquois and the French (September 1700) and the Iroquois and New York colony (August 1701). By the

end of the 17th century, the Iroquois Confederation had been significantly weakened. Suffering from the losses sustained during the Beaver Wars (1641–1701) and King William's War (1689–1697), the Iroquois began to search for a way out of their predicament.

For much of the Beaver Wars, the Iroquois dominated their native enemies to the west. The Iroquois combined the economic motives for control of the fur trade with the traditional impetus of the Mourning War, which sought to replace their dead with captives. By the 1690s, however, Iroquois enemies were at least as well equipped in European weaponry as were they. With the disappearance of their heretofore technological advantage, the Iroquois began to sustain heavy losses.

The excessive number of casualties left the Iroquois vulnerable to attacks by their native enemies and the French. Indeed, in 1689 the French successfully invaded Seneca country, the westernmost portion of Iroquoia. There the French destroyed several Seneca towns and immense stores of maize.

The Iroquois also engaged in substantial fighting with the French during the 1690s on behalf of their English allies. However, the reaction (or rather, inaction) of the colony of New York to the French invasion taught the Iroquois a valuable lesson. Although the English may have been desirable as trading partners, as military allies, they were at best unreliable.

The Iroquois hoped to end the conflicts with the French and their native allies, yet their English allies restrained them from doing so. In 1698, English diplomats attempted to negotiate peace with the French on behalf of the Iroquois. However, both the French and the English had claimed the Iroquois as subjects. The French realized that they could not parley with English representatives acting on the behalf of the Iroquois League. To do so would have implied that the Iroquois were subjects of the British Crown.

In September 1700, over English objections, the Iroquois negotiated a treaty with the French. Under the terms of the accord, the Iroquois Confederation promised to remain at peace with New France's native allies and to remain neutral in future conflicts between the French and the English. In this way, the Iroquois actually helped the French, who were in something of a difficult economic and diplomatic position. The fur trade, the economic underpinning of French Canada, was if anything too successful. Warehouses in Montreal were glutted with furs, with the inevitable result that France's native trade partners would now be paid less for their pelts.

The treaty with the Iroquois allowed the French to keep the Five Nations in place as a barrier between the English colonies and other native peoples. This helped preserve France's trade and, more importantly, its alliances with the natives. If other native people had been able to trade with the English at Albany, they would have discovered that they offered cheaper, better quality trade goods. The long-term result of that would have been disastrous for New France.

In August 1701, a year after the treaty with New France, the Iroquois parleyed with English representatives and signed a treaty with the colony of New York. Although the Iroquois did not pledge neutrality, they did deed to the Crown rights to lands in southern Ontario that they claimed were theirs "by right of conquest." However, to secure these lands, the English would have to wrest control of them from the French, something the Iroquois knew was impossible in 1701.

Taken together, the two treaties have come to be known as the "Grand Settlement of 1701" and formed the basis of Iroquois diplomatic policy for half a century. The two treaties allowed the confederation to pursue a policy of "aggressive neutrality" by which it extracted concessions from both the French and the English. The English valued Iroquois trade, whereas the French had to have free access through lands controlled by the Iroquois in order to have communications between their colonies in Louisiana and in Canada. The Iroquois also took advantage of the long period of peace to foster peaceful relations with their native neighbors to the west and the north. They also forged closer ties with the English colony of Pennsylvania, as a counterweight to New York. And they found that they were free to continue their wars against their smaller, weaker enemies to the south, with minimal English interference.

ROGER M. CARPENTER

See also

Beaver Wars; Covenant Chain; Decanisora; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Mourning War; New York

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Jamestown

The first permanent English settlement in North America. Jamestown was founded on a peninsula protruding from the north bank of the James River in eastern Virginia. The settlement served as the epicenter of colonial Virginia and played an important role in conflicts between and among Europeans and Native Americans between 1607 and 1699. Interestingly, Jamestown (or James Town, as it was originally known) was a privately financed venture with a decidedly military flavor. It was established on May 14, 1607, by 104 settlers of the Virginia Company of London and derived its name from King James I.

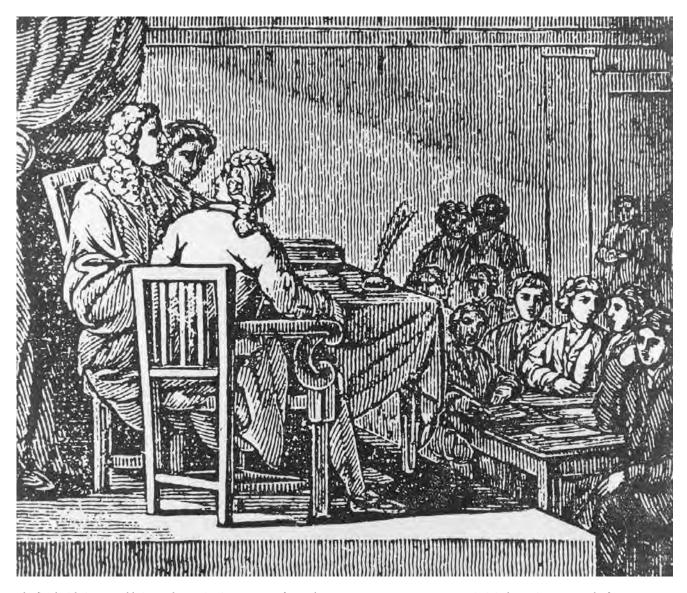
Investors hoped the colonists, carried aboard the ships *Susan Constant*, *Godspeed*, and *Discovery*, would either trade with or quickly conquer local Native American tribes and/or discover precious metals as a means of returning vast riches to England. Yet they feared the colony would provoke an attack by Spain, which claimed all of North America as its own. The investors therefore included a number of former soldiers among the colonists, and ordered Captain Christopher Newport to choose a site for Jamestown that was both hidden and easily defensible. Newport selected a peninsula five miles upstream of what settlers named the James River on terrain connected to the mainland by a very narrow neck of land. This site provided an obstacle to the landward approaches of Native Americans and made the new hamlet accessible to seagoing ships while keeping it far enough from the open ocean to avoid arousing the suspicion of passing Spanish ships.

Unfortunately, Jamestown had few other geographic advantages. The land was low and marshy, infested with disease-carring mosquitoes, and so close to the ocean that the adjacent river was a brackish, swirling stew of salt and fresh water that stagnated close

to shore. Because colonists dumped their waste into and drew their drinking water from the river in the same places, dysentery and other ailments ran rampant. Indeed, only 38 of the original 104 settlers survived the first nine months. And although new immigrants arrived to keep Jamestown going, colonists died so quickly that by 1610 only 60 out of 220 people who had arrived from England were still alive. Moreover, the early settlers were disproportionately gentlemen who hoped to get rich quickly and had no interest in working. They hunted and planted far too little to provide enough food for the winter, so that those who endured the heat, insects, and disease of the summer months often froze or starved to death the following winter.

Predictably, these abysmal conditions led to enormous infighting and desperation, which combined with racism to drive many colonists to mistreat nearby Native Americans whose gifts of food were the only reason some settlers survived. Captain John Smith famously brought order to the colony by imposing military discipline and forcing colonists to work six hours a day in 1608 and 1609. He also attempted to stay on good terms with the local Powhatan Confederacy.

All of this proved a brief respite, however, for his harsh measures provoked a revolt that, along with Smith's injury in an explosion, drove him from Jamestown and allowed the colony to descend into the "Starving Time" of 1609–1610. So many settlers died that Jamestown was briefly abandoned in the spring of 1610. When they encountered a relief expedition in Chesapeake Bay, the colonists returned and submitted to martial law under Gov. Thomas Dale and Gov. Thomas Gates, but long-term success came only after the discovery of tobacco as a profitable export, the establishment of a headright system that allowed private individuals to work their own



The first legislative assembly in North America, in Jamestown from July 30 to August 4, 1619. Jamestown, Virginia, begun in 1607, was the first permanent English settlement in America. (Library of Congress)

farms, and a gradual inland movement of settlers that took them away from the disease-infested coast.

As a military position, Jamestown began without fortifications of any kind, but after a raid by Native Americans in May 1607, the settlers built palisades made of upright logs and a triangular fort with turretlike emplacements for artillery at the corners. This was the first of many English forts in North America, and it served as a base during the first (1610–1614) and second (1622–1632) wars against the Powhatans and as a haven from attacks by other tribes such as the Kecoughtans, the Appomattocks, the Rappahannocks, and the Paspaheghs.

These Native American attacks were occasionally widespread, as evidenced by a colony-wide assault that left 347 settlers dead on March 22, 1622, and another in 1644 that killed more than 400. In each case the English exacted a terrible retribution, as in 1623 when

they lured 250 natives to their deaths with the promise of peace talks. Over time, the relentless influx of English settlers, their steady movement westward, catastrophic loss of habitat for wild game, and deliberate crop destruction by colonial forces destroyed Native American power in the region. The Algonquin tribes, for example, were reduced from an estimated population of 24,000 in 1607 to just 2,000 by 1669, and by the latter half of the 17th century tribes were forced to either accept English dominance or flee elsewhere.

As the center of economic power shifted inland, Jamestown gradually declined in importance. It was completely burned during Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, then destroyed yet again by accidental fire in 1699. At that time, a new capital for Virginia was established at Williamsburg, and Jamestown lay virtually abandoned thereafter.

See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Anglo-Powhatan War, First; Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Appomattocks; Bacon's Rebellion; Powhatan (Wahunsonacock); Powhatan Confederacy; Powhatans; Virginia

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Jemison, Mary

Born: ca. 1742

Died: September 1833

Pennsylvania frontier woman taken prisoner by Native Americans during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Born about 1742 on a ship destined for Pennsylvania from Ireland, Mary Jemison worked on her family's farm in western Pennsylvania. On April 5, 1758, the Jemison family came under attack by Shawnee warriors and their French allies. Mary was the only family member to escape death. The Shawnees took her captive and subsequently turned the young



Statue of Mary Jemison near Portage, New York. Taken captive by Native Americans, she adopted native culture and remained with the Senecas the rest of her life, becoming known as "the White Woman of the Genessee." Her story, published in 1824, became immensely popular. (Library of Congress)

woman over to the Senecas. Two sisters cared for her and adopted her in place of their deceased brother. Jemison subsequently twice married Iroquois men and raised several children strictly according to native culture. Jemison fully assimilated into the Seneca culture and became a noted leader among her adopted people.

Although Jemison remained with the Senecas for the rest of her life, becoming known as "the White Woman of the Genessee," she retained fluency in English and later told her experiences to Dr. James E. Seaver, who published them in 1824. The immensely popular story was subsequently reprinted in many editions and remains the most complete single source for Native American captivity narratives from colonial times, although scholars dispute to what degree Seaver edited or changed Jemison's story in order to provide the moral lessons he believed it should impart. Jemison also indicated that she had withheld substantial portions of her life story from Seaver. These unanswered questions have given the text a life well beyond that of a true-life thriller or a morality play. Jemison died in September 1833 at a reservation near Buffalo, New York.

GRANT WELLER

See also

Captivity Narratives; Captivity of Europeans by Indians; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Senecas; Shawnees

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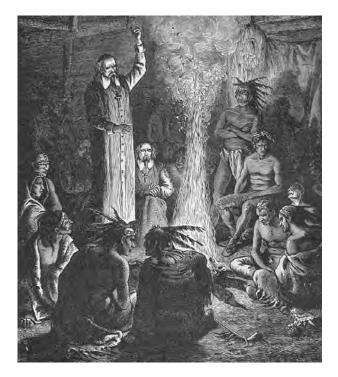
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Jesuits

Roman Catholic religious order founded by St. Ignatius Loyola in 1534 in Paris, France, and dedicated to worldwide missionary work. The Society of Jesus, as it was initially called, was granted official approval by Pope Paul III in 1540. The 15th-century term "Jesuit," meaning one who used or appropriated the name of Jesus too frequently, was first applied to the society in the period 1544–1552. It was never employed by its founder, though members and friends of the society in time accepted the name in its positive sense. The Society of Jesus is a mendicant order of priests organized for apostolic work, following a religious rule, and relying on charity for their support. Jesuits played a leading role in converting Native Americans to Christianity.

Although Jesuits played an important role in the Spanish mission system, the order had its greatest impact in New France. As early as 1625, French Jesuits embarked on a vigorous missionary effort to convert the Native Americans of New France. There they were known by the Algonquins as "Black Robes." Jesuit missionaries in New France had spent most of their lives being educated in boarding schools and *collèges* (Catholic secondary schools) in Paris and Anjou, mastering Latin and Greek, logic, rhetoric, philosophy,



Jesuit missionaries encounter a range of reactions as they preach among Native Americans in New England. (Ridpath, John Clark, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

history, and theology. They then secured appointment to New France through liberal mortification of the flesh and persistent lobbying. Most missionaries did not remain at Quebec, Montreal, or the native *reserves* but were obliged by their order to live among the natives as a means of converting them once it became clear that it was the only way this could be accomplished. The Jesuits prepared themselves for this task by living among France's peasantry, mastering their rough dialects, and adjusting to their folkways.

Nothing could have prepared the Jesuits for the privations and ordeals of living among the American *sauvages* (savages). Ill equipped for life in the North American wilderness, the best a new arrival could do was to keep a low profile and observe, learning as best he could until he developed the strength and stamina to paddle a canoe nonstop for several hours, carry it in a portage, sleep on frozen ground in tight quarters, stomach the native cuisine, learn the elaborate customs, and—most important—speak the language such that he could be deemed a "man of sense" and an asset to that particular community. Only the rare missionary could gain the respect of the natives, and most failed—usually early on and due to an inability to master the native languages.

Years of experience allowed successful missionaries to prepare guides for those who would follow. Most notable of these Jesuits was Jean de Brébeuf, who placed a premium on learning the native languages, which was the route to gaining status in the tribe and coming to supplant the shaman as the community's spiritual leader. This in turn made it possible to begin converting the Native Americans

to Christianity. Once a certain esteem had been earned, the natives found much to admire among the priests, including their indifference to wealth, which favorably differentiated them from the greedy traders and merchants, their ability to withstand carnal desires (although this was puzzling to Native Americans), and their courage and ability to calmly endure discomfort that ranged from ridicule from their companions to bodily torture inflicted by their enemies.

Being bound by their order never to carry a weapon or shed blood was always considered a great liability, however, for the natives could never fully come to grips with a people who refused to take up a hatchet to defend oneself. The mastery of protocol meant that priests could become extremely important leaders in native communities, and the rare priest who did climb to such a height found religious conversion relatively easy. Jesuits' seeming imperviousness to the diseases that regularly ravaged Native American communities was taken as a sign of the highest morality and "right living," which further enhanced their status. However, each priest had to win his own victories, which did not add to the overall reputation of the missionaries or the French as a whole. The natives persisted in thinking themselves vastly superior to the Europeans in nearly every respect, and only a very few could be convinced otherwise and become Europeanized. The French Jesuits' efforts were studiously compiled into the formidable *The Jesuit Relations* (1632–1673).

From the Protestant British perspective, the Society of Jesus was a highly dangerous organization devoted to global proselytization as an arm of Spanish—and particularly French—imperial expansion in the 18th century. Outrageous stories about alleged Jesuit conversion techniques were told and retold throughout the Protestant world, and in the British colonies their success with native peoples was highly exaggerated as a goad to colonization of the North American Atlantic seaboard.

JOHN HOWARD SMITH

See also

Black Robes; France; Native Alliances with Europeans; New France; Râle, Sébastien; Spanish Mission System, Southeast; Spanish Mission System, Southwest

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Johnson, Sir William

Born: 1715

Died: July 12, 1774

Noted British-born frontier trader, intermediary between North American colonists and Native Americans, and superintendent of Indian Affairs for the region north of the Ohio River (1754–1774). Sir William Johnson was born in 1715 in County Meath, Ireland, and arrived in North America in 1738 to manage his uncle's estates. Not long afterward, he established his own trading house in the Hudson River Valley, near Albany, New York.

Johnson soon developed a close association with the Mohawk tribe, the easternmost of the Six Nations, and learned the Iroquois language, customs, and diplomatic protocol. The Iroquois named him Warraghiyagey, which roughly translates to "he who does great things." Indeed, Johnson's relationship with the Iroquois and his deep knowledge of native diplomacy were the primary reasons the Crown appointed him superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1754, shortly after the beginning of the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

Adhering to the Grand Settlement of 1701, most of the Iroquois Six Nations remained neutral in the 18th-century imperial conflicts between France and England. However, this began to change when Johnson secured some influence with the Mohawks in the 1740s. During King George's War (1744–1748), the Crown appointed Johnson a colonel of the Six Nations. Working with the elderly Mohawk sachem Hendrick, Johnson was able to mount several military expeditions against French Canada.

Johnson further cemented his standing in the Mohawk community when in the 1750s he married into the prominent Brant family of the Mohawks, taking as his wife Molly Brant, one of Hendrick's female relatives (Johnson, however, referred to her as his house-keeper). As a clan matron, Brant wielded a great deal of authority in Mohawk governance. In fact, one of the primary reasons Johnson was appointed superintendent of Indian Affairs was the intense Mohawk lobbying effort on his behalf.

The poor performance of English forces in the early phases of the French and Indian War convinced most of the Iroquois to remain neutral. However, Johnson worked with his friend Hendrick to raise a force of Mohawks and colonial militia that defeated a sizable French force at Lake George in August 1755. The battle had a mixed outcome for Johnson. His old councilor Hendrick was killed during the fighting, but the Crown rewarded Johnson by making him a baronet.

For the reminder of the war, however, most of the Iroquois Confederation, including the Mohawks, chose not to join the English. In fact, much to Johnson's frustration, a good number of the Senecas, the westernmost of the Six Nations, sided with the French. But although he did not lead Iroquois warriors in battle, Johnson exercised his considerable diplomatic skills on the Crown's behalf, convincing many of the Delawares (Lenni Lenape) and the Shawnees to abandon the French and remain neutral. Not until the closing phases of the war, when British victory seemed assured, would the Iroquois join the British in large numbers.

With the end of the conflict in 1763, the new commander in chief of British forces in North America, Major General Jeffery Amherst, decided to stop the practice of gift giving with native peoples of the Great Lakes and Ohio Country, arguing that they should



Portrait of Sir William Johnson, who achieved great success as British superintendent of Indian Affairs for the area north of the Ohio River during 1754–1774. (Library of Congress)

not be bribed for good behavior. Johnson protested, arguing that gifts were a necessary part of native diplomacy. In 1763, partly as a result of Amherst's polices, Pontiac's Rebellion began, and Johnson was frustrated to learn that the Iroquois had little sway over the natives to the west. It was Johnson, however, who met with Pontiac at Oswego in 1766 and convinced him to make peace with the English.

For the last 10 years of his life, Johnson continued to exercise a great deal of influence in Native American affairs. He also closely mentored one of his kinsmen, Mohawk leader Joseph Brant. Johnson died during a conference with representatives of the Six Nations at his home, Johnson Hall, in New York on July 12, 1774.

ROGER M. CARPENTER

See also

Brant, Joseph (Thayendanega); Fort Johnson (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Indian Presents; Iroquois Confederation; King George's War, Land Campaigns; Lake George, Battle of; Mohawks; Native Warfare; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Johnson, Susannah Willard

Born: ca. 1730

Died: November 27, 1810

English woman held captive by Native Americans and the French during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Susannah Willard was born around 1730, probably in western Massachusetts. She married James Johnson and they lived just outside the Fort at Number Four at Charlestown, New Hampshire.

In a dawn attack on August 30, 1754, a group of Abenakis raided the Johnson home. The assault was the beginning of a life-changing saga that was similar for many of those captured along the frontier. The entire Johnson family (Susannah, her husband James, and their three children), Susannah's younger sister, and two other local men were taken. During her second day of captivity, Susannah gave birth to a girl. She and her husband named the child Elizabeth Captive Johnson.

Following an arduous trip, the family arrived at St. Francis, a native settlement in Canada. The Abenakis sold James, the two middle Johnson children, and the two local men to the French. Susannah, her daughter Elizabeth, and her son Sylvanus were adopted by the family of Joseph Louis Gill. Several months later, after living among the natives, whom she grew to respect, Susannah and the young Elizabeth were sold to the French. During their years in captivity, the Johnsons sought ransom money so that they could return home. They regularly petitioned various government entities in New France seeking better treatment and freedom. Finally ransomed, Susannah, her sister, and her two youngest children returned to New England in late 1757. James was also released and was reunited with his wife on January 1, 1758. Sylvanus arrived home in November 1758. Johnson's remaining captive child returned home in the late summer of 1760.

In March 1758, James joined the Massachusetts Militia. He died in the Battle of Ticonderoga in July 1758.

Susannah remarried in 1760 and published her account of the events she endured in 1796. Johnson (now Hastings) lived near Charlestown, New Hampshire, where she died on November 27, 1810.

MARCIA SCHMIDT BLAINE

See also

Abenakis; Captivity Narratives; Captivity of Europeans by Indians; Fort at Number 4 (New Hampshire); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns

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Jumonville's Glen, Action at

Event Date: May 28, 1754

Battle between French and British provincial forces that marked the start of the French and Indian War. Following the 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Britain and France attempted to negotiate an end to a border dispute between their North American empires. While the diplomats talked, British traders moved across the Allegheny Mountains into western Pennsylvania, and the French government in Canada attempted to protect their influence in the same area. Minor frontier squabbles gained new importance on April 15, 1754, when French forces evicted workmen from a nearly completed blockhouse at the forks of the Ohio River. The French then completed the blockhouse and expanded the fortifications, which they renamed Fort Duquesne, using it as a base to stop English incursions into the Ohio Country.

On suspicion that British provincial forces were operating west of the Alleghenies, the commander of Fort Duquesne, Claude-Pierre Pécaudy de Contrecoeur, sent Ensign Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville and a scouting party of 35 men to discover the whereabouts of the English. The English forces in question were some 150 Virginia militiamen and a handful of native allies operating under Lieutenant Colonel George Washington, whom Virginia's Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie had ordered to secure the Forks of the Ohio. Dividing his force into smaller scouting parties, Washington and approximately 47 men caught up with Jumonville in the Allegheny foothills on May 28, 1754.

Earlier that morning, Washington had called a council of war that included Tanaghrisson (Half-King), whose scouts had led the British to Jumonville's camp. While the Virginians took up positions around the encampment, Washington's native allies moved to the French rear. The French, meanwhile, prepared their breakfasts, probably unaware of the danger lurking around them.

It is impossible from known records to determine who fired first, or how the skirmish developed. Within 10 or 15 minutes, however, a single Virginian was dead and 2 were wounded. And the French had suffered 12 to 14 casualties. A cease-fire was quickly called, and the Virginians prepared to allow the wounded Jumonville to read his orders.

The ensign had little time to explain his summons—still less to discuss it—before Tanaghrisson attacked him. Half-King said to Jumonville, "You are not yet dead, my father," a reference to the French practice of paternalistic benevolence toward their American Indian allies, before splitting open the latter's head with a hatchet and washing his hands in the dead man's brain, an old Iroquois custom. Washington's other native allies soon followed suit, killing other French soldiers until only a single injured Frenchman remained alive. The 20 other unwounded Canadians remained untouched and soon became Washington's prisoners. Commentators for both sides have argued whether the action at Jumonville's

Glen was a skirmish or a massacre, and whether the ensign's death was an assassination by Washington's order or an unfortunate oversight by a novice officer.

After the incident, Washington consolidated his forces, withdrew about 10 miles, and began to construct the aptly named Fort Necessity. Meanwhile, an expedition of revenge set out from Fort Duquesne under Jumonville's brother, Captain Louis Coulon de Villiers. This force of 600 Canadians and 100 native allies caught up with Washington and his 500 colonial militiamen on July 3, 1754, and forced their surrender. After thus encounter, both sides began mobilizing for a large-scale conflict that became the French and Indian War.

MATT SCHUMANN

See also

Coulon de Villiers, Louis; Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville, Joseph; Dinwiddie, Robert; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Necessity (Pennsylvania), and Battle of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Washington, George

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Just War Theory

A term that deals with the justifications for waging war and how just wars are carried out. The justification for war (*jus ad bellum*) and conduct in war (*jus in bello*) are governed by a set of ethical, religious, philosophical, and legal guidelines that were developed from the general theological contributions of St. Augustine (354–430) and St. Thomas Aquinas (1225?–1274).

The first philosopher to delineate the principles that should determine when it is proper to engage in warfare, Augustine argued that the primary justification for war was to preserve a nation from serious harm. In his view, avenging a serious wrong was a legitimate reason for war as well. Securing political or economic gain, however, was not justification for war. Augustine also asserted that in order to be just a war had to be declared by proper governmental authority and its scope should be limited to the minimum necessary to secure order and to reestablish peace. In his 13th-century *Summa Theologica*, Aquinas restated three conditions that justified war: competent authority (a sovereign government), just cause (avenging aggression), and right intention (impartiality over self-interest).

The general rules for just war set by Aquinas were retained by many theorists and jurists, who added their own conditions for a just war, particularly during the period between the 16th and 18th centuries. The model laid out by Francisco de Vitoria (1492–1546) and Francisco Suarez (1548–1617) examined the question of how to wage war either defensively or offensively. To justify a defensive war, a peaceful society had to suffer an aggressive attack. And for an offensive attack to be justified, it had to be a response to a significantly damaging action. Both defensive and offensive warfare, however, had to be fought not only as a last resort but also in a proper manner.

Where Vitoria and Suarez attempted to answer the question on how to wage war while maintaining Christian values, other theorists approached the topic of just war from a secular perspective. Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), for example, noted that war was just if a nation faced immediate danger, if a nation's interests were defended with necessary force, and if the force used was commensurate with the danger. Grotius may have had the biggest impact on warfare and just war theory during the North American colonial period.

JAMES J. SCHAEFER

See also

Pacifism; Quaker Pacifism

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K

Karankawas

Name for a number of Native American tribes—probably five or more loosely related bands—that lived on the Texas coast until they became extinct about 1850. The specific area they inhabited was the coastline roughly between western Galveston Bay and just north of Corpus Christi. At their most numerous, the Karankawas probably never exceeded 10,000 in number.

The Texas coast is a flat, low-lying region protected by a string of barrier islands. Numerous rivers flow into its bays of Galveston, Matagorda, Aransas, and Corpus Christi. The natives who settled along these rivers from Galveston to Corpus Christi, comprised the groups of the Karankawas. They were the Charrucos, the Hans, the Deguenes, the Carancaquacas (Karankawas), the Guaycones, the Quitoles, the Camolas, and possibly the so-called Fig People. The Karankawas spoke an unusual language that may have been originally related to Caribi.

The Karankawas were nonsedentary hunter-gathers who also planted small gardens. Living in wigwamlike structures, they moved from place to place in large dugout canoes to search for food. They engaged in ritualistic ceremonies (*mitotes*) during which they drank an intoxicant brewed from the yaupon plant. Their worship was centered on the sun, to which they gave homage when it disappeared at sunset.

The Karankawas were not well organized politically. Leadership was not inherited but earned by merit, often through battle. The Karankawas employed the long bow for both hunting and battle. They acquired a reputation for cannibalism, probably from the ritualistic or magical practice of eating the flesh of a dead enemy.

The first European encounter with the Karankawas came in 1532, when survivors of a Spanish expedition into the panhandle of Florida and originally led by Pánfilo de Narváez were cast ashore.

Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, a member of the expedition, lived among the Karankawas for six years as a captive. He eventually returned to Spanish territory, and his report became the most extensive information available on the Karankawas.

After the Spaniards, the French were the next Europeans to encounter the Karankawas, specifically René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, who visited in 1685 and established Fort St. Louis along Garcitas Creek on the edge of Matagorda Bay. Relations between the French and the Karankawas quickly turned violent, and the natives killed the French settlers, ending this attempt at a permanent settlement.

In 1722, the Spanish established a presidio, Nuestra Señora de Loreto, and a mission on the ruins of the French fort. However, Spanish efforts to convert and pacify the Karankawas failed. In 1754, the mission of Nuestra Señora del Rosario was established at what soon became known as Goliad. Again, the Karankawas resisted efforts to convert them. Undeterred, the Spanish erected the mission Nuestra Señora del Refugio in 1791 near the mouth of the Mission River. It too experienced little success.

In 1817, the privateer Jean Laffite fought with the Karankawas, inflicting heavy losses on them. Stephen Austin, the Texas colony impresario, led a force against the Karankawas in 1825. By 1850 or so, disease, hostile actions by other tribes, and white encroachment resulted in the extermination of the Karankawas.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Fort St. Louis (Texas); Narváez, Pánfilo de; Spanish Mission System, Southwest; Texas

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Kickapoos

Native American group first encountered by Europeans in the Green Bay (modern-day Wisconsin) and Fox River regions. The tribe belongs to the Algonquian linguistic group. The name means literally "he who moves about, standing now here, now there." This title is borne out by the movements of the Kickapoos, who changed geographic locations several times during the 17th and 18th centuries. Nevertheless, they exhibited a great deal of closely guarded cultural homogeneity. And although they were often forced into contacts with various Europeans, the Kickapoos consistently remained hostile and aloof.

The Kickapoos probably originated in the area of southeastern Michigan and northwestern Ohio. They were forced to relocate in modern-day Wisconsin as a result of their involvement in the Beaver Wars (1641–1701). It was during their residence in Wisconsin that the Kickapoos first appeared in French records. In the first decades of the 18th century, they moved into what is now central Illinois, near present-day Peoria. Between 1729 and 1749, the Kickapoos split into two distinct groups. The tribe separated in an effort to make itself less vulnerable to a single, large-scale enemy attack.

Culturally, the Kickapoos were conservative and repeatedly shunned any efforts to assimilate into European culture. Such was the case even after trade with the French made it almost imperative for their survival. Part of their conservatism stemmed from their small size, as they never exceeded 3,000 in number. The Kickapoos' social organization was clan-centered and patrilineal, with descent traced through the father. Brothers and sisters of the mother did, however, play significant roles in raising the children.

Although the Kickapoos vigorously resisted interactions with Europeans, they often formed alliances with other Native American tribes. In 1685, for example, the Kickapoos formed a confederacy with the Fox and several other tribes. The purpose of the alliance was to resist incursions by the Sioux. Indeed, the Kickapoos remained important allies of the Fox during the Fox War.

Later, the Kickapoos switched allegiances, becoming a French ally and turning against the Fox. They continued in their alliance with the French, eventually fighting against the English in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Members of the Vermillion Kickapoos took part in the siege of Fort William Henry in 1757. As a result of these activities, they were infected with smallpox, which they brought back to their villages that winter.

Almost immediately following the French defeat in the conflict, the Kickapoos took part in Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763 and remained hostile toward the British longer than many other tribes in the Midwest. When Kickapoo resistance to British domination finally relented, in came not by way of military force, but rather because of the efforts of the frontier diplomat and trader George Croghan, whom the Kickapoos had captured in a raid.

James R. McIntyre

See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Croghan, George; Fort William Henry, Siege of; Fox; Fox War; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Pontiac's Rebellion; Sauks and Fox

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Kieft, Willem

Born: ca. 1600 Died: 1647

Director general of New Netherland (the Dutch West India Company) from 1638 to 1646. Willem Kieft was born around 1600 in the Netherlands. Little is known of his early years, although he had apparently suffered serious financial problems that had bankrupted him before he left Europe for New Amsterdam. The Dutch West India Company had apparently learned little following the



Willem Kieft was a highly unpopular leader of New Netherland, holding the position of director general during 1638–1646. (Library of Congress)

failures of the previous director general, Wouter von Twiller. Kieft arrived in New Amsterdam in March 1638 and was not pleased with the settlement he found there. Indeed, he complained of the crumbling fort and shoddy houses that surrounded it. Kieft subsequently oversaw repairs to the fort, and the construction of the Stadt Huys (City Hall) in 1642, which was a place where visitors could be entertained. He also ordered the construction of a church within the already cramped Fort Amsterdam, against the wishes of the people.

Kieft encouraged English settlers who were being persecuted in New England for religious reasons to settle in New Netherland. English settlers became so numerous in New Amsterdam that an official translator had to be employed. Nevertheless, Kieft was wary of English encroachment on Dutch territory, and watched with consternation as English settlements grew in Connecticut, just to the east. He also tried to dissuade former New Netherland governor Peter Minuit from establishing a settlement in 1638 for the Swedish on the Delaware River (near present-day Wilmington, Delaware).

Although Kieft had officially prohibited the sale of guns or gunpowder to Native Americans, the Dutch settlers could not resist the opportunity to make money by such ventures. They were indeed quite pleased to receive 20 beaver skins for a single firearm. Hoping for more money for his coffers, Kieft hatched a scheme to charge local natives a tax for protection by Dutch soldiers. When the natives balked, Kieft retaliated against the Raritan tribe for an incident involving a hog theft. As tensions ran high, the murder of a Dutchman by a Wickquasgeck warrior precipitated a full-scale war.

In February 1643, Kieft ordered the massacre of two groups of nonhostile Wickquasgeck Native Americans who had camped near New Amsterdam seeking shelter from the Mohawks. The conflict this action initiated became known as Kieft's War, and cost many lives and the destruction of much property. Kieft's growing unpopularity was a direct result of the war and of his stubborn rejection of any compromise. In 1647, Kieft was called on to return to Holland and account for his actions, including his policy toward the Native Americans. His ship sailed from New Amsterdam on August 17, 1647. Off the coast of England, a storm sent the vessel onto a rocky shoal, and most of the passengers, including Kieft, perished. Petrus Stuyvesant replaced Kieft as director general.

RICHARD PANCHYK

See also

Dutch-Indian Wars; Kieft's War; Minuit, Peter; Mohawks; New Netherland; Stuyvesant, Petrus

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Kieft's War

Start Date: 1639

End Date: August 1645

Conflict largely conducted in the vicinity of New Amsterdam and precipitated by a massacre of Native Americans under orders of Dutch governor Willem Kieft. Kieft's War is also known as Governor Kieft's War and Willem Kieft's War. Since the founding of New Amsterdam in 1624, relations with local Native Americans had been mostly peaceful. That changed, however, when Kieft became director general (governor) of New Netherland in 1638. Kieft first provoked the Raritan tribe, allegedly in retaliation for their theft of pigs on Staten Island. In response, the Raritans burned a Dutch farmhouse and killed four Dutch settlers.

In the summer of 1641, a Wickquasgeck tribesman showed up at the door of a wheelwright named Claes Smit, who lived a few miles north of New Amsterdam. The native pretended to be interested in buying cloth, but then killed Smit in revenge for the murder of his uncle in 1625. Kieft demanded that the Wickquasgecks produce the killer at once and hand him over to Dutch officials. They refused to comply.

In August 1641, Kieft assembled the citizens of the town to appoint an advisory council of 12 men to deal with the brewing Native American crisis. The questions facing the committee were fourfold: should the Dutch seek revenge for the murderer of Claes Smit; should the natives' whole village be destroyed in the process; how and when should retaliation be exacted; and who should conduct such an endeavor? Kieft's hope was that the council would simply draft similar plans for war that he himself had already been plotting. To his dismay, however, the council was not so eager to engage in warfare.

The council's response to Kieft's questions was a diplomatic one. It did agree that force should be used if necessary, but its petition recommended a careful course of action. The council also seemed to understand the position Kieft was trying to put them in, and so its members cleverly replied that since he was director general, he must lead the way in any plan of attack. The councilmen did favor continuing to advise Kieft, however. Angry at the council's response, Kieft issued a decree thanking its members for their help, but forbidding the 12 councilmen from meeting again.

On February 25, 1643, Kieft ordered Dutch soldiers to attack two groups of unsuspecting Wickquasgecks at Corlaer's Hook (Manhattan) and Pavonia (New Jersey). The natives had encamped at those spots from points north, seeking refuge from Mohawks, their adversaries. That evening, the former leader of the advisory council, David de Vries, tried in vain to convince Kieft of the folly of his plan, even as the soldiers prepared for attack. The raid went ahead, and more than 100 natives were massacred while they slept. Although Kieft's order specified that women and children be spared, such was not the case.



Illustration showing Dutch envoys treating with Native Americans at Fort Amsterdam in New Netherland. (Library of Congress)

In his journal, De Vries recorded the vicious brutality directed against the natives, reporting that he could hear the screams of victims at Pavonia. He wrote that the Native Americans were "massacred in a manner to move the heart of a stone." The colonists were not happy that Kieft had gone against their wishes. Indeed, they knew that a state of war with the natives would seriously affect the fur trade, as they did not trap animals themselves but relied on Native Americans as their main source for furs.

Safety was also a major concern for the Dutch colonists. Despite orders to the contrary, Dutch settlers had continued to trade and sell guns and gunpowder to various native tribes. As the conflict expanded beyond the Wickquasgeck tribe that Kieft had ordered attacked, the colonists realized that their forces were badly outnumbered by Native American warriors, by about 1,500 to 200. Native warriors killed colonists all over New Netherland, also destroying their homes, crops, and livestock. Safety could only be found within and around the walls of the crumbling Fort Amsterdam, whereas the farms in outlying areas to the north were constant targets of nighttime strikes by natives. An appeal for help to the English settlement at New Haven was rebuffed.

Natives murdered the recently arrived Anne Hutchinson (a refugee from Massachusetts) and six of her children on isolated

land in the Bronx that Kieft had given her. The settlement at Mespat (in present-day Queens) was wiped out during Kieft's War, and the village's founder, Rev. Francis Doughty, fled to New Amsterdam. A settlement across the North (Hudson) River in present-day New Jersey was decimated. Gravesend in present-day Brooklyn was attacked but not destroyed.

The fighting continued into 1644. As the war became more expensive and destructive, it nearly bankrupted the colony. Kieft proposed levying taxes on beaver skins and beer, to the outrage of citizens.

The tide turned in 1644, when the Dutch hired English mercenaries led by Captain John Underhill. Combining his forces with newly arrived Dutch forces, he raided a Native American settlement in Connecticut at night, killing hundreds. Hundreds more were killed soon after in another raid north of Manhattan Island. Beginning in April 1644, Underhill led skirmishes on Long Island, and his men killed more than 100 natives at Massapequa.

Finally, by the summer of 1645, both sides were ready to end the bloodshed, and a peace treaty was negotiated in August 1645. Kieft and the representatives of several native tribes held a ceremony in front of Fort Amsterdam to mark the end of hostilities. The terms of the peace treaty stated that the Dutch would stay away from

Native American settlements and that armed natives were not allowed to approach Dutch settlements.

The fallout from the war was significant. Most of the farms in Manhattan had been damaged or destroyed during the war, leaving only a scant few unharmed. In the colonists' minds, the war erased any good that Kieft may have done while governor. Indeed, a petition of grievances against Kieft was smuggled to Holland in the fall of 1644, which ultimately resulted in his ouster in 1647.

RICHARD PANCHYK

See also

Dutch-Indian Wars; Fort Amsterdam (New York); Kieft, Willem; New Netherland; Underhill, John

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King George's War, Land Campaigns

Start Date: January 25, 1744 End Date: October 1748

One in the series of imperial wars of the 18th century involving Great Britain and France that spilled over from Europe to North America. In December 1740, taking advantage of the accession of young Austrian archduchess Maria Theresa to the Austrian throne, King Frederick II of Prussia initiated the First Silesian War, sending Prussian troops into Silesia and seizing that rich Austrian province. The major European powers took sides and the conflict grew into what was later known as the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). In the war, France sided with Prussia whereas Britain supported Austria. This situation was complicated by the Anglo-Spanish War, popularly known as the War of Jenkins' Ear, between Britain and Spain. This war, which had begun in 1739, led to some clashes along the North Carolina, Georgia, and Florida coasts involving Spanish and British forces. In consequence of the signing of the Second Family compact between France and Spain (October 23, 1743), France declared war on Britain on March 4, 1744, and King George II issued a counterdeclaration of war on March 29.

News of the declarations of war reached North America by the end of April. Perhaps wishing to steal a march on the English, the French began hostilities in North America, although neither side prosecuted the fighting there with great vigor. In May, the French launched an attack from their great Cape Breton Island fortress of

Louisbourg against Canso (Canseau), a small English fishing settlement in extreme northeastern Nova Scotia. The French took Canso without difficulty on May 13. The attack turned out to be a mistake in the sense that it fully alarmed New England.

A few weeks after the French took Canso, a French-allied Native American force also appeared before Annapolis Royal (formerly Port Royal), Nova Scotia. The natives showed little inclination to attack a fortified position, even one defended by only about a hundred men, and they soon withdrew on the arrival of 70 Massachusetts reinforcements. In August, native warriors returned, this time with some French troops, but Massachusetts reinforcements again caused the attackers to depart.

Meanwhile, Gov. William Shirley of Massachusetts was preparing an expedition against Louisbourg. Public sentiment in Massachusetts strongly supported the plan. Massachusetts citizens were anxious to eliminate this key French base, hopefully thereby ending French support for Native American attacks along the northern frontier. Also, Louisbourg was in times of peace the chief base for French fishing vessels, which were in direct competition with those of New England for the rich fishing grounds of the Grand Banks. In war, the harbor at Louisbourg served as the principal base for French privateers preying on New England merchant vessels plying the most traveled sea route to and from New England as well as attacks on the English colonists' fishing boats. The attack on Canso also fueled New England fears that the French desired to take back Nova Scotia, formerly Acadia, where several thousand Frenchspeaking inhabitants still lived. The religious fervor of the Great Awakening was still prevalent, and strong anti-Catholic sentiment in New England also played a role in the desire for offensive action.

In late 1744, a number of exchanged British prisoners arrived back in Boston from Louisbourg. Among them was Lieutenant John Bradstreet, taken prisoner at Canso. He and the other prisoners had taken advantage of their stay in the French fortress to familiarize themselves with its defenses. Bradstreet was convinced that Louisbourg was then vulnerable to attack. He pointed out that its defenses were incomplete and that its garrison was disaffected. Meanwhile, another of the former captives, merchant ship captain William Vaughan, who had a strong financial interest in the outcome, did what he could to whip up enthusiasm in Boston for a descent on Louisbourg. Prominent business, shipping, and fishing interests all backed the idea. With Governor Shirley strongly in favor, on January 25 the Massachusetts General Court voted, by the narrowest of margins, to undertake operations against Louisbourg, if the rest of New England would render assistance.

Shirley now notified London, where such a plan had already been discussed, and hastened to secure support from the other colonies, including all of New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Most New Englanders supported the idea, although Rhode Island at first declined to send any troops. Beyond New England, however, the response was less than satisfactory. Also discouraging was the reply from Commodore Peter Warren, senior British naval officer in the Caribbean, whose ships would be the

ones to provide any Royal Navy support. Although he was personally sympathetic to the plan, Warren informed Shirley that his participation would require orders from London.

Despite these obstacles, Shirley proceeded. To command the expeditionary force, Shirley selected William Pepperell Jr., a merchant living in Kittery and commander of the Maine Militia (Maine was then part of Massachusetts). During February and March 1745, colonial volunteers assembled at the New England ports, especially Boston. Supplies were also collected to be transported to Louisbourg in a polyglot colonial fleet.

Finally, on March 24 the colonial fleet of 51 transports lifting 2,800 Massachusetts troops departed Nastasket Road escorted by the colonial warship *Shirley*. New Hampshire sent 450 men and Connecticut volunteered 500, raising the troop strength to somewhere around 3,500 men. Only after this force sailed did Shirley receive word from Commodore Warren that he had received authorization to participate and was headed north with a squadron of warships.

The Massachusetts contingent arrived at the rendezvous point off Canso on April 4 and there linked up with the New Hampshire volunteers, already present. On April 22, a British warship arrived with the welcome news of Warren's participation, and the remaining British warships hove into sight the next morning. A few days later the Connecticut contingent at last arrived.

The expedition, now numbering about 100 vessels of all types, departed Canso for Louisbourg on April 29. The next day the motley fleet arrived off Gabarus Bay, some four miles southwest of Louisbourg. French commander and acting governor of Louisbourg Louis du Chambon had not expected the attack to come from that direction. The New England troops soon went ashore and landed their supplies and the few artillery pieces they had brought with them while Warren's ships kept up a blockade of the French fortress from the sea side.

The keys to the defense of Louisbourg were the Island Battery and Grand Battery. Bradstreet, now serving in Pepperell's forces, insisted that the Grand Battery was in poor repair and could be taken immediately. The French defenders reached the same conclusion and obliged the attackers by abandoning it. On only their third day ashore, colonial troops occupied the Grand Battery and secured its 30 cannon, which the French had failed to remove. Although the French had spiked the guns, they had not done a thorough job and boring out the touch holes again so they could be fired was not an insurmountable problem. By noon on May 3, the colonials had turned one of the guns against the French fortress, and other guns were soon returned to service and joined in. Thanks entirely to the French, Pepperell had secured the cannon he needed.

Warren, meanwhile, envisioned a joint assault on the fortress by colonial troops on land and the Royal Navy ships forcing their way into the harbor. Before that could go forward, however, the French Island Battery had to be taken. Its garrison repulsed one amphibious assault with heavy losses for the attackers on the night of May 23. Finally by June 10, the colonials succeeded in placing cannon on Lighthouse Point at the north end of the harbor entrance, and from

this point were able to shell the Island Battery, rendering it untenable. At the same time the colonials continued to fire into Louisbourg itself, forcing its inhabitants to take refuge in the fortified casemates.

During the second week in June, additional Royal Navy ships arrived, bringing Warren's squadron up to 11 vessels. Louisbourg was now completely cut off. On June 17, with Louisbourg having been buffeted by some 9,000 cannonballs and 600 explosive shells, his supply of powder running low, no prospects of relief, and morale low among the garrison and civilian population, Chambon surrendered. Warren then took possession of the town. Although the Royal Navy had made possible the capture of Louisbourg through its effective blockade, Pepperell and the colonials justly received the credit for the victory, heralded as a remarkable achievement for a militia force.

The colonial success at Louisbourg provided an unmistakable psychological boost to the New Englanders. It was certainly the greatest accomplishment of colonial arms before the American Revolutionary War. Many colonials falsely took it to mean that militia forces were superior to regular forces. A colonial force remained in garrison at Louisbourg, but dysentery, smallpox, and yellow fever claimed a high toll of the occupiers.

Governor Shirley, meanwhile, urged an immediate assault on Quebec in order to seize all of Canada. London approved the plan and even ordered the other colonial governors to cooperate. The British government also promised to pay for the troops raised, and pledged to contribute a fleet and eight battalions of regulars to meet the colonial force in Louisbourg. All the New England colonies, plus New York, Maryland, and Virginia, supplied troops. Mohawk warriors agreed to join as well. The colonial militia was in place by July 1746.

Unfortunately for the English colonists, the result was a repeat of 1709 as the English troops and ships were never sent. European considerations led to their diversion there. The assault on Canada was called off and the colonial troops dispersed.

Fortunately for the English colonists, the French were not able to take advantage of London's quiescence. Recognizing the importance of Louisbourg to New France, the French mounted a considerable effort under Admiral Jean-Baptiste-Louis-Frédéric de la Rouchfoucauld de Roye, Duc d'Anville. The assembled force included 76 ships lifting 3,000 men with the goal of retaking Louisbourg and Annapolis Royal. The ships had a difficult three-month passage to America, during which they were buffeted by hurricanes, and the men in the crowded ships fell prey to an outbreak of smallpox. On the fleet's arrival in American waters, d'Anville died of apoplexy. His successor attempted suicide and was in turn succeeded by the Marquis de la Jonquière, governor designate of New France. Before the fleet limped back to France, the infected troops inadvertently spread smallpox ashore among the Native Americans. The disease would exact a higher human toll on France's allies than the latter sustained in fighting during the entire war.

New Englanders had dared to believe that the capture of Louisbourg would bring an end to native attacks along the northern frontier, but this did not prove to be the case. Indeed, after the fall of Louisbourg, native attacks in Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts actually increased. Early in 1744, the Massachusetts General Court ordered construction of four new posts along the Connecticut River. These became Fort Shirley, Fort Pelham, Fort Massachusetts, and Fort at Number Four. Massachusetts also sent 440 militiamen to guard the northwestern frontier. These efforts came none too soon, for in July 1745, natives attacked the Great Meadow Fort in modern-day Putney, Vermont, and St. George's Fort in today's Thomaston, Maine.

In this activity the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederation occupied an important position because of their geographical location and influence. Ever since King William's War (1689–1697), the Iroquois had generally pursued a policy of neutrality. Throughout the war, the Iroquois position shifted based on self-interest. Clearly they did not trust the English. Fearful they would be left in the lurch, during the war the Iroquois tilted somewhat toward the French.

A number of the raids against the English originated from the French-built Fort St. Frédéric at Crown Point near the south end of Lake Champlain. Established in 1731, it served as a major post for attacks against English settlements in upper New York and New England. In November 1745, Lieutenant Paul Marin led a sizable raid of French forces from Fort St. Frédéric. His force consisted of some 520 Frenchmen, Iroquois, Nipissings, Hurons, and Abenakis, and even a priest.

Marin's objective was the English agricultural community of Saratoga, New York. Located on the west bank of the Hudson River some 30 miles above Albany, Saratoga boasted a fort but it was both poorly maintained and lacked a regular garrison. The raiders struck at night and achieved total surprise, setting fire to the fort, homes, farms, and mills. The raiders then withdrew, taking with them 109 prisoners as well as significant stocks of supplies. They arrived back at Crown Point on November 22. The Saratoga raid had a devastating effect on morale in the English settlements of the upper Hudson River Valley. Most settlers simply abandoned their homes and fled south. There were even fears that Albany might be attacked next.

During the spring of 1746, English settlements between the Kennebec River and Penobscot River in Maine came under native attack. In April 1746, natives struck at the Fort at Number Four on the Connecticut River located at present-day Charlestown, New Hampshire, but were driven back. The natives struck there again, twice in May and again in June. Attacks occurred all along the New York frontier. In August, a strong 700-man French and native raid occurred against Fort Massachusetts on the upper Hoosick River only 25 miles east of Albany. There were only 29 people at the post, of whom 21 were men, but they held out until their ammunition supply ran low. The attackers took them all prisoner then burned the fort. The colonial governments found it impossible to protect the thinly spread frontier population against such attacks. Those settlers who chose to remain did so at a high degree of risk. They might be killed in the fields or taken prisoner, their possessions seized or destroyed.

The situation for the English in Nova Scotia seemed particularly precarious. French forces were located nearby at Beaubassin on Chignecto Bay, and the Acadian population of Nova Scotia sought to maintain a neutral stance. At the Acadian village of Grand Pré, English colonel Arthur Noble commanded a 500-man garrison.

In early January 1747, Antoine Coulon de Villiers led a force of 200 Canadians from Beaubassin. The ground was covered with snow and the attackers had to resort to snowshoes and sledges. Gathering native and Acadian recruits as they proceeded, this French-native force arrived at Grand Pré at the end of the month. With a snowstorm arriving, Noble's men were caught unawares. Noble and several other officers were killed in the initial assault. After a fight lasting several hours and with 80 English dead and an equal number wounded, both sides agreed to terms by which the British soldiers were allowed to withdraw to Annapolis Royal. The French did not control northern Nova Scotia for long. Soon they too departed, and Grand Pré was reoccupied by a strong Massachusetts force.

In April 1747, Ensign Boucher de Niverville led a French force of perhaps 700 men against English forts along the Connecticut River. They attacked the Fort at Number Four, but after a three-day siege they gave up and departed. At London's request, English colonial leaders gathered a large force of more than 3,000 colonial militiamen and Iroquois at Albany in the spring of 1747. But with pay late in arriving from England and with unrest growing between various colonial factions, the troops were dismissed in July 1747.

The French attacked Saratoga again in late June 1747 with a mixed force of 500–600 men. In the attack the English suffered 15 casualties. Forty-nine men were also captured, before English reinforcements arrived from Albany. However, the New Yorkers decided that the fort at Saratoga was too costly to maintain and too vulnerable to attack. They burned the fort and abandoned the site.

Fighting along the frontier continued into 1748, with attacks by the English near Crown Point and near the Fort at Number Four. The French struck twice near Fort Dummer and another time near Schenectady, New York. British efforts to mollify their Native American allies continued as colonial leaders held a third Iroquois congress at Albany in July 1748. There the Iroquois declared themselves ready to fight but they also expressed disappointment with the failure to attack Quebec in 1747. In the meantime, other Native American tribes' relations with the English colonists grew even more strained.

Both sides engaged in considerable privateering activity during the war. Mostly this consisted of seizures of merchant vessels, but occasionally there were hit-and-run attacks on coastal settlements. A Rhode Island privateer attacked and sacked a Spanish town in north Cuba, and the Spanish raided coastal settlements in South Carolina and Georgia. In 1747, the Spanish even raided Beaufort, near Cape Lookout in North Carolina. The next year the Spanish attacked and held for a time the town of Brunswick, on the lower Cape Fear River. In 1747, French and Spanish privateers were active farther north, even penetrating some 60 miles up the Delaware River.

At the same time, however, the Royal Navy was actively reducing the French and Spanish fleets in European waters. The growing strength of the Royal Navy vis-à-vis its opponents boded ill for the French and Spanish in America, for it meant that reinforcements of men and supplies could not get through and that the British colonies'

far larger population advantage would come into play. Indeed, shortages of goods forced the French into illicit trade with the enemy English colonists. This impacted relations with the Native Americans as well; they now often turned to the better-supplied English colonists to procure needed goods. Certainly the scarcity of trade goods contributed to the revolt of the Miami tribe in the Ohio Country in 1747 and helped strengthen the pro-British faction among the Choctaws.

The long war ended with the October 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. As far as America was concerned, the key provision was the restoration of colonial conquests. In December news reached New England, where it was regarded as a great betrayal and a revelation of the disadvantage of being part of a worldwide empire. The colonists were incensed that Britain had returned Louisbourg whereas the French had handed back Madras in India, which they had captured from the English. The colonists held as insufficient Parliament's reimbursement to New England of £235,000, most of which correctly went to Massachusetts, and a knighthood for Pepperell. The war claimed some 500 English colonists dead in the actual fighting. More than 1,100 others died from disease and exposure. About 350 Frenchmen died in the fighting, with at least 2,500 dead from disease. Native American casualties were unknown.

The war left both the French and English empires in North America intact. Some dared to hope the peace would last, but wiser heads predicted a return to fighting and final showdown over which side would dominate North America. Indeed, the war resumed in 1754—this time the fighting broke out first in America—and ended in 1763 in a resounding French defeat. Louisbourg itself was retaken in 1758.

MARCIA SCHMIDT BLAINE AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Abenakis; Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of; Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Canso, Battle of; Fort at Number Four (New Hampshire); Fort Massachusetts (Massachusetts); Fort Pelham (Massachusetts); Fort Shirley (Massachusetts); Fort St. Frédéric (New York); Iroquois; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Louisbourg Expedition; Massachusetts; Pepperrell, Sir William, Jr.; Saratoga, Battle of; Shirley, William

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King George's War, Naval Campaigns

Start Date: March 1744 End Date: October 1748

King George's War (1744–1748) was the third in a series of major Anglo-French conflicts in North America. It grew out of the wider European War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), which began when King Frederick II sent the Prussian Army into Silesia

in an effort to seize that rich province from Austrian archduchess Maria Theresa. The war expanded and Prussia eventually secured the support of France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony. Maria Theresa was able to count on Britain, largely in the form of financial subsidies. The British government sought to prevent the expansion of Bourbon French and Spanish power in Europe.

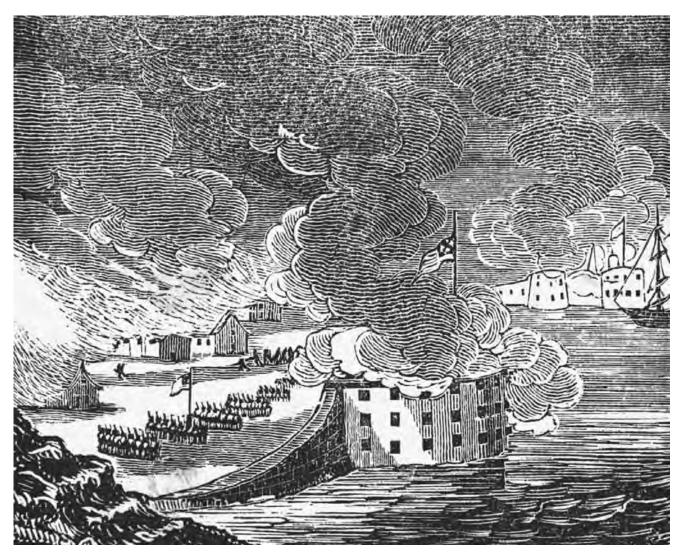
The War of the Austrian Succession overlapped with a conflict on the seas that had begun in 1739 between England and Spain (the Anglo-Spanish War or War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739–1743), a series of indecisive naval encounters. Fighting on the seas intensified considerably when, in March 1744, France declared war against Great Britain. The war at sea was fought in three chief theaters: North America and the Caribbean, India, and Europe.

The major operation in the North American theater occurred in June 1745 when a largely colonial force supported by the British Navy landed on Cape Breton Island with the plan to capture the French fortress of Louisbourg. The attackers settled into a siege and Louisbourg capitulated on June 27, 1745. London and the British New England colonies saw this operation as the springboard for the invasion and conquest of Canada, but that never occurred as British troops were required elsewhere.

The French did not want to let the matter rest there, for Louisbourg guarded the entrance to the St. Lawrence River, the lifeline to New France. With the plan of retaking the fortress, the French assembled a considerable force of 11 ships of the line and 50-gun ships, 3 frigates, 3 fireships, and 2 bomb vessels, along with a large number of transports and supply ships, all lifting 3,500 men. Admiral Jean-Baptiste-Louis-Frédéric de la Rouchfoucauld de Roye, Duc d'Anville, had command. The ships sailed from Brest on June 22. They had a long and difficult voyage to America, during which they encountered strong storms and the crews and troops aboard were decimated by an outbreak of smallpox. The French ships arrived off Nova Scotia on September 10. D'Anville died of apoplexy, and his successor committed suicide. Some supply ships were sent on to Quebec, but no effort was made to attack Louisbourg, and the remainder of the ships soon sailed back to France. On the return voyage, English ships took several of the French vessels.

In the Caribbean, there was much sparring, with the British attempting to take the Spanish treasure fleet. On October 1, 1748, at the very end of the war, the Royal Navy bested the Spanish in an encounter off Havana, Cuba.

The same sort of scenario unfolded in Indian waters. Here the object was the English port of Madras. On June 25, 1746, an indecisive skirmish occurred off Negapatam between a British squadron under Commodore Edward Peyton and the French under Admiral Bernard Mahé de La Bourdannais. Although no ships were lost on either side, La Bourdonnais succeeded in bluffing his opponent as to his strength and was able to reinforce Pondicherry and then invest Madras without British interference. In November 1747 the British sent six ships of the line against Madras but failed to recapture it. Most of the war here and in other theaters was in fact against the trade of the other, a *guerre de course* (war against commerce).



Surrender of the Royal Battery at Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, 1745. A 19th century wood engraving. (The Granger Collection)

In Indian waters, the British succeeded in capturing or destroying much of the French East India Company's merchant fleet.

In the European theater of war, the British maintained a strong fleet in the English Channel in order to prevent any French invasion. The British also instituted blockades of major French ports, especially Toulon on the Mediterranean, which the Spanish used as a major supply base to support land operations in Italy. During February 11–13, 1744, a combined Spanish and French fleet tried without success to break the blockade there.

By 1745, the war had largely devolved into one against trade. On May 3, 1747, in the First Battle of Cape Finisterre, a British squadron of 17 ships under Admiral George Anson attacked and defeated a French force of 14 smaller warships and 24 merchantmen. The English captured 18 of the French ships. A similar result occurred on October 14, 1747, in the Second Battle of Cape Finisterre, when Admiral Sir Edward Hawke led 14 ships against 8 French warships under Admiral Desherbiers de Letanduère protecting a convoy. The

French fought doggedly to allow the convoy time to escape, but the engagement ended with the British capturing 6 of the French ships.

In terms of the war against trade, the British captured 1,249 Spanish ships and 2,185 French, for a total of 3,434 ships. The French took 1,878 British ships and the Spaniards another 1,360, for a total of 3,238 ships. This gave the British a slight edge in ships taken, of 196, but the advantage was probably more glaring for two reasons: the Spanish prizes were generally very valuable and the British merchant marine was much larger than its rivals and hence better able to withstand the losses. The chief advantage to the British in the war, however, was the sharp reduction in the size of the French Navy that occurred, so that it as no longer a real threat to British naval supremacy. Nonetheless, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in October 1748 that ended King George's War (1744–1748) saw a status quo ante bellum as far as France and England were concerned. The French took back Louisbourg in exchange for Madras in India.

CHRISTOPHER HOWELL AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); King George's War, Land Campaigns; Louisbourg (Nova Scotia); Louisbourg Expedition

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King Philip

See Metacom (King Philip)

King Philip's War

Start Date: June 20, 1675 End Date: October 1676

Last and deadliest general war between Native Americans and English colonists in southern New England, named for Wampanoag sachem Metacom, known to the colonists as King Philip. Tensions between natives and English colonists in southern New England had been building for years, driven by such incendiary subjects as land rights and the subjugation of natives to colonial law. While the colonies continued to grow in numbers and seize more and more land, the natives, decimated by European diseases, diminished in number with each passing year. By 1660, the colonists of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Plymouth, and Rhode Island greatly outnumbered the native tribes remaining in the area.

In the midst of this native decline, Metacom, the son of influential Chief Massasoit, took control of the Wampanoag people on his brother Alexander's death in 1662. Metacom was not nearly as patient with the colonists as his father had been. Taken into court several times for breaking colonial law, he had no great love for colonial authorities.

For several years, it had been rumored that Metacom was secretly plotting with nearby tribes to attack the colonists. In January 1675, Metacom's former translator, later turned informant to the colonial authorities in Plymouth, John Sassamon, was found murdered shortly after warning Plymouth officials of Metacom's plan. In early June, the Plymouth authorities accused, tried, and executed three Wampanoag warriors for the crime. In revenge, on June 20, 1675, Wampanoags attacked the town of Swansea in southwest Plymouth Colony. The conflict spread rapidly thereafter, becoming known to history as King Philip's War.

A number of tribes joined Metacom and the Wampanoags, specifically the Pocasset, Sakonnet, and Nipmuck peoples. But others, such as the powerful Narragansetts, remained neutral while still other tribes, especially many Christian groups, sided with the colonists. Traditional enmities between tribes trumped the natives' common complaints against the English.

In June 1675, militia forces of the United Colonies tried to blockade Metacom and his followers on Rhode Island's Mount Hope peninsula, hoping for a quick end to the fighting. However, Metacom and his followers escaped via boats and into nearby swamps. The colonial forces pursued him throughout July. They were compelled to pull back when their ill-equipped and undertrained militiamen lost a number of skirmishes in the swamps. Although the natives were used to making their way across the swampy land-scape of southern Rhode Island, the thick brush and marshy ground slowed the English and frustrated their efforts to bring the enemy into open battle. Instead, the colonists found themselves the victims of frequent ambushes and traps. By late July, Metacom and his main force headed north to Nipmuck country, where on July 14 the Nipmucks had attacked Mendon, the first, but not nearly the last, Massachusetts Bay town struck.

In the fall of 1675, the fighting shifted to the Connecticut River Valley. By then, Metacom's forces were attacking colonial towns the length and width of the valley. The United Colonies sent troops west to protect the towns, deciding on a strategy that called for defending all the towns. Major John Pynchon, the founder and majority landholder of Springfield, had charge of the western theater of operations.

The natives besieged Brookfield in August and quickly devastated Northfield and Deerfield. The militia companies did little better in the woods of western Massachusetts than they had in the swamps of Rhode Island. Natives ambushed Captain Richard Beers's 40-man company in September 1675. In one of the most infamous incidents of the war, Captain Thomas Lathrop and his company of 70 men from Essex County were ambushed while securing a wagon train of food from abandoned Deerfield. On September 19, Lathrop's men, many of whom had placed their muskets in carts to eat wild grapes along their route, were surprised by hundreds of warriors and ambushed alongside the banks of the Muddy Brook, now known as Bloody Brook. At least 60 colonists, including Lathrop, were slain.

The worst blow to the colonial cause came in October, when native forces attacked and destroyed much of the town of Springfield, the main settlement and military command center for the entire valley. Major Pynchon subsequently resigned his post as western commander to help in the rebuilding of Springfield, and Captain (later Major) Samuel Appleton took over. Appleton and his men soon shifted their attention away from the western theater.

In November 1675, the commissioners of the United Colonies, having evidence that the neutral Narragansett tribe was in fact aiding Metacom, decided on a preemptive strike against the Narragansett homeland. Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and Connecticut put an army of more than 1,000 men in the field against the Narra-



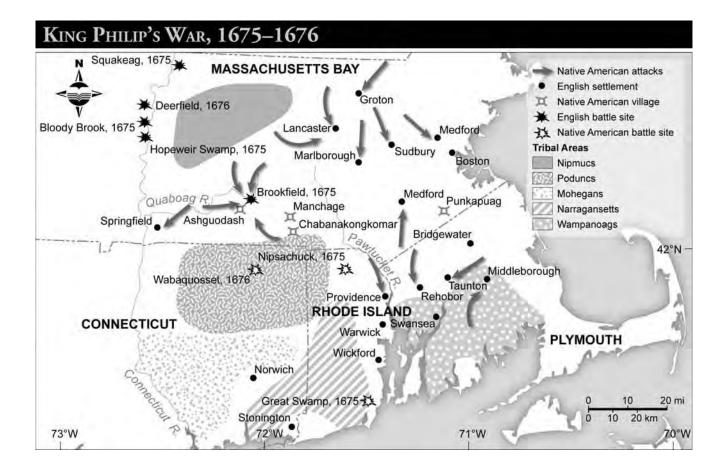
Depiction of fighting between American colonists and Wampanoag Native Americans in 1675 during King Philip's War. The war resulted primarily from continued colonial encroachments onto Native American lands. (Library of Congress)

gansetts, with Gov. Josiah Winslow of Plymouth in overall command. Charged with making the Narragansetts live up to their treaty obligations, the army soon abandoned this goal and decided simply to stage a preemptive attack on the strong Rhode Island tribe. The wintry conditions, although harsh, allowed the English to march over the now-frozen swamps, and the now-thin brush allowed them to see farther in the thick forests. In place by mid-December 1675, the army based itself at Wickford, Rhode Island, and fought a number of small skirmishes before attacking the Narragansetts' main fortified village in the middle of the Great Swamp.

With the help of a native traitor, the colonial army found and attacked the Narragansett fort on December 19, 1675. The fighting was at first indeterminate. Winslow's order to burn the village, however, with hundreds of people still inside shelters, turned the tide of the battle. Initial casualties were about 20 dead and 200 wounded on the colonial side. Estimates of native dead, largely from the fires, range from 600 to more than 1,000. Having destroyed the fort, the colonial force then limped back to its base in Wickford in the midst of a horrible winter storm in which many of the wounded died. The remainder of the colonial force, along with some fresh troops, tried to pursue the remainder of the escaping Narragansetts in the infamous Hungry March during January–February 1676. Although many considered the Great Swamp Fight

a great English victory, it did bring to Metacom a large number of committed Narragansett warriors bent on revenge.

Metacom had hoped to spend the winter months to the west, readying his men for the spring campaign. In order to do this, he needed the cooperation of the mighty Mohawk tribe. However, instead of welcoming their fellow natives, the Mohawks took the opportunity to lash out at a weakened rival. In February, 300 Mohawk warriors attacked a winter camp of 500 of Metacom's men east of Albany and routed them. Other such attacks occurred. Metacom was now fighting a two-front war, a development that had more to do with his ultimate demise than any other. In the spring, Metacom once again took to attacking colonial towns in the western Connecticut River Valley. The natives raided towns up and down the valley. Some, such as Sudbury in April 1676, were amazingly close to Boston (within 20 miles). Civilian inhabitants abandoned more than 12 towns as the frontier moved eastward. Yet the two-front fighting in which Metacom was now engaged, along with English superiority in numbers, changes in tactics and militia preparedness, and the increased use of native allies as scouts and guides all began to take their toll. The Fall's Fight of May 1676, when a large group of warriors was ambushed and many perished plunging to their deaths over a high waterfall, demonstrated this fact. In her famous captivity narrative, Mary Rowlandson of Lancaster



noted that her captors were tiring of the fight and their food and supplies were dwindling by the late spring of 1676.

By the summer of 1676, with almost no food (most of the native fields and food caches had been destroyed by colonial troops) many Native Americans gave up the fight and surrendered. In July 1676, forces under Captain Benjamin Church captured Metacom's wife and son, who, along with hundreds (if not thousands) of captured natives were sold into slavery in the West Indies. Metacom slipped back to the vicinity of his Mount Hope, Rhode Island, home with his most faithful followers.

On August 12, 1676, a native warrior under the command of Captain Church shot and killed Metacom. His head was taken to Plymouth town, where it was placed on a pike and displayed for a number of years, a grim warning to other natives who might think of resisting English authority. By October 1676, the other native leaders and their men had been captured and the war came to an end, except in Maine where intermittent violence continued for a number of years.

King Philip's War was the deadliest war in American history in terms of numbers of casualties for people involved. Colonial losses were between 800 and 1,000, with at least 12 towns totally destroyed, hundreds of houses and barns burned, and thousands of cattle killed. Native American losses were even more severe. Perhaps 3,000 warriors were killed in battle, with hundreds more men, women, and children killed or sold into slavery after the war. Nor did the native converts to Christianity escape unscathed. Fearing that they might

aid Metacom, colonial officials rounded up the native inhabitants of the "praying towns," and confined them on an island in Boston harbor, where may died of disease and exposure. The tribes of southern New England never recovered from King Philip's War. Indeed, their ability to resist the colonial onslaught had ended.

Kyle F. Zelner

See also

Appleton, Samuel; Bloody Brook Massacre; Brookfield, Siege of; Church, Benjamin; Committee of Militia (Massachusetts Bay); Falls Fight; Great Swamp Fight; Hungry March; Metacom; Militias; Mosley, Samuel; Narragansetts; Native Warfare; New England Confederation; Nipmucks; Plymouth; Pynchon, John; Rhode Island; Rowlandson, Mary White; Skulking Way of War; Springfield, Burning of; Sudbury Fight; Swansea, Attack on; Wampanoags; Winslow, Josiah

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King William's War, Land Campaigns

Start Date: 1689 End Date: 1697

King William's War was the North American extension of what began in Europe as the War of the League of Augsburg. The European conflict grew out of Catholic-Protestant tensions, French king Louis XIV's expansionary policies in the Low Countries and the Rhineland, and the accession of the Protestant William of Orange (King William III) and his wife Mary to the English throne. This occurred after the overthrow of Catholic king James II in the 1688 Glorious Revolution. Nevertheless, James II still enjoyed powerful support among Catholics in England and Ireland as well as from the French king. Louis XIV's expansionist ambitions on the continent and his desire to restore a Catholic to the English throne fueled Anglo-French rivalry.

Full-scale war in Europe commenced in September 1688 when France invaded Flanders and the Palatinate. England and the Netherlands then united to support the League of Augsburg—an alliance of Protestant-German principalities—along with Austria, Spain, and Sweden against France.

Political and religious tensions in the New World mirrored those in the old. Catholic New France and the Protestant English colonies in New England and New York had been moving steadily toward confrontation. Rivalries surrounding fishing rights, the fur trade, and Native American violence on the northern frontier inflamed feelings on both sides. The resulting war produced a string of failures by the colonial forces of English America. That, combined with a series of horrific native raids on the northern frontier, triggered a panic in Massachusetts that influenced the Salem Witch Trials of 1692 and caused a general crisis of confidence between the English colonists and the government in London.

The ensuing war stimulated domestic industry (particularly shipbuilding) in the colonies and led them to find their own methods of financing military operations. Particularly significant was the Massachusetts Bay Colony's decision to print paper money to defray the cost of the 1691 naval expedition against Quebec.

Because of English military failures, relations with their closest Native American allies of the Iroquois Confederation suffered greatly. For the home country, King William's War revealed the dangers involved in relying on separate colonies to cooperate with each other. Nevertheless, the frustrating stalemate led many colonists to question London's commitment to their interests. In neither Europe nor North America did this nine-year conflict resolve any of the issues between England and France. Indeed, the 1697 Treaty of

Ryswick proved only a temporary truce before the onset of Queen Anne's War in 1701.

In North America, news of the 1688 English Revolution gave impetus to long-nourished desires in the colonies, particularly in New England and New York, to strike against French Canada. New England Puritans had chafed under James II's prohibition of attacks on the French and raged against encroachments by the latter on the fur trade and offshore fisheries and incitement of Native American violence.

For their part, the French regarded the English colonies as threats to New France. They harbored their own ambitions in the Mississippi River Valley and Ohio River Valley and northern Maine to the Kennebec River. French agents cultivated local tribes along the northern New England and New York frontiers, especially the Abenakis. In fact, the French had established a fort along the Penobscot River in Maine (then part of Massachusetts) to funnel arms to potential native allies. The governor of New France, Count Louis de Buade de Frontenac, an abrasive but skilled career soldier, actively strengthened ties with the pro-French tribes and encouraged them to attack the Iroquois and frontier settlements in northern Maine.

Indeed, war between the French and the Iroquois had already broken out in August 1689. That month, a large Iroquois war party fell on the French village of Lachine near Montreal, slaying or capturing most of the population. News from Europe ignited this tinderbox into full-scale war.

In the ensuing conflict, the English colonists set goals that were vastly different from those of their home country. In Europe, King William III's objectives were limited to protecting his throne and preventing French expansion into the Low Countries and to the banks of the Rhine. Protestant New England and New York, however, sought nothing less than the destruction of New France and the expulsion of the French from North America.

In neither the ground nor the naval dimensions of King William's War did events develop as English America had hoped. The English colonies began the war with three major advantages. First, they possessed a lopsided advantage in manpower. The population of English North America's colonies in 1689 was nearly 250,000 people—more than 20 times that of New France. This large population provided governing authorities a formidable base from which to recruit troops. Second, the colonists believed they could count on military and naval support from the mother country. And third, the English colonies were allied with the largest and most powerful Native American tribal group in the Northeast, the Iroquois Confederation.

None of these strengths proved decisive, however. Although much smaller numerically, the French could draw on a large number of males, many of whom had military experience. England, though fielding a large army, had to post most of its troops to Flanders and Ireland to parry French threats and internal unrest among the ousted James II's Catholic supporters. The ground and naval forces sent by the English government to the Western Hemisphere



Depiction of the French and Native American raid on the frontier settlement of Schenectady, New York, February 8–9, 1690. Wood engraving, ca. 1850. (The Granger Collection)

were deployed mostly to the West Indies to protect its possessions there. Also English America was divided among a number of colonies each with sovereignty over finances and military manpower while New France was unified under the authority of one governor. Finally, the Iroquois tribes, although eager for plunder in Canada, were beset with internal divisions and relentless guerilla attacks from their pro-French rivals.

While colonial authorities in New York and New England struggled to organize their forces, Frontenac sent mixed French and native war parties into northern New York and New England to raid remote and vulnerable English towns. On February 8, 1690, one such force raided the village of Schenectady, New York, killing 60 people and carrying off 27, and burning the settlement. The French and their American Indian compatriots struck again about a month later, hitting Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, not far from Portsmouth. The attackers killed 34 and took 54 hostages. In yet

another attack in May 1690, 500 French and natives laid siege to Fort Loyal (Portland), Maine, forcing the small garrison into submission. When the English colonists surrendered, the French commanders stood by while their allies killed some 100 men, women, and children before burning the fort.

News of these attacks triggered a wave of terror among the English colonists and moved authorities in New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut to raise militias. The northern English colonies then tried to launch a two-pronged invasion of French Canada via Lake Champlain and through the St. Lawrence Valley against Montreal and Quebec, respectively. Their efforts foundered on internal divisions growing from the upheavals of the Glorious Revolution.

In April 1690, the first intercolonial conference assembled in New York City with representatives from Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New York attending (Maryland and Rhode Island promised financial support). There they agreed to furnish troops for an overland expedition against Canada. In addition, the Iroquois promised to send 800 warriors.

Efforts to raise and organize militias and launch the expedition suffered amidst political bickering, supply shortages, and an outbreak of smallpox. New York's lieutenant governor, Jacob Leisler, hoped to command the force himself. But he had so many political enemies that he dared not leave the state. When he tried to appoint his friend and son-in-law, Jacob Milborne, the already mobilized men and the province of Connecticut objected. Their preference was Major Fitz John Winthrop, a former English army officer. Milborne had to settle for the post of commissary. In that capacity, he bungled the procurement and delivery of supplies for the expedition. In addition to command infighting and supply shortages, a smallpox outbreak devastated both the Iroquois and the colonists.

The joint overland expedition against Canada ended in an embarrassing failure. The Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colonies, preoccupied with raising their own forces to send against Acadia and Quebec, never sent any troops. New York raised 150 men, but leaderless and unpaid, they were on the verge of mutiny. Despite the lack of supplies, Winthrop moved his force northward at the end of July 1690. The men camped at Wood Creek near its juncture with Lake Champlain and waited for supplies and the Iroquois to make more. However, it was the wrong time of year for stripping birch trees for bark, and no supplies materialized.

Despite these setbacks, Winthrop gave permission to one of his young officers, Captain John Schuyler, to proceed down the lake with 29 soldiers and 120 native warriors on a raiding expedition. They left on August 13. On August 23, having paddled the length of Lake Champlain and entered the Richelieu River, they attacked the French settlement of La Prairie across the St. Lawrence from Montreal. The English attackers killed 6 men, took 19 prisoners, shot a number of cattle, and burned several houses, barns, and haystacks. Fearing a reaction from the large Montreal garrison and with no sign of the rest of the expedition, Schuyler withdrew. Meanwhile, Winthrop had decided to return to Albany.

The collapse of the overland expedition fanned discontent with Leisler's inept and autocratic leadership. The arrival of Major Richard Ingoldsby and two companies of English regulars in New York harbor in late January 1691, followed shortly by William III's new royal governor, Henry Sloughter, led to the downfall, arrest, trial, and subsequent hanging of both Leisler and Milborne for treason. The failure of the Lake Champlain expedition also damaged intercolonial cooperation and undermined the confidence of the Iroquois in their English-American allies.

In the summer of 1691, Sloughter sought to rectify the political fallout from the previous year's fiasco by sending another expedition against Montreal. After shoring up support among the Iroquois at a May conference in Albany, he ordered a mixed band of colonists and natives organized by Albany mayor Peter Schuyler on another raid against Montreal. Schuyler departed Albany on June 22. The force reached Montreal a month later, again via Lake Champlain in canoes. On August 1, it struck the village of La Prairie for a second

time, overrunning it. Schuyler and his men repulsed one counterattack but were obliged to withdraw on the appearance of reinforcements from Montreal. Fighting through a French ambush, Schuyler's detachment returned to Albany.

Although more successful than the 1690 raid, Schuyler's raid did not significantly alter the political and strategic balance between French and English America. The French did not mount any major raids in 1691 or 1692. And, hampered by the unexpected death of Sloughter in July and with only limited funds for raising troops, New York authorities were content to maintain a small garrison of 150 men at Albany and encourage the Iroquois to raid into Canada and blockade the fur trade on the St. Lawrence.

The arrival of a new governor, Benjamin Fletcher, in August 1692, did not alter New York's quiescence. Unable to raise money from the already overtaxed colonists, Fletcher had to be content with encouraging the Iroquois and asking the other colonies for help. The precariousness of New York's position became clear in July 1696 when a large French-native force, commanded by Frontenac himself, invaded central New York. The attackers terrorized the Onondaga tribe and burned several English settlements. By the time Fletcher was able to borrow money from the other colonies, the attackers had departed. The raid made clear to the Iroquois that New York authorities could not protect them.

Over the ensuing six years, the pattern established in New York persisted. The ground fighting followed a cycle of fierce raids interspersed with periods of inactivity. The French, driven by Frontenac's ambitions, continued to encourage native raids, particularly by the Abenakis, against both the Iroquois and the Anglo-Americans.

The English colonists, in turn, sought to raise sufficient manpower to protect their outlying settlements and deter French attacks. Like their counterparts in New York had done in the Lake Champlain Valley, leaders in Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay made independent efforts to take the offensive in northern New England. For this they commissioned Major Benjamin Church, a veteran of King Philip's War (1675–1676), to organize troops and take the offensive in Maine. With a force of 300 men, Church sailed to Casco Bay in September 1691 and raided Abenaki villages near present-day Brunswick and Lewiston.

Although Church did not achieve decisive success, his expedition hurt the Abenakis sufficiently that they agreed to a peace treaty at Kennebec in November. This agreement lasted only until the following winter and early spring when, under French prodding, the Abenakis struck the Maine villages of York and Wells. In retaliation, the new governor of the crown colony of Massachusetts, Sir William Phips, accompanied Church on another expedition against the Abenakis. They established a new post, Fort William Henry, on the Maine coast near Saco Bay and raided into Abenaki territory. An attempt by the French to take the fort by sea failed when the commander of the naval expedition, Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, decided that his forces were insufficient and withdrew without firing a shot.

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The New England frontier remained stable for approximately three years. Massachusetts, by now in the throes of the Salem witch hysteria, could provide only limited forces. French authorities, smarting from their failure at Fort William Henry, were struggling to keep their native allies from negotiating with the English. A militia force of 300 under Captain James Converse kept the peace and deterred any serious American Indian raids. In August 1693, Converse negotiated a peace with 13 Abenaki chiefs. This broke down later when, aroused by the new French commandant at Penobscot, Sieur de Villieu, 250 Abenakis overran Oyster Bay, New Hampshire, in July 1694. This force ravaged the New England frontier as far west as New York. Subsequent attempts to reestablish peace fizzled, and sporadic raiding continued throughout 1694–1695.

The last major clash on the New England frontier occurred in July 1696 when a mixed detachment of two French regular companies and 250 Native Americans supported by two French warships appeared off Fort William Henry and induced the commander, Captain Pasco Chubb, to surrender without resistance. The French restrained their allies from killing Chubb or any of his men but spent three days plundering the fort before withdrawing back to their fort at Penobscot.

In response, Massachusetts raised 500 men and once again called on Major Church to command an expedition into Canada. Supported by three British vessels, Church landed at Penobscot, but he found that most of the French and natives had departed. He then moved his men up the coast to the Bay of Fundy, killing a few natives and burning the settlements in his path. There was no organized resistance.

Maine remained relatively secure until the war ended in 1697. News of the Treaty of Ryswick, which concluded the War of the League of Augsburg in 1697, effectively ended the fighting between the English colonists and New France. But it did not end warfare between the Iroquois and the pro-French tribes.

Walter F. Bell

See also

Abenakis; Acadia, New England Attack on; Andros, Edmund; Canada, New England Expedition against; Chubb, Pasco; Church, Benjamin; Dover, New Hampshire, Attack on; Falmouth, Battle of; Fort Chambly (Quebec); Fort William Henry (Maine); Frontenac, Louis de Buade de, Comte de Frontenac et de Palluau; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Lachine, Battle of; La Prairie, Battle of (1690); La Prairie, Battle of (1691); Leisler, Jacob; Le Moyne d'Iberville et d'Ardillières, Pierre; Salmon Falls, Battle of; Schenectady, Battle of; Walley, John; York, Attack on

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King William's War, Naval Campaigns

Start Date: May 1689 End Date: 1697

As was the case in the ground war, both the British and the French colonists had to rely on their own resources to fight King William's War on water. Indeed, the war in Europe and the security of their Caribbean holdings claimed first priority on the two main belligerents' naval forces. Facing threats from a large French fleet in home waters and concerned for the safety of their colonies in the Caribbean, England could not provide the ships its colonists expected. Likewise, French king Louis XIV kept most of his fleet in European waters to threaten England, protect the French coasts, and support the exiled James II's Catholic allies in Ireland.

The Anglo-Dutch navies and the French fought major naval engagements in European waters at Bantry Bay (May 1689), Beachy Head (July 1690), and La Houge (May 1692). The cumulative result of these actions was a stalemate at sea with little effect on the overall strategic balance of power in either Europe or North America. In North America both protagonists carried out their naval operations with smaller, less well-armed, and often decrepit vessels.

These limitations and their consequences became painfully apparent during the combined naval and land offensive mounted against Quebec in the fall of 1690. This operation formed the second prong of the planned attack on French Canada. The first had been the overland thrust against Montreal, but by the time the seaborne expedition had reached Quebec, the effort against Montreal had already failed. The Quebec expedition was organized and financed almost entirely by the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which had raised nearly 2,000 men and outfitted 34 ships for it. Massachusetts governor Sir William Phips had command. Earlier that year, he had seized Port Royal on the Acadian coast.

The Quebec expedition departed Boston on August 21, 1690, with four months of supplies. However, Phips had overlooked the need for a pilot who knew the St. Lawrence River. Due partly to their ignorance of the river and partly to bad weather, the New England force did not reach Quebec until three weeks into October. By then, supplies were running low and the weather was already cold.

The French were waiting for them. The failure of English efforts to threaten Canada by overland attacks from New York left the French free to reinforce the Quebec fortress. By the time Phips arrived, there were nearly 3,000 French Army regulars and militia concentrated in the area. Unaware of the number facing him, Phips



French Canadian Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, identified by many as the first Canadian military hero, shown here directing the defeat of English ships in Hudson Bay in 1697. Pen-and-ink drawing by Charles William Jefferys. (The Granger Collection)

demanded that the city surrender. Gov. Louis de Buade de Frontenac himself answered with defiant resistance. If the New Englanders wanted the fortress, they would have to break down the walls with their ships' cannon or storm it with infantry.

Phips and Major John Walley, commander of the ground troops, responded by attempting to take Quebec from the rear. They landed more than 1,200 men on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, where the St. Charles emptied just east of the city. There they found 600 Frenchmen posted in the woods, and a violent battle began. Phips sent six field cannon to aid Walley, but they sank into the marshy ground. The New Englanders persisted and finally dislodged the French. In doing so, however, they used up most of their food and ammunition and could not pursue their retreating adversaries. Requests to the ships for resupply yielded only half a barrel of gunpowder.

At this point, communication breakdowns further hampered attempts to take the city. Unaware of Walley's predicament, Phips pulled away from the shore and commenced shelling Quebec from the river without any coordinated advance by the soldiers. The shelling did little damage, as the ships' guns had only limited range and lacked the power to breach the walls of the fortress. Phips persisted for nearly two days until French counterbattery fire from the shore seriously damaged two of his ships, whereupon Phips withdrew his vessels and reestablished contact with Walley's infantry. With only limited amounts of food and ammunition, the New Eng-

land troops attempted one more unsupported attack, which the French once again repelled. At this point, with no more gunpowder available, food running low, and smallpox breaking out, Phips and Walley withdrew. Ironically, the expedition had come close to achieving its goal. Had the fleet remained another week, Quebec might have fallen because of a shortage of food for its refugee-inflated population.

In the course of the return to Boston, Phips had to scuttle two vessels that had been damaged by fire from the French batteries at the Quebec fortress. One other burned in an accident. Two hundred men perished in the accident and from disease. Phips himself reached Boston harbor in late November. The rest of his ships arrived later, giving him the opportunity to establish his version of events and exonerate himself. Fortunately for Phips, the Massachusetts Calvinists blamed God rather than Phips's incompetence for the setback.

The Quebec expedition was the largest seaborne operation of the war in North America. Drained financially by its failure and unable to garner support from the other colonies, Massachusetts officials had to content themselves with limited defensive measures. Subsequently, both English and French naval forces mounted small operations, usually in support of coastal landings by infantry. Typical of these were the sortie by Phips and Church to build Fort William Henry near Pemaquid, Maine (then part of Massachusetts), a failed counterstroke by the French in 1692, and a successful operation by the French to force the surrender of the fort in July 1696.

The naval exploits of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville in that same summer of 1696 and the following year proved heartening for the French and unsettling for English colonists along the Maine and Newfoundland coasts and in Hudson Bay. After capturing Fort William Henry, d'Iberville moved his operations to the east coast of Newfoundland where he raided English fishing settlements, killing or capturing most of the inhabitants. Early the following year, d'Iberville sailed into Hudson Bay, where he defeated a force of three British warships and seized the post at Fort Nelson.

Overall, the French had prevailed in the naval engagements in North American waters, but they were unable to exploit their successes. Louis XIV dispatched a squadron of 15 ships to Newfoundland with the goal of raiding Boston. They reached Newfoundland in the summer of 1697 but could not proceed farther because of supply shortages. News of peace in Europe resulted in cancellation of the operation. As on land, the naval balance of power in North America remained unchanged.

WALTER F. BELL

See also

Fort Chambly (Quebec); France, Navy; Frontenac, Louis de Buade de, Comte de Frontenac et de Palluau; Great Britain, Navy; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Le Moyne d'Iberville et d'Ardillières, Pierre; Phips, Sir William; Quebec, Attack on (1690)

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Leckie, Robert. A Few Acres of Snow: The Saga of the French and Indian Wars. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1999.

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Kittanning, Battle of

Event Date: September 8, 1756

Battle that took place on September 8, 1756, at the Delaware settlement of Kittanning on the Allegheny River in western Pennsylvania (current-day Armstrong County). The battle led to the destruction of Kittanning, which had served as a staging area for attacks by Delaware (Lenni Lenape) and Shawnee warriors against British colonists in Pennsylvania during the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

Beginning around October 1755, raids on Pennsylvania settlements by Delaware and Shawnee war parties, backed by the French, increased in number. After the destruction of Fort Granville (near current-day Lewistown) on July 30, 1756, Gov. Robert Hunter Morris ordered the Pennsylvania Militia to destroy Kittanning. The soldiers were also supposed to recapture a reported 100 British prisoners reportedly being held there. Kittanning was also the home of two notorious leaders of the native raids, Captain Jacobs and Shingas, and the governors of both Pennsylvania and Virginia offered a reward for these men's scalps.

In August 1756, Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong, commander of the 2nd Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, led a party of approximately 300 men on the Kittanning Expedition. The men arrived by various routes at the appointed gathering spot of Fort Shirley to collect provisions. The main body of the provincial force departed Fort Shirley on August 30, 1756. It reached Kittanning on the evening of September 7.

The fighting commenced the next day, September 8. It pitted the 300 Pennsylvanians against some 100 natives who held perhaps 50 prisoners. The fighting was concentrated in two areas, the settlement of Kittanning and an area of higher ground above the town, later referred to as "Blanket Hill" because of the loss of supplies in that area.

During the fight, many of the natives and their prisoners escaped; however, Captain Jacobs and his family were among those who remained to defend their homes and town. In response, the militia set fire to the town, leading to the explosion of stored gunpowder and the ensuing death of Captain Jacobs and other inhabitants.

After roughly six hours of fighting, the village lay in ruins and the disorganized Pennsylvania forces had dispersed. Many of the natives and their prisoners withdrew and resettled in nearby French forts and towns on the Big Beaver River. Approximately 17 of the Pennsylvania troops died in the fighting; another 13 were wounded, and 19 others were reported as missing. An unknown number of natives were casualties, although most historians now agree that the Delawares and the Shawnees sustained fewer casualties than their attackers. Only 11 white prisoners returned to English hands.

Despite these numbers, John Armstrong claimed victory in his report of the expedition sent to Gov. William Denny, who replaced Morris on August 20, 1756. After the battle, two tributes to Armstrong and his men were published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Colonial officials commissioned medals for the officers, and gifts of money and silver were made to soldiers and their families. Additionally, the colonial Assembly granted Armstrong land rights, including the old Kittanning town. He renamed the area "Victory."

The Battle of Kittanning did kill some of the natives, including Captain Jacobs, and others, including Shingas, were dispersed. Although the campaign did not remove the necessity of consolidating the western defenses of the colony, the colonial government found it a useful propaganda tool.

CATHARINE DANN ROEBER

See also

Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Fort Granville (Pennsylvania); Fort Shirley (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Pennsylvania; Shawnees

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La Belle Famille, Battle of

Event Date: July 24, 1759

French attempt to lift the British siege of Fort Niagara (New York) during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). La Belle Famille is located roughly one mile south of Fort Niagara. British troops arrived at the site on July 6, 1759, and began the siege of Fort Niagara on July 10. Sir William Johnson, the British liaison with the Iroquois, had raised some 400 Native Americans, half of them Iroquois, and commanded operations.

The siege progressed quickly, and the only hope for the French was the timely arrival of a relief force from Fort Machault (Pennsylvania). That force consisted of some 800 regulars and militiamen commanded by Captain François Le Marchand de Lignery. The relief force arrived in the vicinity of Fort Niagara on July 23.

At the beginning of the siege, the Senecas, at the time allied with the French, had decided to take a neutral stance. This decision was in part prompted by the Iroquois support of the British campaign against Fort Niagara. In the battle over Fort Niagara, Native American allies on both sides sat it out; that is, until the end.

The Iroquois warned the British of the approach of the French relief force. The British thus had sufficient time to dispatch a force of their own from those involved in the siege to intercept the French. Led by Lieutenant Colonel Eyre Massy of the 46th Regiment of Foot, it numbered some 350 British regulars and 100 New York colonials.

The British intercepting force arrived first and proceeded to construct breastworks and an abatis across the road that the French would take to reach the fort. Massy positioned his main force in the center with light infantry and grenadiers on the flanks. Meanwhile, Johnson, having learned of the approach of the French relief col-

umn, sent Iroquois emissaries to the natives accompanying it. The messengers persuaded the native auxiliaries not to take part in the coming fight. Because the British Native American allies also chose to sit out the fight, this left only the regular soldiers on both sides to wage the battle.

As the French approached the clearing at La Belle Famille, Massy ordered the main body of the 46th Foot to fix bayonets and assume a prone position to await the French arrival. At about 8:00 a.m. the French troops moved out of the woods south of La Belle Famille and formed into line, then advanced on the British position, firing their muskets as they moved forward. The British held their fire until the French were only about 30 yards from their own position, then stood up and fired several volleys. The British grenadiers on the right flank were able to fire into the flank of the advancing French. This concentrated fire disrupted, then broke the French advance. The British then charged the disorganized French, who fled from the field of battle. At that point the British Iroquois allies decided to join the fight, chasing the fleeing French troops and killing and capturing many of them. The French reported 344 men killed or captured, mostly by the Iroquois. Among the critically wounded was the French commander, Lignery.

The failure of the French to lift the siege of Fort Niagara ensured its fall to the British. The fort surrendered on July 25.

DALLACE W. UNGER JR.

See also

Abatis; Fort Niagara (New York); Fort Machault (Pennsylvania); Fort Niagara, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Infantry Tactics; Iroquois; Johnson, Sir William

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Lachine, Battle of Event Date: August 5, 1689

Iroquois raid on the French Canadian village of Lachine, located near Lake St. Louis in New France, during King William's War (1689–1697). When the Iroquois, longstanding enemies of the French, received word in 1689 that their English allies were at war with France, they saw an opportunity to please their friends, discomfit their foes, and benefit themselves all at once. Accordingly, an Iroquois war party, estimated to have been 1,500 strong, prepared to attack the French.

On the evening of August 4, there was a hailstorm on Lake St. Louis, an extension of the St. Lawrence River abutting Montreal Island. Under cover of the storm, the Iroquois warriors crossed the waters to the French settlement of Lachine. Though the village boasted three stockade forts, the Iroquois eluded detection by the garrison and dispersed throughout the village.

The Iroquois struck at dawn on August 5. The colonists, surprised and unprepared, offered little resistance as the Iroquois burned houses and killed, captured, or drove off the inhabitants. Having plundered the town of its brandy, many of the Iroquois became drunk. Had the Canadians attacked then, as they were preparing to do, the Iroquois might have suffered a serious defeat. But no attack came. Some refugees from Lachine had reached Montreal and, terrified by their ordeal, had given New France's Gov. Jacques-René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, fragmentary and exaggerated reports of the Iroquois' strength. Uncertain of how many foes the city faced and where they were, Denonville commanded his soldiers not to engage the enemy but rather to assume a defensive posture and await further developments.

Denonville's decision, which seemed prudent at the time, cost the French the opportunity to retaliate. By evening the Iroquois had recovered from their revelry and retreated back to the mainland. To attack them then would have been reckless, and Denonville demurred from doing so.

Although the Iroquois killed 24 people at Lachine and captured fewer than 90 others, initial reports gave far higher figures. By the



The Iroquois massacre of French settlers at Lachine, near Montreal on the St. Lawrence River, August 5, 1689. From a painting by C. W. Jefferys. (The Granger Collection)

time Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, already selected to replace Denonville as governor, arrived in the colony, those reports had spread terror of the Iroquois throughout New France.

Frontenac used the Lachine "massacre" to galvanize the colony's resolve to fight. His efforts in that regard contributed to the attack's place in Canadian national mythology: as recently as the late twentieth century some historians have cited the Battle of Lachine as evidence, however spurious, that New France's Native American enemies were fundamentally barbaric.

Andrew Miller

See also

Denonville, Jacques-René de Brisay de; Frontenac, Louis de Buade de, Comte de Frontenac et de Palluau; Iroquois; King William's War, Land Campaigns; New France

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La Corne, Luc de

Born: ca. 1711

Died: October 1, 1784

North American-born French military officer and fur trader. Luc de La Corne (his birth name) was born at Contrecoeur, Quebec, probably in the autumn of 1711, into one of New France's most prominent families. Throughout his career, Luc de la Corne combined his service as an officer in the troupes de la marine (French marines/colonial regulars) with a lucrative involvement in the fur trade. In addition to making him one of the wealthiest men in New France, his long service in the Great Lakes region enabled him to forge close ties with the western Native American peoples. He became fluent in a number of Native American languages and often served as an interpreter for the French authorities. He carried out this role in 1755 for Gov. Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavaignal during a series of conferences intended to keep the Senecas from fighting alongside the British in the French and Indian War (1754-1763). Indeed, La Corne's close ties to Native Americans made him a logical candidate to serve as New France's main recruiter of Native American allies. He also led them in battle on several occasions.

Made an ensign in the troupes de la marine in 1742, La Corne was placed in command of a detachment of Canadians and Native Americans during King George's War (1744–1748). In 1746, he helped defend Fort St. Frédéric (New York) by harassing the English around Lake George. In June 1747, La Corne's irregulars captured part of the garrison of Fort Clinton (Fort Saratoga). La Corne was promoted to lieutenant in 1748 and to captain in March 1755.

Two years later during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), La Corne earned the undying hatred of Anglo-Americans as commander of the Native Americans who, on August 10, 1757, killed many members of the surrendered British garrison of Fort William Henry. La Corne had been chosen by the French commander, Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, to escort the British soldiers and their dependents to nearby Fort Edward, but La Corne was unable to control his Native American warriors. The Fort William Henry debacle did not besmirch La Corne's reputation in Canadian eyes, however. In July 1758, following Montcalm's victory at Ticonderoga, a detachment of 400 Canadians and Native Americans under his command intercepted and destroyed a British supply convoy en route to Fort Edward. La Corne's men captured 64 of the enemy and took 80 scalps. He was rewarded for this exploit with the Cross of Saint Louis in November 1758, and in January 1759 he was made a knight of Saint Louis. La Corne's last act in the French and Indian War was to command the Native American contingent in the vanguard of the victorious French army at the Battle of Sainte Foy in April 1760, during which he was wounded.

La Corne joined those French Canadians who opted to return to France following defeat by the English in 1761. He was never to reach France, however, as the vessel on which he and his family had sailed went down off Cape Breton Island in November 1761. La Corne was one of only seven survivors. He then embarked on a 100-day trek across the wilderness through Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and up the St. John's River to Quebec. The journey took him until February 1762. The journal he kept during his journey was published in Montreal in 1778.

La Corne tried to make a new start for himself in Canada. Convinced that the British occupation would not last, he intrigued with the Native Americans to take up arms. However, when the failure of Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763 indicated that the British were in Canada to stay, La Corne managed to ingratiate himself with the rulers of the colony.

During the American Revolutionary War, American troops captured La Corne in the course of their invasion of Canada in 1776. Following brief imprisonment in New York and Pennsylvania, he returned to Canada to command the Native American contingent in British major general John Burgoyne's army invading New York from Canada. Following the British defeat at Saratoga in October 1777, Burgoyne blamed La Corne for the disaster in a speech to Parliament. He charged that the Canadian had failed to prevent the Native Americans from deserting his army. One of La Corne's last public acts was to publish in English newspapers a refutation of Burgoyne's charges. La Corne held that it was the general's own indifference to the natives that had caused them to decamp. La Corne died in Montreal on October 1, 1784.

Bruce Vandervort

See also

Fort Saratoga (New York); Fort St. Frédéric (New York); Fort Ticonderoga, Battle of; Fort William Henry, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns; Marines; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de: Pontiac's Rebellion

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Lake Champlain

Strategic waterway that serves as the northern boundary between modern-day New York and Vermont and that extends some 5 miles into the Canadian province of Quebec. Lake Champlain is approximately 102 miles long and links the St. Lawrence watershed and the Hudson River. In the colonial period, the lake provided a water route for both trade and warfare for the British, the French, and each side's Native American allies.

On several occasions, English armies advanced from Albany, New York, up the Hudson Valley to the "Great Carrying Place" (later Fort Edward). They then made a roughly 12-mile portage to Wood Creek, at Lake Champlain's southern end. From there, the lake extends about 100 miles to the northward-flowing Richelieu River and ultimately to the St. Lawrence River above Montreal. Alternatively, some forces marched from the Great Carrying Place to nearby Lake George, a 30-mile-long finger lake that parallels Wood Creek and joins Lake Champlain near Ticonderoga, New York. For French and native raiders, the Champlain Valley offered easy access from Canada to the New England and New York frontiers.

French explorer Samuel de Champlain, the lake's first European visitor and namesake, traveled the lake along with some 60 Hurons and Montagnais in 1609. During a battle with a Mohawk war party on July 30, 1609, Champlain routed the Mohawks, reportedly killing two and mortally wounding a third with a single discharge of his musket. Though he won the battle, Champlain helped create enmity between New France and the Iroquois Confederation.

During the Anglo-French wars of the late 17th and 18th centuries, Lake Champlain played a central role. With King William's War (1689–1697), the English created the strategic blueprint for the next 70 years of warfare in the region. It involved a seaborne attack against Quebec, while a diversionary force advanced on Montreal through the Champlain Valley. During the summer of 1690, Connecticut colonel Fitz-John Winthrop bivouacked a provincial army at Wood Creek. Facing severe logistical problems, smallpox, and a lack of Iroquois support, the expedition crumbled.

In 1709, during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), Colonel Francis Nicholson advanced from Albany in conjunction with a British offensive against Quebec. However, the supporting forces never arrived. Again, in 1711, Nicholson advanced only to learn that Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker had abandoned the Quebec campaign. While at Wood Creek, Nicholson constructed a small fort in 1709 and rebuilt it as Fort Anne in 1711. An earthwork post, Fort Mud, occupied the site in the 1750s.

To repel future invasions, in the 1730s the French constructed Fort St. Frédéric at Crown Point on the lake's western shore, 10 miles north of Ticonderoga. During King George's War (1744–1748), the stone citadel served as a staging area for numerous French and native raids on the British colonial frontier.

On the outbreak of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Colonel William Johnson's provincial army reached Lake George's southern tip, en route to Fort St. Frédéric. French commander Jean Armand, Baron de Dieskau, struck Johnson's camp at the Battle of Lake George, halting the English advance. Johnson constructed Fort William Henry on Lake George's southern shore, while the French began building Fort Carillon at Ticonderoga, to the north. French forces from Fort Carillon besieged and destroyed Fort William Henry in 1757.

The following year, French-led forces repulsed the English outside Fort Carillon. In 1759, Major General Jeffery Amherst's British forces systematically advanced down Lake George. After a brief siege of Carillon in July, the French rear guard detonated the magazine and withdrew. They later destroyed Fort St. Frédéric as well. Amherst rebuilt Fort Carillon as Fort Ticonderoga and erected a larger Fort Crown Point to support the 1760 offensive against Montreal. When fire destroyed Crown Point in 1773, a token British presence remained at Ticonderoga until Patriot forces seized it in May 1775. Lake Champlain continued to play a pivotal role in the American Revolutionary War.

STANLEY J. ADAMIAK

See also

Canada, British Expedition against (1709); Canada, British Expedition against (1711); Canada, New England Expedition against; Champlain, Samuel de; Crown Point (New York); Fort Anne (New York); Fort Edward (New York); Fort St. Frédéric (New York); Fort Ticonderoga (New York); Fort William Henry (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Iroquois Confederation; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Lake George; Lake George, Battle of; Nicholson, Sir Francis; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Winthrop, John (Fitz-John)

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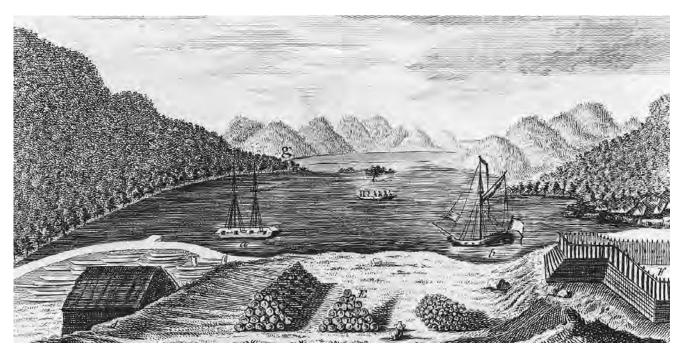
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Lake George

Strategic waterway in the Hudson River–Lake Champlain Valley situated roughly 50 miles north of Albany, New York. Located in eastern New York State, this 30-mile-long finger lake parallels the southern part of Lake Champlain. It connects with Lake Champlain



An 18th-century illustration of Lake George and Fort Ticonderoga. The fort, originally built by the French as Fort Carillon in 1755, played a prominent role in both the French and Indian War and the American Revolutionary War. (Library of Congress)

via the 4-mile-long La Chute River near Ticonderoga, New York. A series of waterfalls required a 2-mile portage to the larger lake. From Ticonderoga, Lake Champlain extends northward approximately 75 miles, emptying into the Richelieu River and ultimately into the St. Lawrence River above Montreal. Southern Lake George lies about 12 miles from the Hudson River Valley. Both the English and the French used the Hudson Valley and the Champlain Valley for trade as well as intermittent warfare through the 17th and 18th centuries.

In 1609, native guides brought French explorer Samuel de Champlain to Lake George, which he named Lac du St. Sacrement (Lake of the Holy Sacrament). The Champlain Valley marked a contested area between the French-allied Algonquins and their traditional opponents, the Dutch and later English-backed Iroquois Confederation. French and Native American raiding parties traveled across the lakes' winter ice to attack the New York frontier in 1690.

Before 1755, Anglo-American armies trying to capture Montreal had marched from the Hudson to Lake Champlain directly. However, in 1755, more than 3,000 men under Colonel William Johnson advanced to Lake George with a goal of capturing Fort St. Frédéric at Crown Point on Lake Champlain. Rather than wait for Johnson's attack, the French fort's commander, Jean Armand, Baron de Dieskau, launched a spoiling attack against Johnson's entrenched camp on September 8, 1755.

Although defeated and captured during the Battle of Lake George, Dieskau halted Johnson's advance. Johnson's men constructed Fort William Henry near Lake George's southern end, and the French constructed Fort Carillon at Ticonderoga to the north. Johnson renamed the lake "Lake George" after King George II.

On March 19, 1756, a force of some 1,500 French and natives attacked Fort William Henry, laying siege for four days and destroying boats and outbuildings before withdrawing. The following year, a French army of more than 8,000 men captured the fort on August 9 after a brief siege. The men burned Fort William Henry before withdrawing back to Fort Carillon.

Undeterred, Major General James Abercromby led nearly 14,000 men against Fort Carillon in 1758. After constructing Fort George, a supply base with more than 300 buildings, near the ruins of Fort William Henry, Abercromby's forces advanced unopposed down Lake George aboard more than 800 bateaux and whaleboats. Despite outnumbering the French by nearly four to one, Abercromby launched a series of disastrous frontal assaults against entrenched French positions on July 8, 1758. After his force sustained heavy casualties, a demoralized Abercromby withdrew to Fort George.

On July 21, 1759, Abercromby's successor as British commander in chief, Major General Jeffery Amherst, departed Fort George with 11,000 troops. Within five days they had captured Fort Carillon. The small French garrison destroyed that post as well as Fort St. Frédéric, before retreating to Lake Champlain's northern end. Lake George remained a vital supply artery for the 1760 campaign against Montreal.

STANLEY J. ADAMIAK

See also

Abercromby, James; Algonquins (Algonkins); Amherst, Jeffery; Champlain, Samuel de; Dieskau, Jean Armand, Baron de; Fort St. Frédéric (New York); Fort Ticonderoga (New York); Fort William Henry (New York); Fort William Henry, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Iroquois Confederation; Johnson, Sir William; Lake Champlain; Lake George, Battle of; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns

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Lake George, Battle of

Event Date: September 8, 1755

Battle between French, Canadian, and American Indian forces commanded by Maréchal de Camp Jean Armand, Baron de Dieskau, and British colonial forces under Major General Sir William Johnson, on September 8, 1755. When Major General Edward Braddock arrived in Virginia in the spring of 1755, he found sufficient manpower under his command in North America for four separate expeditions

to Fort Duquesne, Niagara, Crown Point, and Fort Beauséjour. Throughout King George's War (1744–1748), and as recently as 1754, Crown Point had served as the staging ground for Canadian and American Indian raids against British colonial settlements in New York and New England. It was therefore among the most important symbolic targets, at least, of British operations in 1755.

Commanding the expedition to Crown Point was William Johnson, colonel of the New York Militia who enjoyed good relations with the Mohawks. He had been given a commission as a major general for this particular campaign. Like the expedition to Niagara under Major General William Shirley, Johnson was to set out from Albany on a European-style campaign, building a road and bringing artillery in anticipation of a conventional siege. Shirley and Johnson squabbled over supplies and men, and the expedition to Crown Point was left short-handed in both respects. Johnson had able subordinates, such as Colonel Phineas Lyman and Captain William Eyre, but otherwise had to adapt to an unfamiliar mission, force composition, and command structure.

From July through early September, Johnson and his subordinates conducted several expeditions up the Hudson River toward the southernmost extremities of Lake Champlain—Wood Creek to the east and Lac du St. Sacrement (which Johnson renamed Lake George) to the west. At the nearest portage, about 12 miles southwest of the old site of Fort Anne on Wood Creek and about 14 miles southeast of Lake George, Johnson's force built Fort Edward. This



Plan of the Battle of Lake George, New York, on September 8, 1755, at which Sir William Johnson defeated a force of French and allied Native Americans. (Bettmann/Corbis)

was to serve both as a defensive outpost and as the base for further operations toward Lake George, where Johnson anticipated launching a naval expedition against Crown Point.

To move supplies from the Hudson to Lake George, Johnson's force constructed a road capped by a second fortified camp, the nucleus of Fort William Henry. By early September the road was almost complete, just in time for the arrival of a large force of French, Canadians, and American Indians coming down Wood Creek under Baron Dieskau.

Anticipating a raid on Fort Edward, Dieskau brought 220 French regulars, 600 Canadians, and 700 American Indian allies. Finding a nearly complete fort to his front and saddled with allies who were averse to a siege, on September 7 he doubled back toward Johnson's camp on Lake George. En route, the force encountered several American deserters and learned that a 1,000-man column would be headed down the road the following morning. The ensuing combat on September 8 was really two battles in one, with Dieskau first routing the supply column, and then coming up against Johnson's camp itself.

The "Bloody Morning Scout" (as the 1,000-man column's experiences that day came to be called) consisted mostly of colonial militia but also contained some of Johnson's Iroquois allies, including the Mohawk leader Theyanoguin, better known as Chief Hendrick. Dieskau organized an ambush along the road, which surprised and routed the British column. Despite objections among his American Indian allies and Canadian auxiliaries, Dieskau pushed on to Johnson's camp, seeking to exploit the victory.

What Dieskau found was a partially fortified camp in a clearing, with four cannon pointing down the road. While the French commander tried to persuade his Canadians and American Indians to join the attack, Johnson strengthened his rudimentary defenses. For four hours, Dieskau tried to break Johnson's lines but ultimately failed. Johnson was wounded in what was politely called his thigh, but he continued to fight; Dieskau was among some 20 wounded Frenchmen left after the battle who could not make the retreat.

A third phase of the battle occurred along the Fort Edward Road. Some 220 New Hampshire and New York militiamen en route to reinforce Johnson came upon the site of the ambush earlier in the day and found a larger group of Canadians and American Indians looting what remained. After a sharp fight, the French force was dispersed, and the militia column continued to Johnson's camp. Though the column arrived too late to defend the camp, this force helped to secure the strategic road.

In the aftermath of the battle, the remnants of Dieskau's party regrouped and withdrew, but left Johnson and his force in shock. Johnson abandoned all thought of launching an offensive against Crown Point and redoubled his efforts to fortify the camp on Lake George. Ignoring Shirley's appeals to follow up his victory, Johnson called for reinforcements and spent the winter building defenses for Fort William Henry. The French, meanwhile, built a fort of their own, north of Lake George, at Ticonderoga.

MATT SCHUMANN

See also

Crown Point (New York); Dieskau, Jean Armand, Baron de; Fort Edward (New York); Fort William Henry (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Johnson, Sir William; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Lake George; Theyanoguin (Chief Hendrick)

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Lake Ontario

Smallest and easternmost of the Great Lakes. Lake Ontario encompasses 7,340 square miles, approximately 193 miles long and 53 miles wide at its greatest width. During the colonial period, Lake Ontario was a strategically significant hub of exploration and expansion because it connected the Hudson River system to the Ottawa River route while providing access to both the St. Lawrence River and the western Great Lakes. Preceding European settlement, the lake had served to demarcate Huron and Algonquin territory in the north from Iroquois possessions to the south, and would come to play the same role for the French and the British in the colonial period.

As early as 1611, Samuel de Champlain had explored Lake Ontario and its surrounding regions, and his associate Étienne Brule's trip across the western end of the lake in 1615 was the first documented visit by a European. By the end of the 17th century, French explorers such as Louis Jolliet and René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, were using Lake Ontario for access to the Ohio Valley and the Mississippi River system. Lake Ontario therefore played an important role in consolidating French holdings in North America, which, by the conclusion of King William's War in 1697, stretched from Hudson Bay to the Gulf Coast.

Because of Lake Ontario's military significance, the French were quick to begin building fortifications on its shores, including Fort Frontenac in 1673, Fort Niagara in 1720, and the Magazin Royale (later Fort Rouillé, on the site of present-day Toronto) in 1726. All of this activity gave France early naval supremacy on the lake. Indeed, as late as 1757, following British defeats at Fort William Henry and Fort Oswego in the previous year, Lake Ontario was still entirely in French hands.

To be sure, dominance of Lake Ontario was more important to the French than it was to the British. Furthermore, disruptions in France's native alliances meant that the lake served to expose the western flank of Canada to incursions by Anglo-America during King George's War (1744–1748) and again during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Both of these events proved that native alliances, rather than fortifications and military resources, ultimately determined whether Lake Ontario would be an asset or a liability for the European powers in the colonial period.

See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Champlain, Samuel de; Fort Frontenac (Ontario); Fort Niagara (New York); Fort Niagara, Siege of; Fort Ontario (New York); Fort Oswego (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Hurons; Iroquois; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Land Campaigns; La Salle, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de; Oswego, Battle of; Ottawas; Quebec, French Attempt to Recapture; St. Lawrence River

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Lancaster, Conference at and Treaty of

Start Date: June 22, 1744 End Date: July 4, 1744

Agreement between the Iroquois and the colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. From June 22 to July 4, 1744, representatives of the Six Nations of the Iroquois met with commissioners from the colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to resolve disputes over land claims and other issues. Canasatego of the Onondagas led the native delegation and Conrad Weiser acted as interpreter. In addition to settling the conflict over land, the Iroquois sought the colonies' support in expanding their power over other native nations. The colonists' goal was to secure title to western lands.

The resulting treaty appeared to satisfy both sides. For a payment of £800 in Pennsylvania currency, £300 in gold coin, and some trade goods, the Iroquois ceded all their land claims in Maryland and Virginia to those colonies. The three colonies also recognized Iroquois dominance over several smaller native nations and agreed to permit Iroquois war parties to cross their territory to fight the Cherokees and the Catawbas.

Canasatego believed that he had made an excellent bargain, since the Iroquois' land claims in Virginia and Maryland were dubious at best. However, the native diplomat failed to realize that under its charter, Virginia claimed the entire Ohio Valley region. Virginia's commissioners knew that the Iroquois were unaware of the extent of their claims and that Canasatego had no real right to dispose of land occupied by other native nations. The primary concern of the commissioners was to obtain title to the territory so that the land speculators of the Ohio Company could claim ownership and open the area to settlement.

When Virginia officials tried in the 1750s to enforce their claim to the Ohio Valley under the terms of the Treaty of Lancaster, they provoked a conflict with the French and natives who also claimed the region. The resulting clashes sparked the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

JIM PIECUCH

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Iroquois; Ohio Company; Weiser, Conrad

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Lance

Long polearm cavalry weapon. Before the advent of firearms, lances were, next to swords, the primary weapon for horsemen. Ranging from 9 to 14 feet in length, lances were made of hardwood, usually ash, and were 1.5 to 2 inches in diameter. The tip was metal, pointed so as to penetrate armor. Although known in ancient times, lances became much more important with the advent of the stirrup, which allowed the rider to brace himself in the saddle. During the charge,



Illustration of a Wampanoag warrior in full regalia and holding a lance, early 1700s. (North Wind Picture Archives)

the rider held the lance stationary, under the arm with the tip forward, using the momentum of the horse for shock power.

Even with the advent of firearms, cavalrymen relied on the lance in part because it was difficult to reload carbines and pistols while moving on horseback. Lances were very much a fixture of European warfare and continued in use even into World War II. They were, however, little employed in colonial North America because there was little open land for cavalry warfare. There were also few cavalry units, even late in the colonial period. Lances were adopted by the Native Americans of the Great Plains after the arrival of the horse.

CHARLES D. GREAR AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cavalry and Cavalry Tactics; Pike

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La Prairie, Battle of

Event Date: August 23, 1690

English raid against a French Canadian village, initially planned as an attack on Montreal, during King William's War (1689–1697). La Prairie (also called La Prairie-de-la-Magdeleine) was located in Quebec Province, on the south bank of the St. Lawrence River, opposite the island of Montreal. A French fort was situated there.

Early in 1690, French and native forces from Canada launched a series of raids against New York and New England settlements, including Schenectady, New York; Salmon Falls, New Hampshire; and Fort Loyal at Casco Bay, Maine (then part of Massachusetts). In April 1690, the colonies of New York, Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and Connecticut, convened in Albany without the knowledge of the English government. At the meeting, they devised a plan for launching a shattering blow against New France. The government of Maryland, not represented at the Albany meeting, nonetheless promised to provide troops.

The plan called for a seaborne attack on Quebec, to be carried out by Massachusetts and led by William Phips. At the same time, a force of 855 colonial militiamen plus 1,800 Iroquois would proceed by way of Lake Champlain to attack Montreal. As a condition of Connecticut's participation, Major General Fitz-John Winthrop of the Connecticut Militia was to lead the Montreal attack.

Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and Maryland failed to send their contingents. Connecticut provided its 135 men and New York raised 150 of the 400 it had promised. The Iroquois sent about 70 warriors. At the time, both Albany and the western Iroquois villages were suffering from smallpox. About 50 Mohegans accompanied

the Connecticut Militia. This force headed north on July 30 but then stopped at the southern end of Lake Champlain to await provisions that never arrived.

On August 13, Winthrop sent Captain John Schuyler—the 22-year-old brother of the Albany mayor—ahead by canoe with a volunteer force consisting of 29 whites and the 120 natives, to harass the outskirts of Montreal and hopefully divert some French forces from Quebec. Deficient in men, provisions, and canoes and plagued by disease, the rest of Winthrop's party then returned to Albany.

On his way north, Schuyler encountered a band of 28 whites and 5 natives led by a survivor of the Schenectady raid. He persuaded the natives and 13 of the whites to join his expedition. They then continued north on Lake Champlain and debarked on the bank of the Richelieu River near Fort Chambly. From there they proceeded overland and surprised La Prairie on August 23.

Attacking as people returned from the fields, Schuyler's men killed 6 (including 4 women), took 19 prisoners, pierced or shot nearly 150 oxen and cows, and burned houses, barns, and hay. The natives objected to a direct attack on the fort. It transpired that the French governor and 800 men had been in La Prairie but departed the day before. The cannon at the fort began firing signal shots, to which Montreal responded. The raiding party therefore turned southward again, with the natives killing 2 wounded prisoners who were unable to travel. They arrived in Albany on August 30.

Clearly, the expedition did not take Montreal, nor did it divert French troops from Quebec. In any event, Phips did not arrive there until October. Jacob Leisler, New York's rebel governor, blamed Winthrop for the failure and had him jailed, but Connecticut secured his release.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Canada, New England Expedition against; King William's War, Land Campaigns; La Prairie, Battle of (1691); Phips, Sir William; Quebec, Attack on (1690); Winthrop, John (Fitz-John)

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La Prairie, Battle of

Event Date: August 1, 1691

English and Iroquois offensive against the French and their native allies in Quebec, part of King William's War (1689–1697). After the May 16, 1691, execution of Jacob Leisler, New York's rebel governor, the Iroquois complained of the colony's political distractions and of its failure to prosecute King William's War effectively. The Iroquois had been conducting raids along the St. Lawrence River

and Ottawa River. They believed that these assaults had exposed them to retaliation. The Iroquois therefore demanded that New York provide military supplies and take the offensive. New Yorkers, in turn, feared that they would be exposed to attack should the Iroquois indeed drop out of the war.

On May 27, 1691, Gov. Henry Sloughter met with the Iroquois sachems (chiefs) at Albany. After the failure of the 1690 La Prairie campaign, no grandiose schemes were put forward. Albany mayor Peter Schuyler enjoyed a close relationship with the Iroquois, and he offered to lead a raid to spread alarm among the French and thus disrupt their war effort.

Toward that end, Schuyler assembled a force of 120 Albany militiamen, 80 Mohawks, and 66 Mahicans. No other colonies were asked to participate. The target would be La Prairie, Quebec, which Schuyler's brother John had attacked the previous summer.

Schuyler's forces set out on Lake Champlain by canoe and disembarked on the Richelieu River, some 10 miles from Fort Chambly. Schuyler left 27 men to guard the canoes. The remainder then proceeded toward La Prairie on foot through a sizable forest.

Unlike the previous year, the French learned of the party's approach. Indeed, Montreal's Gov. Louis-Hector de Callières had already crossed the St. Lawrence with 700–800 men. Two battalions of regulars encamped to the right of the fort at La Prairie, while Canadians and allied native warriors encamped to the left of it. They waited there for about a week. In the early morning hours of August 1, however, a storm came up forcing them to seek shelter.

That same morning, just before dawn, Schuyler attacked, chasing those in the Canadian camp into the fort. The New Yorkers then encountered a body of French regulars that Schuyler estimated at 420 men and forced them back. The French, however, attacked again and pressed the New Yorkers back 150 yards toward a ravine. There the New Yorkers made a stand and eventually drove the French back in disorder to their fort. The New Yorkers then withdrew slowly toward the river, destroying cornfields as they went.

The La Prairie garrison, their commander ill and his deputy dead, did not pursue the English and Iroquois attackers. At Fort Chambly, however, Captain Philippe Clément du Vuault de Valrennes had heard the shooting. Thus, Valrennes and 160 colonial regulars, militiamen, Hurons, Iroquois Christians, and Algonquins waited in ambush along a ridge that crossed the English route to the river. When they revealed themselves, Schuyler ordered an attack, but was surprised by the strength of the French force and fell back with significant losses. Fearing that he and his men would be caught between the two enemy forces, he ordered another advance. In what has been described as the war's most savage engagement, most of Schuyler's forces succeeded in breaking through the French lines and escaping to the river.

Again, the French did not pursue, and the New Yorkers had the luxury of waiting several hours on the river bank for stragglers to arrive before setting out for home. In their reports, both sides exaggerated the losses they had inflicted on their enemies. The 1691 Battle of La Prairie proved to be New York's last offensive for the

remainder of the war, though it had little impact on the eventual outcome.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Fort Chambly (Quebec); King William's War, Land Campaigns; La Prairie, Battle of (1690); Leisler's Rebellion; Schuyler, Peter (Pieter)

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La Salle, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de

Born: 1643

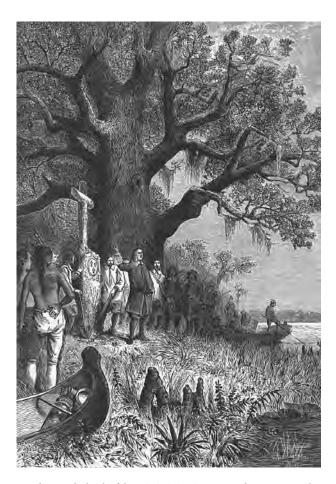
Died: March 1687

French military officer, explorer of North America, and diplomat. Baptized on November 22, 1643, in Rouen, Normandy, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, was educated by the Jesuits. In 1662 he arrived in Montreal, New France, where he received a grant of land along the St. Lawrence River.

La Salle's great passion was exploration. In 1669 and 1680, he explored areas south of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. In 1674, he returned to France as the representative of the governor of New France, Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, to explain why Frontenac had taken the initiative in constructing Fort Frontenac at the site of present-day Kingston, Ontario, and to petition for command of the fort, in which he was successful. La Salle returned to France again in 1677 to seek permission to explore and expand the fur trade to the west, and King Louis XIV awarded him a monopoly on trade in the Mississippi Valley.

In 1679, members of La Salle's expedition sailed in the *Griffin*, the first commercial vessel on Lake Erie, to present-day Green Bay, Wisconsin, where the ship was loaded with furs that La Salle hoped would help settle his sizable debts in Montreal, but the *Griffin* was lost on the lake and never heard from again. Unaware of this, La Salle continued down the western shore of Lake Michigan, building first Fort Miami on the St. Joseph River and then Fort Crèvecoeur near Lake Peoria in present-day Illinois in order to protect his men from the elements and hostile Native Americans. La Salle then returned with some of his party to Fort Frontenac to secure supplies for the trip down the Mississippi. He returned to discover that in March 1680, Fort Crèvecoeur had been abandoned.

Undeterred, La Salle again traveled to Fort Frontenac. Meanwhile, a number of his men, who had been captured by Native Americans, found their way to Green Bay. The expedition resumed with additional men and supplies, and, descending the Mississippi, La Salle finally reached the mouth of the river and the Gulf of Mex-



Standing on the bank of the Mississippi River on April 9, 1682, French explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, proclaims the territory part of the French empire in America. (Library of Congress)

ico on April 9, 1682. He claimed the Mississippi River and all territory watered by it and its tributaries for France, naming it "Louisiana" after King Louis XIV.

La Salle returned to the north to establish Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River in December 1682. He hoped to free himself from the control of French authorities in Canada and establish himself as governor of an independent French colony. La Salle's merchant rivals carried on a campaign against him, obliging him to return to France, where his appeals met with royal favor. The French government saw control of the mouth of the Mississippi as important against Spain, with which France was then at war, and La Salle received the governorship of all Louisiana.

Ordered to establish a settlement near the mouth of the Mississippi, La Salle sailed for Louisiana in 1684 in four ships with about 400 men. The French naval commander, however, refused to follow La Salle's orders, resulting in the Spanish capture of the expedition's principal supply ship. In the West Indies, La Salle fell ill with a fever, with the result that the expedition fell into total disorder. Recovering his health, he continued on with only about 180 men in the remaining three ships, but sailed too far west in the Gulf of Mexico

to land near present-day Matagorda Bay, Texas. La Salle assumed this was the westernmost outlet of the Mississippi, but explorations on land soon convinced him of his mistake. Meanwhile, two of his remaining three ships had been wrecked and the third returned to France.

Down to only 45 men, the expedition's situation was desperate and La Salle set out in January 1687 with a small party to try to reach Canada and secure aid. Along the way, his men mutinied and La Salle was murdered in March 1687 near the Trinity River. Some of his party did reach Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River, but Native Americans killed most of the colonists who remained. While La Salle failed to realize his personal ambitions, his labors gave France a vast new colonial empire and altered the history of North America.

THERESA L. STOREY

See also

Fort Crèvecoeur (Illinois); Frontenac, Louis de Buade de, Comte de Frontenac et de Palluau; Louisiana; Mississippi River; New France; Texas

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Laudonnière, René Goulaine de

Born: Unknown Died: ca. 1570

French explorer, navigator, and colonizer in Florida. A nobleman from Poitou, nothing is known of René Goulaine de Laudonnière's birth or early years. Laudonnière was second-in-command under Jean Ribault in the French Huguenots' 1562 attempt to colonize the southeastern coast of North America. That attempt, which established a settlement named Charlesfort located on Parris Island, South Carolina, was abandoned after Ribault was imprisoned in England. In 1564, Laudonnière led a new expedition to reestablish a French colony in the area, arriving off the coast in late June 1564.

The settlement, named Fort Caroline and established near present-day Jacksonville, Florida, enjoyed initial success. It boasted 304 colonists, including women, children, farmers, and artisans. Local Native Americans offered food and support. The prosperity was very short-lived, however, as soldiers mutinied and relations with the natives soured. The situation became so desperate that Laudonnière prepared to abandon the colony by late summer.

Meanwhile, Ribault had been released from prison and set out to resupply the colony and relieve Laudonnière of his position. He arrived in mid-August 1565 and brought orders for Laudonnière to return to France and answer charges regarding his management of the expedition. Before Laudonnière could set sail, however, the Spanish arrived in the territory to protect their interests.

Led by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the Spanish established a fort and the town of St. Augustine south of the French colony. Ribault moved his men by sea against the Spanish while Laudonnière remained to protect the French settlement at Fort Caroline. Ribault's ships, however, were scattered by a hurricane, allowing the Spanish to march overland and attack the relatively defenseless Fort Caroline. They captured it on September 20, 1565, killing most of the inhabitants. Laudonnière and about 50 others managed to escape to the coast and sailed for Europe. They arrived in France in January 1566. In his retirement, Laudonnière wrote a history of the colony, *Histoire notable de la Floride* (Florida's Notable History), published in 1586. Laudonnière died in France about 1570.

LISA L. CRUTCHFIELD

See also

Florida; Fort Caroline (Florida); Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro; Ribault, Jean; St. Augustine

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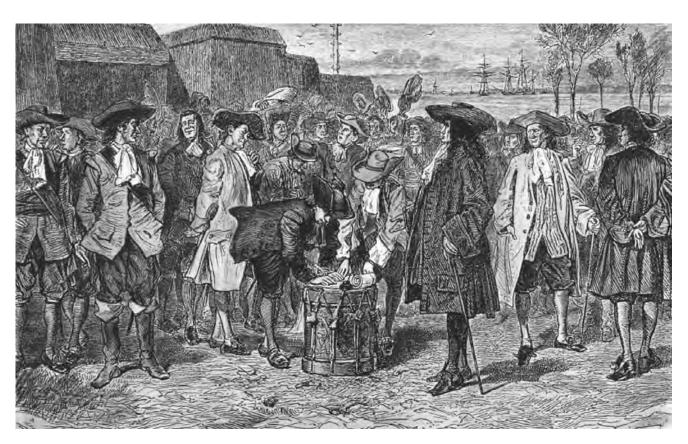
Leisler, Jacob

Born: 1640

Died: May 16, 1691

Colonial New York Militia officer best known for his role in the insurrection known as Leisler's Rebellion. Jacob Leisler was baptized on March 31, 1640, in Frankfurt, Germany, a member of a prominent German Calvinist family. He spent most of his youth in Frankfurt, where his father preached to a congregation of Huguenot refugees. As a teenager Leisler attended a military academy run by the House of Orange-Nassau, perhaps in Nürnberg. His military service eventually led him to the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam in 1660, where he married a wealthy widow. After the English conquered the colony in 1664 during the Second Anglo-Dutch War, Leisler became one of New York's richest and most influential people. A successful merchant, he became second-in-command of the colonial militia with the rank of captain.

The overthrow in 1688 of Roman Catholic English King James II and the accession of William III and Mary II to the English throne had ramifications in the colonies, where many local officials were accused of being Catholics. In 1689 Leisler's orthodox Calvinist beliefs propelled him into the political spotlight. As with many Protestants, he believed that New York's leaders were partners in a



Depiction of Jacob Leisler seizing control of New York in May 1689 on receipt of news of the Glorious Revolution in England and the accession of William and Mary. Colored engraving, 19th century. (The Granger Collection)

Roman Catholic plot, and he joined a rebellion to "preserve" the colony for the British Protestant monarchs William and Mary. Leisler became the leader of an uprising in New York City on May 31, 1689, in which the militia rose up against royal authorities who they believed to be in league with the French. Lt. Gov. Francis Nicholson fled, and Leisler took over his office, claiming that authority from letters from King William to Nicholson. The council at Albany confirmed his authority, although many, especially among the wealthy, opposed him.

Leisler ruled with an iron fist, imprisoning anyone who questioned his power. After the French assaulted Schenectady in February 1690 during King William's War (1689–1697), Leisler became a leader in the intercolonial effort against New France, planning an expedition to capture Montreal with New England forces to attack Quebec. The invasion ended in failure, however.

Leisler's bold style alienated many New Yorkers, and in 1691 he lost his hold on power. Early that year King William's new governor, Colonel Henry Sloughter, arrived with troops under Major Richard Ingoldesby. Sloughter sided with those opposed to Leisler and ordered him to surrender Fort James in New York City. Leisler refused, and several people died in the resulting standoff. Sloughter subsequently charged Leisler and his son-in-law Jacob Milborne with treason. Both men were tried, found guilty, and executed in New York City on May 16, 1691. Leisler was posthumously exonerated by Parliament in 1695.

OWEN STANWOOD

See also

Canada, New England Expedition against; Dominion of New England; Glorious Revolution in America; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Leisler's Rebellion; New York; Nicholson, Sir Francis; Quebec, Attack on (1690); Schenectady, Battle of

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Leisler's Rebellion

Start Date: May 1689 End Date: March 1691

A revolt in New York triggered by political unrest, economic discontent, class inequities, ethnic and religious tensions, and the Glorious Revolution (1688–1689). The rebellion was named after its chief instigator, Jacob Leisler. It was partially derived from King James II's increasing tendencies to promote Catholicism and centralization. Also at play in the revolt, however, was the preponderant political and economic power enjoyed by English New York City merchants.

In May 1689, a month after the removal of Edmond Andros as governor of the Dominion of New England, the New York Militia ousted Francis Nicholson, lieutenant governor of New York and New Jersey. Nicholson's hesitation in acknowledging the change in government in England had caused his downfall. Lacking instructions, he refused to announce the accession of William and Mary to the English throne. Instead, he moved to protect New York from a possible invasion from New England. He also offered local leaders a safe haven in case of rebellion. In addressing the latter concern, Nicholson understood that New York City and the colony had splintered into numerous factions, each with its own reasons for opposing colonial authorities.

New Englanders now living on Long Island, who had transferred their hatred of the Dutch toward English officials, sought to follow the example of Massachusetts. In April 1689, Boston residents had overthrown the Dominion and imprisoned Andros. Hudson River Valley farmers had been complaining constantly about monopolies granted to city merchants. They also argued that the few families that dominated city and provincial politics used their power to protect their own interests. Such sentiments simply needed a leader—or an event—to spark a rebellion.

Rumors of a plot that would give Catholic France control of New York had been circulating for some time. Nicholson's failure formally to acknowledge William and Mary caused many colonists, especially Dutch supporters of William of Orange, to assume that the rumor of a plot was fact. Leisler, a member of a council established to defend the city against foreign invasion and rebellion, soon seized power.

Leisler, from Germany, had entered New Amsterdam in 1660 as a soldier in the Dutch West India Company. Since then, he had become a prosperous merchant and one of the largest property holders in New York. His marriage to the widow of a wealthy Dutch merchant gave him substantial social standing in the province. Leisler had held numerous political appointments, including juror and court-appointed arbitrator in the English legal system and commissioner to the Admiralty Court. He was also a militia captain. There is no indication that Leisler began the rebellion in New York, but he was well informed of the events in England that led to the removal of King James II.

After a New York Militia revolt drove Nicholson from power in May 1689, Leisler seized control of Fort James. Leisler governed New York efficiently but with a strong hand for about a year, drawing support from all parts of the population, especially Dutch settlers. Leisler strengthened New York's fortifications, ordered local elections, and directed the first codification of New York's laws. In December 1689, he assumed the title of lieutenant governor. Leisler claimed the authority to rule based on letters from King William to Nicholson. The council at Albany confirmed Leisler's authority, although many, especially among the wealthy, opposed him.

Leisler purged his political opposition. He also issued commissions to new officers, collected taxes, and called for a provincial assembly dominated by his own supporters. His legislature redressed

Name	Dates	Location	Leader	Belligerents	Causes
Bacon's Rebellion	1676–1677	Virginia	Nathaniel Bacon	Western Virginia farmers against the colonial government	Policies toward Indian aggression and trade, declining economy
Culpeper's Rebellion	1677–1680	Carolina	John Culpeper	Albemarle citizens against the proprietary government	Enforcement of the Navigation Acts, proprietary rule, increased taxation
Coode's Rebellion	1689–1690	Maryland	John Coode	Anti-Catholics against the proprietary Catholic Calvert family	Longstanding religious hostilities and accession of Protestant William of Orange
Leisler's Rebellion	1689–1691	New York	Jacob Leisler	Citizens of New York against the colonial government	Glorious Revolution, fears of Catholic influence, monopolies by elite urban merchant class

Popular Uprisings during the Colonial Period

grievances (abolishing trade monopolies of city merchants, for example) and collected taxes to fund King William's War (1689–1697). Leisler also addressed the worst fears in Protestant New York, namely, the "Catholic menace." He oversaw relief efforts to victims of a French and native massacre at Schenectady (February 1690), imprisoned suspected "papists," and organized a convention that saw delegates from Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New York adopt plans to invade Quebec.

Leisler eventually suffered numerous setbacks that led to his removal from power. His letters seeking support from William and Mary were captured by the French, and Leisler's apparent lack of support from the new monarchs allowed Nicholson to criticize Leisler's actions. Consequently, in December 1689 William and Mary appointed Henry Sloughter, an opponent of Leisler, as the new governor of New York. This encouraged Leisler's opponents to challenge the legitimacy of his administration. English colonists complained that Dutch artisans had replaced wealthy English merchants on the Board of Aldermen. The English also opposed Leisler's efforts to promote town meetings that gave Dutch settlers greater political power, and they found fault with Leisler's sympathies toward the lower class. And the failure of the 1690 Quebec campaign provided additional ammunition for Leisler's critics.

In March 1691, following a two-month standoff at Fort James between Leisler and English troops supporting Governor Sloughter that nearly caused civil war, Leisler surrendered. Sloughter ordered Leisler's arrest and indictment for treason. A court dominated by Leisler's enemies promptly found him guilty. On May 19, 1691, Leisler was hanged and beheaded. The English merchants quickly regained control of New York. They reclaimed their positions on the Board of Aldermen and adopted laws that significantly reduced the political and economic power of Dutch settlers.

The harshness of Leisler's punishment soon fueled a campaign to clear his name. In 1695, Parliament reversed the New York court's sentence and legitimatized Leisler's administration, and in 1702 the New York Assembly voted an indemnity of £2,700 to his heirs.

Leisler's Rebellion toppled an authoritarian regime and produced a measure of self-government in New York, albeit briefly. Over the next generation, friction between Leislerians, who favored greater representative government, and anti-Leislerians, who defended the power of the merchant oligarchy centered in New York City, dominated the battle for supremacy in New York politics.

Dean Fafoutis

See also

Andros, Edmund; Canada, New England Expedition against; Dominion of New England; Fort James (New York); Glorious Revolution in America; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Leisler, Jacob; New York; Nicholson, Sir Francis; Quebec, Attack on (1690); Schenectady, Battle of;

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Le Loutre, Jean-Louis

Born: September 27, 1709 Died: September 30, 1772

French missionary who served simultaneously as the religious-political-military representative of the French Crown among the Micmacs and the Acadians. Jean-Louis Le Loutre was born in Morlaix, France, on September 27, 1709. In 1730, he entered the Séminaire du Saint-Espirit (Holy Spirit Seminary). He transferred to the Séminaire des Missions Étrangères (Foreign Missions Seminary) in 1737 before being ordained a Catholic priest and sent to Acadia.

Le Loutre has been accused by contemporaries and historians alike of causing the 1755 Acadian Deportation and inciting Micmac attacks on the British. As a representative of French and Catholic interests, however, he acted as a diplomat among the Micmacs, distributing supplies in the name of King Louis XV. Le Loutre did not, however, exercise dominion over the Micmacs.

His relationship with the Acadians was also problematic. As a French Catholic priest and vicar-general since 1754, Le Loutre viewed Protestant British control of the Acadians as a threat to their immor-

tal souls. Thus he attempted through persuasion and threats to encourage the Acadians to relocate to French territory. It was these activities that earned Le Loutre the undying hatred of the English in Annapolis Royal and in Halifax. In 1755, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Le Loutre used heavy-handed tactics to force the Acadians—who had up to this point been neutral—into allying themselves with the French cause. He accomplished this by playing on Acadian fears of English domination, denying the sacraments, and threatening to have his Micmac allies attack Acadian settlements.

Le Loutre avoided capture by dressing as a woman and slipping away with a group of Acadians freed by the British after their capture at Fort Beaséjour in 1755. He made his way first to Quebec and then to Louisbourg by 1759. Le Loutre was taken prisoner at sea by the Royal Navy when the vessel in which he was a passenger was captured while sailing to France. Placed in irons, he was sent to England, where he remained a prisoner until the end of the war in 1763. On his release, Le Loutre returned to France, where he worked among deported Acadians. While endeavoring to establish a new home for expatriated Acadians, Le Loutre died in Nantes on September 30, 1772.

KARL S. HELE

See also

Acadia; Acadia Expulsion; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Micmacs

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Le Moyne de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste

Born: 1680

Died: March 7, 1767

French colonizer, governor of Louisiana, and founding father of New Orleans. Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville was born in Montreal and baptized as an infant on February 23, 1680. He was 1 of 14 children, but his parents died when he was young and he was raised in the household of his eldest brother, Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil. On the death of another brother, François, in 1691, Jean-Baptiste inherited the landed title of Sieur de Bienville, by which name he came to be known.

In 1692, Bienville entered the French Navy as a midshipman, serving under his elder brother Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville in King William's War (War of the League of Augsburg, 1689–1697) and taking part in expeditions commanded by d'Iberville against the English in Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and off New England. Bienville was severely wounded in 1697. At the end of the war, both brothers sailed for France.



Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, governor of Louisiana and founder of the city of New Orleans. (Library of Congress)

Having distinguished himself in the war, d'Iberville took command of an expedition to search for the mouth of the Mississippi River, and Bienville accompanied him. The expedition departed Brest, France, in October 1698, and on March 2, 1699, located the mouth of the Mississippi. Members of the expedition were the first Europeans to enter the river from the Gulf of Mexico.

D'Iberville established Fort Maurepas at Biloxi (now within Ocean Springs, Mississippi). In May 1699, he returned to France, leaving 70 men with Lieutenant Jean de Sauvole in command. Sauvole died in August 1701 and, at age 21, Bienville took charge, in effect, of all Louisiana. In 1702, d'Iberville returned for four months, confirming his brother in that position. D'Iberville then departed. He died in 1706 while leading a French expedition to the West Indies during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713).

In 1702, meanwhile, Bienville transferred his headquarters to Fort Louis on the Mobile River. In 1711, severe flooding forced him to relocate about 25 miles downriver to present-day Mobile, Alabama. Following the decade of war, the French settlement in Louisiana was in desperate straits. Because of his knowledge of the Native Americans, Bienville was a principal factor in the colony's survival; nonetheless, many settlers blamed him for their plight.

Concerned about Bienville's youth, in 1707 the Crown passed him over and appointed Nicolas Daneau de Muy as governor. Fellow Frenchmen also intrigued against Bienville, charging him with authoritarianism, religious favoritism, cruelty against Native Americans, and an affair with an unmarried woman. Subsequently investigated by a crown agent, these charges were never proven. Nonetheless, Bienville went for years without a salary.

Muy died en route to Louisiana, and the Crown then appointed Antoine de La Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac, as governor of the Louisiana colony. Named to the post in May 1710, he traveled to Louisiana by way of Canada and did not arrive until June 1712. Cadillac pursued the investigation of Bienville, again without result but alienating Bienville, who served as the king's lieutenant or second-incommand of the colony, in the process.

In 1714, the Ministry of the Marine gave Bienville military command of the Mississippi River from the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico. Cadillac proved hopelessly inept in dealing with the Native Americans and was obliged to recall Bienville to repair relations with them. Bienville's success only further alienated Cadillac, who then ordered Bienville and 34 men to deal with the Natchez's 800 warriors, several of whom had murdered 4 Frenchmen. Recruiting additional manpower, Bienville moved into Natchez territory and succeeded by ruse and hostages to get the Natchez chiefs to execute the 6 murderers. Bienville then secured the assistance of the Natchez in the construction of Fort Rosalie (present-day Natchez, Mississippi).

Convinced that Cadillac was incompetent, the home government at length recalled him but again passed over Bienville in naming as governor Jean-Michel de Lespinay. During October 1716–March 1717, until his arrival, Bienville was acting governor. In September 1717, King Louis XV named him a knight of the order of Saint Louis.

In 1717, the Crown entrusted Louisiana to Scottish financier John Law's Compagnie d'Occident, soon known as the Compagnie des Indes. This ended the position of governor, and Bienville became commandant general. The Crown added the Illinois Country to Louisiana, and it thus came under Bienville's military jurisdiction.

In 1718, Bienville was charged with establishing a company post at a site of his choosing between the Mississippi River and Lake Pontchartrain, to be known as Nouvelle Orléans (New Orleans). Bienville wanted it to be a seaport and selected a portage between the river and Lake Pontchartrain. Toward that end he oversaw construction of levees, dredging silt, and digging a canal between the river and Lake Pontchartrain.

Bienville pursued a correct attitude toward the Spanish authorities in the region, but he also fortified Natchitoches, thereby establishing the eastern line of Texas. In 1719 when war broke out between Spain and France, Bienville learned of it before the Spanish and seized Pensacola. Following its subsequent loss to the Spanish, he retook it.

The collapse of Law's Mississippi scheme led to a reorganization of the Compagnie des Indes, which retained Bienville as its commandant general. In 1725, however, the directors, believing him not to be of sufficient nobility, recalled Bienville to France for "consultation" and replaced him with Étienne de Périer. It appeared as if Bienville would not return to Louisiana, but in November 1729 the commandant at Fort Rosalie provoked the Natzhez into revolt. The Native Americans killed or captured hundreds of French colonists.

The Natchez finally capitulated in January 1731, but this episode led the company to ask the king to resume the government of Louisiana. In the summer of 1732 King Louis XV named Bienville governor. He returned there in March 1733 and remained a decade.

During the period of his governorship, Bienville dealt principally with trade (both legal and contraband), encouraging export crops, the importation of African slaves, land grants for former soldiers, and pressing budgetary matters. He established excellent relations with Native Americans in the region and pleased them by learning their languages. Throughout his governorship, Bienville supported the Choctaws against their adversaries the Chickasaws, who had the support of the English. Bienville's elaborate efforts to defeat the Chickasaws in a series of military campaigns from 1736 to 1739 finally met with success. Following the dispatch of men and artillery from France, the Chickasaws agreed to negotiations and pledged to the French their cooperation.

In 1741 Bienville asked to be relieved from his post for health reasons. He departed for France in August 1743, following the arrival of his successor, Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil. Bienville died in Paris on March 7, 1767.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Chickasaws; Chickasaw Wars; Choctaws; Fort Biloxi (Mississippi); Fort Louis (Alabama); Fort Rosalie (Mississippi); King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Le Moyne d'Iberville et d'Ardillières, Pierre; Louisiana; Natchez; Natchez Revolt; Natchez War; Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Philippe de, Marquis de Vaudreuil

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Le Moyne d'Iberville et d'Ardillières, Pierre

Born: July 16, 1661 Died: July 9, 1706

French colonial military and naval leader, identified by some historians as the first true Canadian military hero. Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville was born at Ville-Marie (Montreal) on July 16, 1661, the third son of Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil et de Chateauguay, one of New France's most influential seigneurs and merchants. Several of d'Iberville's brothers, notably Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, enjoyed distinguished military careers.

D'Iberville first distinguished himself in 1686 by playing a central role in Pierre de Troyes's successful expedition against the English fur traders at James Bay (near Hudson Bay). During King William's War (1689–1897), d'Iberville personally commanded expeditions to the bay in 1688–1689, 1690–1691, 1694, and 1697,



French colonial military and naval leader Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville helped preserve New France in its wars with England in the late 17th and early 18th centuries and was perhaps Canada's first military hero. (North Wind Picture Archives)

raiding English posts and seizing furs. Concurrently, he took part in the attack on Schenectady, New York, in February 1690, worked as a privateer off the New England coast, and escorted convoys between France and North America.

In 1696, d'Iberville orchestrated a campaign against the English settlements and fisheries in the northwestern Atlantic. After capturing and destroying Fort William Henry (Maine) in August of that year, he led a brutal but successful winter land campaign in Newfoundland. By the end of March 1697, only Bonavista and Carbonear remained in English hands.

On the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, the French minister of marine chose d'Iberville to lead an expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi River. The objective was to build a fort that would block other European nations from access to the river. D'Iberville's 1698–1699 voyage accordingly resulted in the foundation of the first permanent European settlement in Louisiana, Fort Maurepas (near modern-day Ocean Springs, Mississippi). On his return to France, he was awarded the Cross of Saint Louis, becoming the first native Canadian to receive this coveted military distinction. During two subsequent expeditions to Louisiana, in 1699–1700 and 1701–1702, d'Iberville negotiated alliances with the local indigenous peoples and oversaw the construction of Fort Mississippi and Fort St. Louis. All the while, he continued trading in furs.

During Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) and despite his declining health, in 1705 d'Iberville was entrusted with the organization of a privateering expedition to the West Indies. Leaving France in the

early spring of 1706 at the head of a squadron of 12 ships, he proceeded to sack the English island of Nevis in April. This last campaign was his most controversial. Following his sudden death (likely due to yellow fever) on July 9, 1706, and his burial in Havana, d'Iberville was found guilty of various charges, including clandestine trading with the enemy and evading royal taxes on spoils of war. As a result, French authorities seized most of his estate as reparations.

Jean-François Lozier

See also

Fort Maurepas (Mississippi); Fort William Henry (Maine); Hudson Bay; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Le Moyne de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste; Louisiana; Newfoundland; Privateering; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Schenectady, Battle of

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Lenni Lenape

See Delawares (Lenni Lenape)

Lévis, François Gaston de, Duc de Lévis

Born: August 23, 1720 Died: November 26, 1787

General in the French Army. François Gaston de Lévis was born into an old aristocratic family in Languedoc, France, on August 23, 1720. His father, Jean de Lévis, encouraged him to join the army in 1735, and the younger Lévis enjoyed a successful military career in his youth. Lévis fought in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748).

As a brigadier general during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Lévis was ordered to Canada in 1756 as second-incommand to Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm. Lévis arrived in Quebec in May 1756. The next month he was sent to Montreal. Lévis went on to lead French troops at the Battle of Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) on July 7–8, 1756. He also fought at the Battle of Montmorency on July 31, 1759, where British forces were repelled and Quebec, the lynchpin of New France, continued under French control. However, the British, led by Brigadier General James Wolfe, launched a successful attack on Quebec later in 1759.

Lévis was in Montreal during the siege of Quebec (June 27–September 11, 1759). After Montcalm died in battle on the Plains of Abraham defending Quebec, Lévis assumed command of French troops in North America. Lévis was a careful planner and a bold and innovative commander. In an attempt to retake Quebec, on April 26, 1760, Lévis led a surprise attack by 7,000 French troops against

444 Light Infantry

Lieutenant Colonel James Murray's British forces at Sainte Foy outside the city. Fought in deep snow and bitter cold, the battle resulted in more than 1,000 deaths on each side. Although the British forces were defeated in this battle, they were able to withdraw into Quebec. When a British fleet arrived in May 1760, Lévis abandoned his siege of Quebec, assuring the British of victory in the French and Indian War.

Lévis returned to France after the French surrendered Montreal to the British on September 8, 1760. Continuing his military career, he was promoted to lieutenant general in 1761. After service in the Seven Years' War in Europe, he left active military service. He was appointed governor of Artois in 1763 and made a marquis. He was named marshal of France in June 1783. During the remaining years of his life, Lévis openly expressed the view that apathy, arrogance, and extravagance on the part of the French nobility would lead to revolution. Lévis died in Arras on November 26, 1787, less than two years before the beginning of the French Revolution of 1789.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Murray, James; Quebec, French Attempt to Recapture; Wolfe, James

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Light Infantry

Light infantry were highly mobile infantry units, usually formed of the best trained and most reliable men for special, demanding duties. The development of light infantry companies and battalions occurred first in southeastern Europe. They were introduced into the armies of Western Europe at the end of the 17th century. By the mid-18th century, all the major European armies had units of light infantry, patterned after the *jägers* of the German state of Hesse. During 1741–1742, elite companies of light infantry became a regular element in the British Army.

The British discovered the great utility of light infantry in the wilds of North America during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The defeat of British major general Edward Braddock's column near the Monongahela River in 1755 awoke British officers to the need to have forces available to counter the French and their Native American allies. The 60th Regiment of Foot (Royal Americans) was one of the first units created to counter the French edge in woodland fighting. This regiment had several battalions trained as marksmen, and soldiers had to qualify to serve in these units. In 1757, Colonel Thomas Gage suggested the formation of the first independent light infantry regiment. By 1758, British line regiments had at least one light infantry company paired with the regiments

imental grenadier company. Both companies would be known as "flank companies," and they would be stationed on the left and right of the regimental or battalion line of battle. These light companies could be pulled together to form battalion-level light infantry formation for various specialized operations. In 1763, one such formation was created with light infantry companies from several regiments to counter Pontiac's Rebellion.

The British light infantry or "light bobs" wore a uniform modified for forest service. It consisted of short jackets with or without sleeves. Headgear was either a skullcap with crest or slouch hat for field service. Field kit was reduced to allow rapid movement in the woods. Many regular officers looked down on these "light bobs" for their appearance and their use of open order formations in combat. The colonial American counterparts to light infantry units in the British Army were the ranger units raised to operate against hostile Native Americans. The British use of light infantry waned after the French and Indian War, but the American Revolutionary War brought about the creation of light infantry companies and the hiring of German jäger companies.

William H. Brown

See also

Braddock, Edward; Braddock's Campaign; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Great Britain, Army; Grenadiers; Infantry; Native Warfare; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Litchfield Forts (Connecticut)

Series of five forts built between 1720 and 1725 in and around Litchfield, in northwestern Connecticut, in reaction to ongoing hostilities between Abenaki Native Americans in Maine and Massachusetts settlers. Dummer's War (1722–1727) resulted in open warfare between Massachusetts colonists and the Abenakis, which included frequent Abenaki raids on English settlements. Areas under the greatest pressure were Massachusetts (including Maine) and New Hampshire.

Colonists in Connecticut worried that the war might include them as well. They also worried that local natives would join the fray and attack Connecticut towns. Litchfield, incorporated in 1718, was a frontier town at the time and defending it was crucial. Local officials built the first of the Litchfield forts in 1720, on the site of the present courthouse. In August 1723, native attacks did occur in the area and a Litchfield settler was killed. The town's leaders then decided to build four additional forts, all constructed that same year. Fort Kilbourn (or North Fort) was located on present-day Fern Road north of the settlement. Fort Bird (or South Fort) was likely located in the town of Morris, just south of Litchfield. Fort Griswold (also known as West Fort) was probably located on Harris Plains, west of Litchfield. Fort Culver (East Fort) was erected on Chestnut Hill.

STEVEN DIETER

See also

Abenakis; Dummer's War

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Little Fort Niagara (New York)

Fort constructed by the French in 1750 as a trading post and frontier barracks along the Niagara River, directly above the falls where the Cayuga Creek flows into the Niagara. Little Fort Niagara, or Fort du Portage, was built by Daniel Marie Chabert de Joncaire de Clausonne, who served as an interpreter and representative to the Senecas for the New France government.

In 1745, Chabert erected a small blockhouse at a location known as "Frenchman's Landing." There he was able to make the portage profitable for himself, the French government, and Native Americans. The original blockhouse served as an important trading post, one convenient for carrying canoes and goods above Niagara Falls.

In 1750, the upper end of the portage was moved a few hundred yards to the south as part of the fort's construction. The fort was a stockade with a two-story barracks, along with storehouses, stables, and blockhouses. The barracks had a large, 60-ton stone chimney with a fireplace for each floor. The first floor of the barracks had a mess room and kitchen. Sleeping quarters for troops were on the upper floor. A palisade stood between the blockhouses and the river.

In late 1754, the British sought to remove the French from Acadia, Niagara, Crown Point, and the Ohio River Valley. The ensuing conflict with the French and their native allies witnessed some early defeats for the British. In 1758, London reorganized its forces and sent substantial reinforcements to North America. Major General Jeffery Amherst assumed command, and in the summer of 1759 he ordered an attack on Niagara to cut off French access to western New York.

During the first week of July 1759, British forces approached Little Fort Niagara from the west, along the south shore of Lake Ontario. On July 8, Chabert and his men, fearing capture by the British, set fire to the fort, the barracks, and sawmill by the rapids. They then fled to Fort Niagara (Old Fort Niagara) and, ultimately, to Canada on the fall of the larger fort later that month. The only part of Little Fort Niagara left standing was its large stone chimney.

In 1760, the British rebuilt the fort and named it Fort Schlosser. It was reconstructed just east of the original site, and the surviving barracks chimney from the French fort was incorporated into the new fort's mess hall. The British erected a two-story house with a one and one half-story addition to the chimney. The rebuilt fort was a square earthwork with four bastions. At the conclusion of the French and Indian War, the British took control of the land from the Senecas on both sides of the Niagara River.

Although territorial rights in the northwest and Great Lakes were often sources of friction between the new American nation and Great Britain, the United States took control of the fort in 1796. The Americans used it primarily as a depot. During the War of 1812, the British completely burned the fort. All that remains today is the "Old Stone Chimney."

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

Chabert de Joncaire de Clausonne, Daniel Marie; Fort Niagara (New York); Fort Niagara, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Senecas

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Logan, John (Tachnedorus)

Born: ca. 1725 Died: 1780

Mingo leader. Born around 1725 and also known as Chief Logan, the Mingo Chief, and Tachnedorus, John Logan resided in the West Virginia and Kentucky region during the Revolutionary period. He was named after the secretary of the colony of Pennsylvania. Logan befriended many of the local white settlers in his role as tribal leader. He had a reputation as a bridge builder between Native Americans and English colonists.

In 1774, the continuing sporadic violence between natives and settlers on the frontier led a group of settlers under Colonel Michael Cresap and Dan Grealborne to murder two of Logan's family members. This action helped trigger Lord Dunmore's War. Logan responded by leading attacks against English settlements in the Monongahela River Valley, killing hundreds of settlers there. Colonial officials reacted by opening a campaign against the attacking natives. Logan then decided to seal an alliance with Shawnee tribal leader Cornstalk.

At the Battle of Point Pleasant on October 10, 1774, the more numerous colonials defeated Cornstalk and Logan and their warriors. As a result, Cornstalk was forced to surrender all of his tribal land claims in Kentucky. Logan, however, refused to surrender. Over the next few months, he raided settlements in both British and



Illustration depicting Mingo leader John Logan negotiating with a British officer during the 1770s. In the spring of 1774, a dozen members of Logan's family were murdered on Yellow Creek by a group of angry Virginians in retaliation for Native American raids. (North Wind Picture Archives)

Native American territories. During the fighting, he gave a speech in which he declared that the authorities would never catch him. Continuing his attacks on local settlements, Logan died at an unknown location in 1780.

Jaime Ramón Olivares

See also

Cornstalk; Cresap, Michael; Lord Dunmore's War; Mingos; Shawnees

Reference

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Logistics

Logistics embrace the procurement, transportation, and maintenance of military supplies and personnel. Essential supplies required for warfare in the colonial period included clothing, weapons, food, cooking utensils, tents and bedding, equipment and supplies, wagons, boats, and specie to pay for the troops, services, and shelter. Without proper logistics support, fighting forces could not take the field nor remain in it for any extended period. Effective logistical support was not only necessary in the conduct of a war but an important factor in maintaining high morale among the fighting men.

From the initial Spanish landing in the Americas to the American Revolutionary War, the European colonists experienced con-

flicts both with Native Americans and with the colonists of other imperial nations. Although the natives were accustomed to the land and its resources and were able to make their own primitive weapons and live off the land, the Europeans found it much more difficult to wage war in the new environment. Logistics support became extremely important to them.

At first, the colonists' chief concern was defense of their coastal communities from native attacks. This limited the need for logistics support because the colonists were stationary and their supply stores were readily accessible. Beginning in the late 17th century, however, logistics became more complicated as the colonists sought to expand their holdings and they and regular military forces took the offensive against the Native Americans and against the colonies of other European powers.

To attack the native villages at some distance from their own settlements, the colonists needed to develop sustained logistics support. At first, with campaigns only a few days' duration and distances relatively short, militiamen called up for service were expected to provide their own food, weapons, and ammunition.

In larger, more sustained operations, the colonial governments got involved, although there were no regular quartermaster services. Salt beef, pork, and fish might be stored in barrels. Drink, including rum, wine, brandy, and water if necessary might be transported in barrels, although generally the men could rely on water from local wells and springs.

Adequate clothing was essential, especially in winter campaigns. The basics included leather shoes, woolen stockings, leather or wool pants, shirts, jackets, and hats. During the winter, the men also wore overcoats, mittens or gloves, and scarves. Save in the largest campaigns, the army did not provide tents. The men were expected to do the best they could with whatever the area provided. Soldiers might construct lean-to shelters of brush and leaves while sleeping on the ground with their knapsacks as a pillow. Regular troops generally required tents, which they erected each night.

Weapons carried included swords and hatchets, knives, flint-lock muskets, and pistols. Other important accessories included bandoleer or cartridge belts, bullet pouches, and powder horns and bullets, as well as lead and casting molds to produce bullets. Since firearms in the colonial period varied widely in caliber, each militiaman cast his own bullets. In larger, prolonged campaigns, the colonial government might provide cannon or mortars and the shot and powder for them. Larger, sustained operations would also necessitate the government making arrangements for the transport of additional lead to make bullets and powder.

Other supplies necessary for a campaign might include building and medical supplies. Militia and regular forces might bring with them axes, shovels, and other tools necessary to clear paths through the woods or to construct bridges to cross streams and swamps necessary for the transport of artillery. They also might require tools and supplies such as nails to construct fortifications and buildings. Cooking equipment, medical supplies, and surgical tools were also a standard part of larger operations. Such tools and building supplies might

be transported overland in carts or wagons drawn by oxen or horses or transported over water in canoes, boats, or bateaux.

As forces became larger and better organized at the end of the colonial period, specialized officers known as commissaries or quartermasters supervised the gathering of supplies and their transport during a campaign. Armies also relied on civilian contractors, although this was usually attended by some degree of price gouging and graft.

CHARLES D. GREAR AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Contractors, British Army

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Logstown, Treaty of Event Date: June 13, 1752

Agreement among representatives of several Native American tribes, the Ohio Company, and officials from Pennsylvania and Virginia chiefly regarding land rights in the trans-Allegheny region, signed on June 13, 1752. The treaty was signed after negotiations had taken place at Logstown, a Native American settlement some 18 miles south of modern-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Ultimately, the Treaty of Logstown would aggravate the conflicting interests of the Iroquois Confederation, New France, Virginia, and English land speculators in the Ohio River Valley. This helped contribute to the outbreak of the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

Immediately following the Iroquois cession of all land claims in western Maryland and Virginia in the Treaty of Lancaster (1744), the Virginia House of Burgesses moved to assert its claim over the entire Ohio Country. In 1745, it granted nearly a third of a million acres of land to the Ohio Company of Virginia. The Company sought to sell lands around the Fork of the Ohio River (present-day Pittsburgh) to promote trans-Allegheny settlement and trade. King George's War (1744–1748) delayed these plans. However, by the early 1750s the Ohio Company had established a fortified storehouse at the confluence of Wills Creek and the northern branch of the Potomac River (present-day Cumberland, Maryland). It also planned to survey the Ohio Valley and sell land and manufactured goods to settlers there.

In June 1752, Christopher Gist, the leader of the survey, and George Croghan, a Pennsylvania trader who had established a large

trading post at Pickawillany, convened a treaty conference at Logstown. Their goal was to convince the Iroquois, the Shawnees, and the Delawares to support the Ohio Company's goals. Also in attendance were commissioners from Virginia and Pennsylvania, whose interests generally intersected with those of the Ohio Company's. Gist and Croghan sought Native American consent to the construction of a company-owned fortified storehouse at the confluence of the Allegheny River and the Monongahela River. They promised that the storehouse would offer Native Americans favorable trade rules. Actually, however, it would give the company control over a strategic point in the Ohio Valley that would promote trans-Allegheny settlement and trade. Influenced by a mountain of gifts, assurances of goodwill, and concern over recent French efforts to reassert former claims in the Ohio Valley (Céleron de Blainville's expedition), Tanaghrisson, the spokesman for the Iroquois Confederation, accepted Gist and Croghan's proposal. In doing so, he acknowledged Virginia's claim to all territory in the valley south of the Ohio River.

On learning of the treaty, the French destroyed the English trading post at Pickawillany on June 21, 1752, killing a number of people. They also fortified their trading posts in the Ohio Valley and erected forts at Presque Isle, Le Boeuf, and Venango in northwestern Pennsylvania. Virginia's efforts to repel French encroachments in the region, including Lieutenant Colonel George Washington's 1754 campaign and Major General Edward Braddock's ill-fated 1755 campaign, marked the opening volleys of the French and Indian War.

Dean Fafoutis

See also

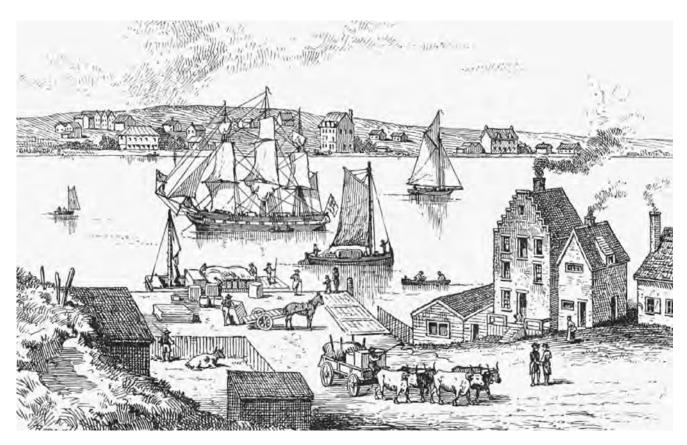
Croghan, George; Delaware; Forks of the Ohio; Fort de la Presque Isle; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Le Boeuf (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Gist, Christopher; Iroquois Confederation; King George's War, Land Campaigns; Lancaster, Conference at and Treaty of; Ohio Company; Ohio Country; Ohio Expedition (1754); Ohio Expedition (1755); Pickawillany Massacre; Tanaghrisson (Half-King); Venango (Pennsylvania)

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Long Island

Island located in the southeastern corner of New York, just east of Manhattan, encompassing 1,401 square miles. Long Island is 118 miles long and about 20 miles in width at its widest point. The island is separated from Manhattan by the East River, from Connecticut by the Long Island Sound, and bordered on the south by the Atlantic Ocean. Present-day Queens and Brooklyn comprise the



Woodcut of the Brooklyn Ferry across the East River from New York to Long Island, ca. early 1700s. (North Wind Picture Archives)

westernmost part of the island, part of New York City since 1898. Nassau and Suffolk Counties make up the rest of present-day Long Island

Long Island has a rich history of Native American settlement dating back thousands of years, and European settlement going back to the early 17th century. In 1614, Adrien Block sailed the Long Island Sound and described the shape of the island. With the settlement of New Amsterdam in the 1620s, competition between the Dutch and the English for control of Long Island became more intense.

In 1635, the Earl of Stirling had a grant from Britain's King Charles I for all of Long Island. His agent, James Farrett, issued patents for various tracts of land including Oyster Bay. Present-day Suffolk County (on eastern Long Island) was mainly comprised of English settlements. By 1638, the English held Shelter Island, off the eastern end of the north fork of Long Island. Lion Gardiner settled Gardiner's Island in 1639, and Southold and Southampton were settled by the English in 1640.

The western end of the island was predominantly Dutch. Numerous Dutch villages were settled in present-day Brooklyn and Queens, including Mespat (Maspeth) in 1642, Boswijck (Bushwick) in 1638, New Utrecht in 1657, Rustdorp (Jamaica) in 1650, Midwout (later Flatbush) in 1634, and Vlissingen (Flushing) in 1643. Lady Deborah Moody arrived in New Amsterdam by way of Massachusetts in 1643, accompanied by 40 colonists. Gov. Willem Kieft

granted her land in present-day Brooklyn, where she founded a settlement known as Gravesend.

The Dutch and the English did coexist in several villages, including Jamaica and Hempstead, and tension between the Dutch and the English on Long Island did not escalate to military action. In 1650, the Dutch and the English signed the Treaty of Hartford, which ceded western Long Island to the Dutch and eastern Long Island to the English.

During Kieft's War, Native Americans wiped out Maspeth. Other settlements, however, survived the war. Indeed, the center of Lady Moody's Gravesend was protected against natives attacks by a log stockade. Kieft's War not withstanding, most Long Island Native Americans were peaceful. Nonetheless, caution ruled even after Kieft was recalled to Holland. The Dutch had purchased Flatbush from the Canarsie tribe, but in 1654 the Rockaway tribe claimed that the land was not theirs to sell. They promptly demanded payment. The Dutch West India Company agreed to the reimbursement to avoid attack. During the mid-1650s, the Dutch built a stockade around the newly constructed church in Flatbush. When the British sailed into New Amsterdam in 1664, Gov. Petrus Stuyvesant surrendered rather than fight. New Netherland, including all of Long Island, was ceded to the English.

By the turn of the 18th century, other European threats in the immediate area had been vanquished. The French and Indian War

(1754–1763) did not directly affect Long Island. By that time, native threats were minimal, and settlements across the island prospered.

RICHARD PANCHYK

See also

Gardiner, Lion; Hartford, Treaty of (1650); Kieft, Willem; Kieft's War; New Netherland; New York; Pequots; Stuyvesant, Petrus

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Lord Dunmore's War

Start Date: April 1774 End Date: October 19, 1774

Conflict that erupted in April 1774 when bands of frontiersmen attacked Native American settlements in the Ohio River Valley. Subsequent retaliatory raids by the natives prompted John Murray, Fourth Earl of Dunmore and Virginia's governor since 1771, to send 2,000 men into the district he named West Augusta. By month's end Lord Dunmore announced that Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania) was in imminent danger. Pennsylvanians and Virginians, particularly land speculators associated with the Loyal Company, proceeded to manipulate the evolving frontier dispute as a means of subverting the hated Proclamation Line of 1763. The proclamation had been the Crown's attempt to maintain peaceful relations with potentially rebellious western natives by prohibiting settlement west of the Appalachians.

Tensions between the Shawnees and the English colonists first surfaced when Sir William Johnson, British superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern colonies, and Iroquois emissaries fixed the northern boundary line, originally expressed in the Proclamation of 1763, with the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. Native American communities in the upper Ohio Valley—particularly the Miamis, the Shawnees, the Wyandots, the Delawares, and the Mingos—rejected the right of the Iroquois to cede all of their hunting grounds south of the Ohio as far as the mouth of the Tennessee River. The tributary nations argued that their dependency was based on a compact of mutual responsibilities that did not involve the unilateral surrender of their land rights.

When Daniel Boone and other American colonists claimed the ceded territory in Kentucky, angry Shawnees and Wyandots sought to turn back the encroachers. By 1771, Delaware, Mingo, Miami, Ottawa, and Illinois leaders helped fashion an allied confederacy to repulse the English invaders. As a result, Lord Dunmore's War

began with a series of atrocities committed against unsuspecting Native American settlements. Yet as throngs of pioneers prepared to cross the Appalachians, one Shawnee leader, Cornstalk, advocated peaceful restraint.

In 1774, on learning that hostile Shawnees were ravaging the frontier settlements, Dunmore rallied Virginia's militia. A short time later Dunmore sent 2,000 militiamen into Shawnee territory. Instead of chastising the rebellious tribes, the violent raids, especially the murderous exploits of Captain Michael Cresap, only created greater hostility. Enraged Shawnee warriors, accompanied by some Mingos, swarmed the exposed western settlements in revenge.

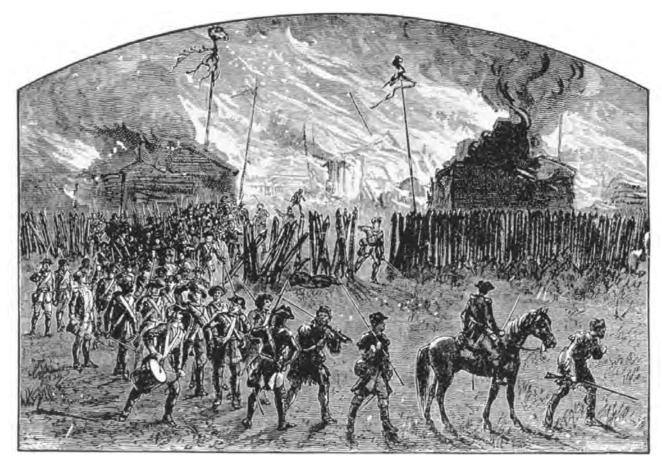
When frontier clashes first erupted in the spring of 1774 John Logan, a Mingo chief, admitted that the Ohio tribes had just grounds for complaint. Unlike other native leaders who favored a more militant course of action, Logan reminded Mingo warriors of their own transgressions during council deliberations. After the tribal council ended, however, messengers arrived in early May 1774 with tales of more atrocities, including the ambush and murder on April 30 of 11 Mingos, including 2 of the chief's relatives. Mingo and Shawnee warriors responded to the reports by increasing their raids against English settlements along the west bank of the Monongahela River.

Eager to subdue the hostiles, Dunmore promptly dispatched two militia columns into the Ohio Valley. He also ordered the men to build a stronghold at Wheeling (Fort Wincastle) and to destroy neighboring Shawnee villages. Angus McDonald's subsequent expedition destroyed five Shawnee villages. Although successful, the Wapatomica campaign inspired Shawnee and Mingo warriors to seek revenge against the isolated frontier communities.

On July 12, 1774, Dunmore instructed Colonel Andrew Lewis, commander of the southwestern militia, to proceed from Camp Union (modern Lewisburg, West Virginia) directly to the mouth of the Kanawha River where Dunmore's army would join him from Fort Pitt. Lewis and his 1,100 militiamen arrived on October 6, 1774, and camped at Point Pleasant, a triangle of land at the confluence of the Kanawha River and the Ohio River. Messengers later informed Lewis that Dunmore had altered his plans. Instead of joining Lewis at Point Pleasant, Dunmore now wanted Lewis to join him in attacks against Shawnee villages along the Scioto River. Shawnee scouts, however, spotted the invaders before they had time to depart and rushed home to prepare for an assault. Although the warriors wanted to strike the first blow, Shawnee leader Cornstalk counseled peace. After rejecting Cornstalk's pleas for negotiation, the tribal council voted to strike Lewis's force at dawn.

Cornstalk demonstrated his acceptance of the council's decision by leading some 1,000 Shawnee, Mingo, Delaware, Wyandot, and Ottawa warriors against the unsuspecting Point Pleasant encampment. The Battle of Point Pleasant began on October 10, 1774. The natives fought hard, but the attackers were eventually scattered after a day of bloody combat.

After their defeat at the Battle of Point Pleasant, the natives fled through the forest to their towns on Pickaway Plains. After warriors had reassembled in council, Cornstalk upbraided the other chiefs



Virginia militiamen shown burning a Native American village during Lord Dunmore's War in 1774. The conflict was sparked by settler dissatisfaction with the Proclamation Line of 1763. (North Wind Picture Archives)

for their refusal to let him negotiate a settlement. No one moved to answer Cornstalk's questions about how to stop the advancing enemy. Thus, a furious Cornstalk rose and struck his tomahawk in a post in the council house and offered to make peace. The humbled warriors concurred and Cornstalk assembled a Shawnee delegation to accompany him.

After venting his frustrations, Cornstalk set out for Camp Charlotte, Dunmore's headquarters. Dunmore received Cornstalk's peace overture and agreed to hold a conference. During the ensuing treaty negotiations, Cornstalk described the innumerable wrongs that his people had suffered before the outbreak of hostilities. A chastised delegation later dejectedly agreed to the peace terms offered at the Treaty of Camp Charlotte. According to the provisions of capitulation on October 19, 1774, members of the Shawnee delegation pledged to surrender all prisoners and valuables; to deliver hostages as a guarantee of friendship; to never again attack the frontiers; and to surrender all claims to lands south and east of the Ohio River. The Mingos, however, refused to come to terms with the Virginians. The recalcitrant Iroquoian band accepted the capitulation only after Major William Crawford's frontiersmen destroyed several of their towns. Terms of the treaty were later confirmed at Pittsburgh in the fall of 1775 when Mingo,

Shawnee, Delaware, Wyandot, Iroquois, and Ottawa chiefs ratified and confirmed Dunmore's original peace terms.

After the war, resentful Native Americans realized that the westward-moving American colonists, called the "Long Knives," would continue to invade their cherished homelands. In June 1774, Parliament passed the Quebec Act. The new legislation temporarily restrained land-hungry settlers by extending Quebec's boundaries to the Ohio Valley, thereby nullifying land seizures made by Virginia during Lord Dunmore's War. American colonists, especially veterans of the French and Indian War and those with designs on the western territories, derided the legislation. Not surprisingly, restless colonists and land speculators openly violated another of Britain's feeble attempts to restore order along the frontier.

Lord Dunmore's War and the subsequent flood of colonial encroachers into the western territories represented the failure of the British Crown to live up to the goals enunciated in the Proclamation of 1763 and the Quebec Act of 1774. Despite repeated orders to treat American Indians with justice, colonial governors and royal officials failed to enforce existing laws. As a result, angry warriors patiently waited and waited for the right opportunity to secure the return of their ancestral lands.

See also

Cornstalk; Cresap, Michael; Delaware; Illinois; Iroquois; Johnson, Sir William; Logan, John (Tachnedorus); Mingos; Murray, John, Fourth Earl of Dunmore; Ottawas; Proclamation of 1763; Shawnees

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Loudoun, Earl of

See Campbell, John, Lord Loudoun

Louisbourg (Nova Scotia)

French settlement and fortification located on the easternmost part of Cape Breton Island. Louisbourg was first settled in 1713. In 1717, the French established Fort Louisbourg to defend the Atlantic's cod fishing banks and to protect Louisbourg's ice-free port. It also served to guard the entrance to the St. Lawrence River.

To the British, the presence of a significant, nearby French military garrison, privateers, the ongoing French-Micmac alliance, and the port's economic success all made Louisbourg a significant threat to the English colonies. Thus the British established their own citadel at Halifax in 1749.

After the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht ceded mainland Nova Scotia and Newfoundland to Britain, the French shifted their Atlantic focus to Île Royale. Initially, the French simply relocated fishermen from Placentia and Nova Scotia to reestablish the cod fishery. When the decision came to erect a fortification, the harbors at Louisbourg, Port Toulouse (St. Peters), and Port Dauphin (Englishtown) all were actively considered. At first, in 1715, Port Dauphin was chosen as the site. But after reconsidering its options, the Ministry of the Marine decided on Louisbourg based on its strategic location and better potential for commerce.

In 1717, the French began constructing a fortified town and port at Louisbourg to defend their maritime interests. From 1717 to its final capture by the British in 1758, the French constructed a series of bastioned walls and detached batteries at Louisbourg. The fortress was constructed in the "Vauban style," with military engineers superimposing a star-shaped geometric fortress on an Acadian fishing village. French military engineer Jean-François de Verville received the task of overseeing construction of the fortress. His plan, which underwent later modification, was to design a fortress that could withstand a two-month siege. In practice, however, the fortress proved difficult to defend.

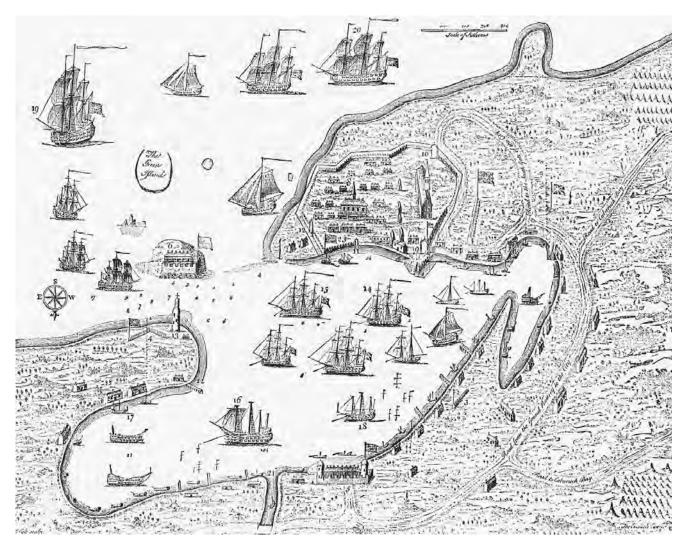
Verville imposed his plan on the earlier Acadian settlement and warehouse locations. Despite the increased symmetry of the defenses, several clusters of warehouses and a few houses did not fit into the grid system. Aside from civilian homes and warehouses, the military buildings consisted of six bastions, a hospital, barracks, governor's house, guard house, and powder magazine. The barracks buildings were more than 300 feet long and approximately 55 feet wide. Its spire, along with that of the hospital, dominated all representations of the fortress and town. Just before the first siege in 1745, Louisbourg finally had become the *ville fortifiée* (fortified town) envisioned in 1717.

Civilian contractors built the fortifications at Louisbourg. Construction problems plagued the operation, however. The lime mortar was of poor quality because sea salt in the local sand prevented it from setting properly. The climate further weakened the mortar, which required continual repairs. In an effort to stem the fort's deterioration, the mortar was recapped, boards nailed to it, and large metal staples were used to hold stones in place. France spent approximately 4 million livres on the fortifications and another 16 million on other public works between 1713 and 1758. Designed to withstand a naval bombardment, Louisbourg remained vulnerable to siege and landward attack despite attempts to rectify this deficiency after 1749.

Despite the size of the barracks, the amount of goods passing through the town, and the importance of the fortress, troops garrisoned at Louisbourg mutinied in December 1744. Local authorities quickly met the demands of the mutineers and provided better food, compensation for unfair wage deductions, and an amnesty. When Louisbourg surrendered to the English six months later and the garrison returned to France, some of the mutineers were hanged and others were less severely punished. After 1749 the Ministry of the Marine tried to correct the abuses that had led to the revolt.

English forces twice besieged and captured Louisbourg. In 1745, during King George's War (1744–1748), it fell to 4,000 New England troops but was returned to France by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Before the siege, the garrison made up about a quarter of the population living within the walls. After the French garrison returned in 1749, its strength was gradually increased to 3,000 troops. A large number of civilians also lived within the fortress.

In 1758, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the fort again fell, this time to 13,000 British and provisional troops,



Woodcut of the New England military operation against the French fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island in 1745. (North Wind Picture Archives)

supported by 14,000 naval personnel. The British occupied Louisbourg until 1768, at which time they destroyed the fortifications and abandoned the site. The reconstructed Fortress Louisbourg is now a Canadian National Historic site.

KARL S. HELE

See also

Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Louisbourg, Siege of; Louisbourg, Expedition; Micmacs; Utrecht, Treaty of

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Louisbourg, Siege of

Start Date: June 8, 1758 End Date: July 26, 1758

The British siege and capture of the French fortress at Louisbourg during June–July 1758, one of the most important battles of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The seige set the stage for subsequent British operations against Quebec.

The fortified town of Louisbourg was located on the east coast of Cape Breton Island. It commanded a large harbor some three miles long and about half a mile wide. The channel providing access

to the harbor was only about half a mile wide and was flanked by rocky shoals. Louisbourg was often called the "Gibraltar of the New World" because of this imposing Vaubanesque fortress's stone walls and ample cannon, but in fact it depended heavily on naval support for its defense. Indeed, it was begun as an anchorage for the French Navy to help defend the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

This was not the first time the British had assaulted the French stronghold. In 1745, during King George's War (1744–1748), New England militia, supported by a strong British Navy squadron, had shocked London and Paris by capturing the fortress. The October 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ending the war returned Louisbourg to French control, however, enraging New England.

When warfare began anew in 1754 between the French and English in North America, it was clear to both sides that control of Louisbourg would be vital to the outcome. In French hands, Louisbourg served as a base from which attacks could be mounted against New England and Nova Scotia. It was also a haven for French privateers attacking English fishing boats and merchant ships plying the principal North Atlantic sea lanes between North America and Britain, as well as a center for illicit trade between the French and New England. If the British were to gain control of Louisbourg, they could turn it into a powerful base from which they might close off the St. Lawrence to French resupply and establish an assembly point there for an invasion up the St. Lawrence to Quebec. They would also control the Atlantic fisheries.

In 1757, Prime Minister William Pitt made it clear that he intended to emphasize the North American theater of war with the ultimate goal of ending French rule there. The capture of Louisbourg would be the essential first step in moving against the heart of New France at Quebec. Pitt's overall strategy for victory was the same one that had been in place for some time. It called for a three-pronged attack: the first against Fort Duquesne, the second against Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the third against Louisbourg. Following the successful realization of these three objectives, offensives could be mounted against Quebec and Montreal. In many respects, Louisbourg was the key to the overall British plan.

In March 1758, Pitt replaced John Campbell, Lord Loudoun, with his deputy, Major General James Abercromby, as British commander in chief in North America. In his new command, Abercromby found himself the beneficiary of Loudoun's substantial training efforts and the building up of auxiliary services.

As the English prepared to take the offensive, French forces in North America were forced on the defensive. The military commander of New France, Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, found himself severely handicapped by serious shortages of men, weapons, supplies, and even food. Anticipating an English assault on Louisbourg, however, Montcalm did increase the size of the French naval squadron there. When the British attacked, 11 French warships, 5 of them ships of the line, were in the harbor to add their numerous cannon to the defense of the fortress. Montcalm also added two reasonably well equipped battalions to the defending force. In all, the French defenders of

Casualties during the Siege of Louisbourg, 1758

	British	French	
KIA	195	400-800	
WIA	363	1,400	
POW	0	3,600	

Louisbourg numbered some 6,000 men: 2,000 land troops, 1,000 marines, 2,600 seamen, and 400 militiamen.

The British did effectively isolate the battlefield. They blockaded and prevented French ships in Mediterranean ports from sailing to North America. While they were unable to achieve the same result off the French Atlantic ports, of 23 ships dispatched by the French to Louisbourg, including 12 transports, only 7 managed to reach that place. A major French fleet arrived too late.

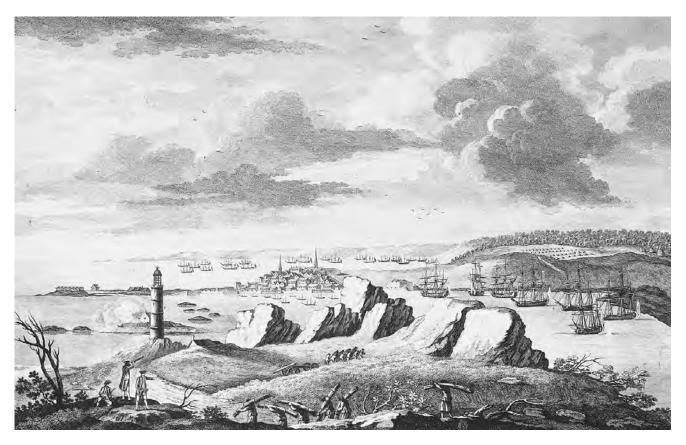
In March 1758, Major General Jeffery Amherst took command of the British invasion force. Rear Admiral Charles Hardy also arrived at Halifax that same month to assume command of the British squadron already dispatched there by Pitt. As soon as weather permitted he took up station off Louisbourg. In all, the British earmarked for the invasion 39 warships manned by 14,000 officers and men. Admiral Edward Boscawen, the designated naval commander, arrived at Halifax on May 9. The expeditionary force, numbering in all 167 ships of all kinds, sailed on May 29.

Amherst's land force of 13,200 men consisted of 14 infantry companies, 4 ranger companies, and an artillery detachment. This force was formed into three brigades under the command of three brigadier generals: James Wolfe, Charles Lawrence (governor of Nova Scotia), and Edward Whitmore. On June 8, the British invasion force began coming ashore on Cape Breton Island. The landing site was Gabarus Bay about four miles to the southwest of the fortress, the same general location chosen in 1745.

The governor of Louisbourg, Augustin de Boschenry de Drucour, had done what he could to prepare for a British assault. The French had repaired and strengthened the fortress after its return to their control in 1748 and they mounted more guns and constructed extensive shore defenses manned by 2,000 men along Gabarus Bay to prevent a repeat of 1745. Drucour saw the warships, commanded by Admiral Jean-Baptiste Degaulle, in a purely defensive role. The ships' guns were to help protect the fortress from its water side.

En route to Louisbourg, the British fleet was dispersed by bad weather, but it rendezvoused off Gabarus Bay southwest of the French fortress on June 2. Amherst and Wolfe surveyed possible landing sites, but bad weather kept them from carrying out a landing until June 8. The British boats made for shore in three groups. Those in the center and on the right were feints. The main attack was by Wolfe's brigade on the left at the extremity of the French line. Seven ships provided covering fire for the assault. Once Wolfe was ashore, the other two brigades were to slip to the west and land behind him.

The troops came ashore in surf and under heavy fire from the shore. The landing almost failed. Both sides understood that if the



Engraving of the Siege of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, by British forces under Major General Jeffery Amherst in 1758. (The Granger Collection)

British gained a foothold and began their siege, it would simply be a matter of time before Louisbourg fell. The British troops fixed bayonets and, after a hard fight, drove the French defenders from the beaches. The remainder of the British troops had come ashore by nightfall.

High winds ended any British communication with the troops ashore for several days. On June 11, the British were able to bring some artillery ashore. At the same time Boscawen's ships blockaded the harbor entrance. Ashore in heavy fog and under almost constant fire from the fortified town and French ships in the harbor, the British began to dig siege lines and slowly extend them closer to the fortress. As much of an impediment as it was, the weather actually served to aid the British.

Fog masked Wolfe's attack on and seizure of Lighthouse Point on June 12. Soon the British had established a battery there, overlooking the Island Battery that guarded the harbor entrance. On June 18, the French sank four of their smaller warships in the middle of the channel to block the harbor entrance, but the next day the British opened fire on the Island Battery. It was finally silenced on the 26th.

By July 1, the British took possession of the high ground overlooking the Dauphin Gate, the main entrance to the fortress. Two days later the British placed their guns on the high ground and began to bombard the French positions and, by July 6, the town itself. The French attempted several night sorties against the British positions but with scant success. Meanwhile, the British continued to extend their trenches.

On July 9, the French attempted a night sortie with their ships but without major result. On July 22, the settlement's church and other buildings were set ablaze by the British bombardment. By July 16, British guns were just 200 yards from the Dauphin Gate. The French ships off the fortress were providing effective fire against the British troops ashore, but on July 21 the Entreprenant of 74 guns, one of the two largest French ships, caught fire, possibly from a lucky British shot, and blew up. Its flames set on fire two other ships of the line, the Célèbre (64 guns) and the Capricieux (64 guns). All three ships were a total loss. With the other two ships of the line continuing to fire on British troops, Boscawen launched a boat attack against them on the foggy night of July 25. Some 600 British seamen in 50 boats succeeded in capturing the Prudent (74 guns), which, being aground, was burnt. The British towed the Bienfaisant (64 guns) off to the northeast of the harbor. Boscawen then prepared to enter the harbor with six of his ships of the line, but that action proved unnecessary.

There was little the French could do at this point but surrender. On July 26, 1758, Drucour asked for terms. The defenders had conducted themselves with honor and in accordance with the accepted European rules of warfare and should have been allowed easy terms, yet Amherst denied the French all honors. Memories of the 1757 campaign and what had occurred after the British surrender of Fort William Henry were fresh, particularly among the Massachusetts men who participated in the expedition. Those who had taken up arms against the British became prisoners of war and were transported to England. The civilian population of the fort and the French population of Cape Breton and today's Prince Edward Island, more than 8,000 men, women, and children, were subsequently deported to France.

During the siege, the British lost 195 men killed and another 363 wounded. French losses were estimated at between 400 and 800 men killed. There were 3,600 prisoners, including 1,400 wounded. In addition, the British secured 216 guns and some mortars.

The fall of Louisbourg dealt a serious blow to morale in New France. With Louisbourg in British hands, the possibility of reinforcements from metropolitan France was greatly diminished. It was also clear that the next major British thrust would be against Quebec itself. Strategically as well as symbolically, the British capture of Louisbourg was a defeat from which the French would never recover. Britain also gained control over the lucrative Atlantic fisheries.

MARCIA SCHMIDT BLAINE AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Louisbourg (Nova Scotia); Louisbourg Expedition; Pitt, William, the Elder, First Earl of Chatham; Wolfe, James

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Louisbourg Expedition

Start Date: January 9, 1745 End Date: June 17, 1745

Successful British and colonial attack on the French fortress at Louisbourg located on Cape Breton Island, during King George's War (1744–1748). After ceding Acadia to Great Britain in 1713 at the conclusion of Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), the French began fortifying Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island to protect the entrance to the St. Lawrence River. When King George's War began in the spring of 1744, French troops and warships from Louisbourg

launched attacks against British posts in Nova Scotia. In so doing, they captured the fort and fishing station at Canso and then undertook an unsuccessful siege of Annapolis Royal. Meanwhile, French privateers and naval vessels operating from Louisbourg struck at British and colonial merchant vessels along the coasts of Nova Scotia and New England.

These French operations alarmed Massachusetts Gov. William Shirley, who feared that if the French succeeded in capturing Nova Scotia, New England would be vulnerable to attack. Shirley believed that the best way to prevent such a disaster was to mount an expedition and capture Louisbourg. Encouraged by reports from traders indicating that the garrison numbered only 700 men and lacked provisions, and that the fortress was in poor condition, Shirley asked his colony's General Court on January 9, 1745, to approve an attack. The legislators demurred, but Shirley continued to pressure them. A few weeks later, they authorized the enlistment of 3,000 troops for the Louisbourg Expedition.

Inspired by anti-Catholic religious zeal and the promise of plunder, recruits quickly came forward. Other colonies pledged their support as well. New Hampshire and Connecticut each raised a regiment of volunteers, Rhode Island provided a warship and three infantry companies, and New York supplied some artillery and funds. New Jersey and Pennsylvania also made financial contributions, and Virginia sent provisions.

Shirley named provincial council president William Pepperell commander in chief of the expedition. Preparations were completed rapidly and the force of more than 4,000 men sailed from Boston and other ports on March 24, 1745. When the vessels made their rendezvous at Canso, they were forced to wait three weeks for the ice to melt so that they could approach Louisbourg.

The delay nevertheless proved beneficial. Shirley had asked British commodore Peter Warren to provide naval assistance. Warren, whose ships were in the West Indies, initially declined because he did not have London's approval to participate. Authorization arrived in early March, however, and Warren promptly sailed northward to meet the New England ships.

With the Royal Navy on hand, New England soldiers landed in Gabarus Bay on April 30 and brushed aside the handful of French defenders. Advancing toward the fortress, the attackers were halted by artillery fire. Secondary attacks seized two French outposts on the island prior to the commencement of siege operations. Pepperell was aided by the fact that Louisbourg's fortifications had fallen into disrepair, and that although the defenses guarding the harbor approaches were strong, those on the landward side were lower than the neighboring hills and thus vulnerable to artillery. The French commander, Governor Louis Du Pont Duchambon, had not expected the attack, and doubted the reliability of his troops. Indeed, a Swiss unit, which comprised 20 percent of his force, had recently mutinied.

The New Englanders began to construct siege lines and labored to position their artillery on the hills overlooking the fortress. Aside from a few attacks on stragglers by Canadians and allied natives,



William Pepperell, commander of the English expeditionary force during the attack on Louisbourg in 1745. The capture of this French fortress was the greatest military victory for English colonial forces prior to the American Revolution. (Library of Congress)

Pepperell's force met no opposition. Three days after landing, the first artillery pieces opened fire on the French defenders.

On May 3, Pepperell gained a major advantage when his troops occupied the Royal Battery north of the fortress. Fearing that they would be cut off, the battery's defenders had spiked the cannon and fled, taking some supplies but leaving a significant quantity of artillery ammunition behind. New England blacksmiths soon repaired the 30 damaged guns and then turned them against the French. Duchambon suffered another reversal on May 19 when British ships captured the 64-gun French *Vigilante* and the cargo of munitions it was transporting to Louisbourg.

The besiegers methodically advanced their lines closer to the fortress, constructing batteries and maintaining the bombardment, which was often interrupted by shortages of gunpowder. Its effect was also lessened by the inexperience of the artillerists, who blew up nine of their own guns and a mortar by overcharging them with gunpowder. Disease and the cold climate additionally plagued the New Englanders.

Pepperell attempted a night attack on May 26 against the Island Battery, but the assault failed and almost half of the 300 men who made the attempt were lost. But this small French victory was insufficient to halt the increasing effectiveness of the siege, as Pepperell

relentlessly advanced his batteries and trenches. On the night of June 15, while Pepperell and Warren were discussing a combined land and sea attack on the fortress, Duchambon decided that further resistance was futile and offered to surrender. Nearly 10,000 shells and cannonballs had demoralized his troops and battered the fortifications. A New England battery on Lighthouse Point had rendered his Island Battery nearly useless, only three cannon at the Circular Battery were still serviceable, and the fortress wall near the Dauphin Gate had been breached. Attempts to repair the damaged defenses had not kept up with the destruction and exhausted the garrison. The French had few provisions and little ammunition remaining.

The terms of surrender allowed the defenders to march out with the honors of war. Civilians in the fortress were permitted to return to France with their belongings, and the victors were not allowed to plunder. Pepperell's soldiers and Warren's sailors entered Louisbourg on June 17. Surprisingly, the attack on and siege of Louisbourg had not resulted in heavy casualties. The British and colonials lost about 150 men, and it is believed that the French lost a similar number.

After their initial elation at the victory had subsided, the New Englanders were rather disappointed. Not only had they been denied the expected plunder, but they found themselves left to garrison the fortress throughout the following winter. Lacking adequate food, clothing, and shelter, more than 900 New England troops died from disease and exposure in the bitter winter weather. They also took a dislike to their counterparts in the Royal Navy, resulting in at least one serious brawl between American soldiers and British sailors. Worst of all, the colonists' efforts appeared to have been wasted when the British government returned Louisbourg to France under the terms of the 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle that ended the war.

JIM PIECUCH

See also

Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Louisbourg (Nova Scotia); Pepperell, Sir William, Jr.; Shirley, William; Warren, Peter

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Louisiana

A French- and Spanish-controlled territory in central North America from 1682 until 1803, at which point the United States purchased the region from France. France ruled the vast Louisiana region from 1682 until 1763. Following the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Britain took possession of the portion of Louisiana east of the Mississippi River, with the exception of New Orleans, which went to Spain along with the western part of the Louisiana Territory. In 1800, the Spanish crown agreed to a secret deal with French ruler Napoleon Bonaparte that ceded the territory back to France. In 1803, a cash-strapped Napoleon sold the territory to the United States for \$15 million. At its height, French claims covered the drainage area of the Mississippi River extending from the Rocky Mountains in the west to the Appalachian Mountains in the east.

The French were not the first to explore the region, but they would lay an extensive claim to the area nonetheless. The Spanish had explored along the southern coast as early as 1519, and Hernando de Soto passed through the southern portions of the region in 1541. French exploration of the region began from Canada via the St. Lawrence River and across the Great Lakes and then down the Mississippi River. Among early explorers were Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet in 1673. In 1682, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, formally claimed the region for France and named it after King Louis XIV.

Spanish concerns in the region centered on France's possession of the Gulf Coast and its potential effect on Spanish Florida and Mexico. French development of Louisiana began with Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville's establishment of Fort Maurepas on Biloxi Bay

in 1699. D'Iberville then founded Fort Louis, near present-day Mobile, Alabama, in 1702. In the north, Antoine La Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac, founded Detroit in 1701. The establishment of Fort Rosalie (Mississippi) in 1716, however, placed the French more inland and among the Natchez tribe.

The vast size of French Louisiana included a large number of Native Americans with diverse interests and cultures. The region included the more sedentary tribes of the American Southeast, such as the Creeks, and the more nomadic peoples of the plains, including the Sioux. French relations with the native peoples often varied with the size of the French presence. That the French maintained possession of Louisiana in spite of the lack of a large European presence throughout the region speaks well of their relationships with the local native populations. But this does not mean that these relations were always friendly. In the 1730s, the French fought both the Natchez and the Chickasaws, virtually destroying the Natchez Nation and soundly defeating the Chickasaws.

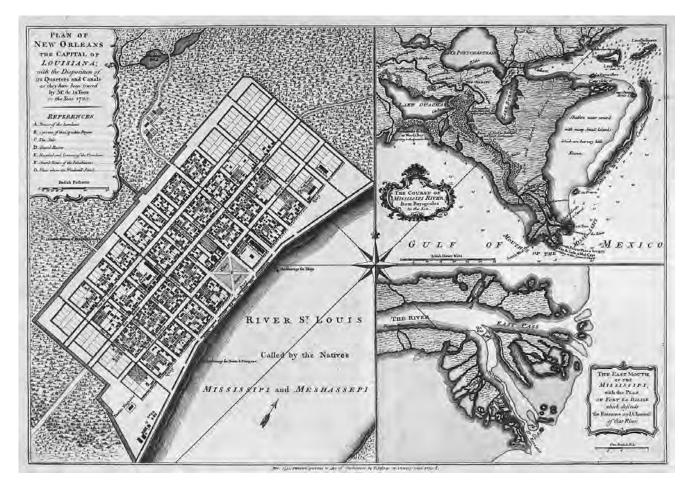
French relations with American Indians tended to go deeper than those of their British counterparts. The French Catholic Church was interested in converting the "savages" to Catholicism. In many respects the spread of religion had greater long-term impact on the territory than government policy. Spreading Catholicism served two purposes: saving souls, and making natives more willing to act as French allies in imperial struggles. Adding to the connection between the two was the frequent intermarriage of French traders and colonists with Native Americans.

In 1718, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville established New Orleans. It soon became French Louisiana's most important city. In 1722, the French named it the colonial capital. Its location provided access to the mouth of the Mississippi River, and thus it served as the economic hub of the entire river system. Indeed, control of the city meant control of the North American interior.

The Louisiana region was populated by groups other than the French and Native Americans, however. African slaves were introduced to the region in the 1710s to provide labor on plantations near New Orleans. In 1724, the French promulgated the *Code Noir* (Black Code), laying out the legal status of slaves. It also required Jews to leave the colony, making Catholicism Louisiana's only public religion. A number of Germans emigrated to Louisiana, and Louisiana gained French-speaking immigrants from one of Britain's most unfortunate displacements—the expulsion of most Acadians from eastern Canada in the 1750s.

The French colonization of North America moved inland from both north and south, blurring the boundaries between the colonies of Louisiana and New France. The Illinois Country, first explored from New France, was added to Louisiana in 1717.

Trade and commerce for much of Louisiana remained in furs and deerskins, as well as mining and agriculture. Trade with the natives tended to be lucrative. The most significant role for the colony, however, was imperial, as it served to block British and Spanish expansion on the North American continent.



Plan of New Orleans, the capital of Louisiana, ca. 1771. (Library of Congress)

The political status of Louisiana did not remain constant during the French period. In 1712, it became a charter colony under the control of Antoine Crozat, with Cadillac as governor. In 1717, John Law's Company of the West, later to become the Compagnie des Indes (Company of the Indies), secured control. Louisiana returned to the status of royal colony in 1731 and remained as such until 1763. Bienville played an important role in the development of the colony, serving four terms as governor of Louisiana (1701–1713, 1716–1717, 1718–1724, and 1733–1743). Pierre de Rigaud Vaudreuil de Cavagnial succeeded Bienville, serving until 1752. Louis Billouart, Chevalier de Kerlerec, held the governorship from 1753 to 1763 during the French and Indian War.

Much of the Louisiana region remained relatively untouched by French, or even later, Spanish, colonial government. However, there were French settlers along both sides of the Mississippi River. This would be a boon to the new city of St. Louis when the region was split in 1763. Indeed, a number of French citizens in the Illinois Country were more comfortable under the rule of the Catholic monarch of Spain rather than the Protestant British king.

French influence continued farther up the Mississippi, with the founding of St. Genevieve around 1750. Expansion continued even

after the territory was transferred to Spain. St. Louis was founded in 1764 near the confluence of the Mississippi River and Missouri River, and St. Charles (modern-day Missouri) was founded in 1769 near the mouth of the Missouri River.

Although there was fighting between the French and the Native Americans, Louisiana saw little imperial warfare in the period prior to 1763. Nevertheless, the outcome of the French and Indian War did have a profound impact on the region. Indeed, Louisiana's status changed at the conclusion of the conflict, when the territory was divided between Britain and Spain. Under the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Britain received the eastern portion, minus New Orleans, and to compensate it for its losses fighting on the side of France, Spain received the area west of the Mississippi under the 1762 Treaty of Fontainebleau.

The one significant threat to the colonial status of Louisiana came with the split in 1763. A number of French inhabitants balked at becoming Spanish subjects. In 1768, when new Spanish governor Antonio de Ulloa attempted to impose Spanish trade regulations, French colonists in New Orleans rebelled. The Spanish were subsequently able to establish some semblance of loose control over the western areas of Louisiana. Indeed, Louisiana would be the

most liberally ruled territory of the Spanish empire. In the eastern portion of Louisiana, the British moved carefully, establishing the colony of West Florida but taking care not to provoke Native American resentment of English settlements in the region.

Donald E. Heidenreich Jr.

See also

Acadia Expulsion; Chickasaws; Chickasaw Wars; Choctaws; Creeks;
Detroit; Fort Biloxi (Mississippi); Fort Rosalie (Mississippi); France;
French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; La Salle, René-Robert
Cavelier, Sieur de; Le Moyne de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste; Le Moyne
d'Iberville et d'Ardillières, Pierre; Mississippi River; Natchez; Natchez
Revolt; Natchez War; New France; New Orleans (Louisiana); Paris,
Treaty of; Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Pierre de, Marquis de
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Lovewell, John

Born: October 14, 1691 Died: May 8, 1725

British colonial soldier and captain of an independent military company during Dummer's War (1722–1727). John Lovewell was born on October 14, 1691, in Dunstable, Massachusetts. His family had settled in Dunstable in the 1680s and eventually came to own land and a mill along Salmon Creek. Lovewell and his own family would eventually own and work 200 acres of land.

From an early age, Lovewell had experienced war with New England's Native American population. Indeed, Dunstable, a designated frontier town, came under attack during King William's War (1689–1697) in 1691 and twice during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) in 1703 and 1706. Along with the other remaining inhabitants of Dunstable, the Lovewells crowded into several garrison houses, living fear-filled and circumscribed lives.

During Dummer's War, Native Americans raided Dunstable in September 1724, capturing two inhabitants and killing most of the pursuing force. In response, Lovewell and other Dunstable inhabitants petitioned the Massachusetts General Court for assistance. To minimize costs to the colony yet improve frontier defenses, the court offered a £100 bounty for every male Native American scalp in hopes of encouraging private citizens to form armed companies to patrol the borderlands.

Lovewell was elected captain of one such company and proceeded to wage war against the local natives. In two expeditions in December 1724 and January 1725, Lovewell's men took several scalps and prisoners, collecting cash bounties and receiving accolades in Boston. On a third expedition into the White Mountains on May 8, 1725, however, Lovewell's company fell into an ambush. Lovewell and several of his men were killed, and the remnants of his company straggled back to Massachusetts frontier towns. What came to be called Lovewell's Fight had ended in disaster.

DAVID M. CORLETT

See also

Dummer's Treaty; Dummer's War; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Lovewell's Fight; Native Warfare; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Scalp Bounty; Scalping

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Lovewell's Fight

Event Date: May 8, 1725

Battle between an English scalp-hunting party led by John Lovewell and Abenaki Native Americans near modern-day Fryeburg, Maine (then part of Massachusetts), on May 8, 1725. During Dummer's War (1722–1727), a conflict between the New England colonies and the Abenakis across the New England frontier, the Massachusetts government offered £100 bounties for native scalps. This profit potential encouraged private citizens to form independent military companies, unsupported by the provincial government, that ranged the New England frontier in search of scalps.

Lovewell, of Dunstable, Massachusetts, formed one such company. He had led successful outings against Native Americans in late 1724 and early 1725, taking more than 10 scalps. Encouraged by his success, Lovewell led his company of 46 men north toward the White Mountains of New Hampshire in April 1725. At Lake Ossipee, Lovewell constructed a crude stockade to serve as a refuge for a sick soldier as well as a rally point in case of disaster. Leaving the ill man, the company's doctor, and an 8-man guard, Lovewell and his remaining men marched toward Pigwacket on the upper Saco River. The Pigwacket Abenakis had already staged numerous raids on border settlements in New England.

While bivouacking along Saco Pond near present-day Fryeburg, Maine, on May 7, Lovewell's band heard Abenakis moving in their vicinity. The next morning, the scalp hunters heard a gun shot. Leaving their packs unguarded, the men investigated the sound and found a lone native hunting ducks. Although the company managed to kill

the man (the chaplain claimed the scalp), Lovewell and another man were wounded and the men failed to find other natives. Unbeknownst to Lovewell, during this action, Paugus, the party's intended target, and at least 40 native warriors had returned from a reconnaissance and discovered Lovewell's unguarded packs. There they set an ambush and awaited the return of the English scalp hunters.

When Lovewell's company returned to their camp to claim their packs, the warriors fired on and rushed the Englishmen. Lovewell fell in the first volley, but his outnumbered men returned fire, took cover where they could, and kept up the battle until sunset. Several men on both sides knew one another, and they exchanged taunts and insults throughout the day-long battle. Casualties on both sides were heavy. With Paugus and at least 9 other warriors dead, the Abenakis gathered their casualties and abandoned the field. Only 23 Englishmen remained alive, and of these survivors, 14 were wounded, 1 mortally and 2 more unable to travel. The remaining men marched toward the company's fortification on Lake Ossipee. Instead of finding relief and medical help there, the survivors found the post abandoned. Apparently, one of Lovewell's men had run away at the fight's onset, and had carried exaggerated news of a massacre to the guard detail, quickly sending them homeward. The remnants of Lovewell's band straggled back into Dunstable, Berwick, and Biddeford on May 11, losing 4 more men along the way.

While Lovewell's defeat led to a decline in the popularity of scalp hunting, his expedition forced the Pigwacket Abenakis to abandon their village until a peace settlement was negotiated.

DAVID M. CORLETT

See also

Abenakis; Dummer's War; Lovewell, John; Scalp Bounty; Scalping

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Lovewell's War

See Dummer's War

Luna y Arellano, Tristán de

Born: 1505

Died: September 16, 1573

First Spaniard charged with founding permanent settlements in Spanish Florida during 1559–1562. Tristán de Luna y Arellano was

a Castilian born in Borobia, Spain, in 1505. He was the cousin of Juana de Zúiga, the wife of Hernán Cortés. In 1531, Luna y Arellano arrived in Mexico to seek fame and fortune. In 1540, he served with Francisco Vásquez de Coronado during his expedition to Cibola.

Luis de Velasco, viceroy of New Spain, believed it necessary to establish military settlements on both the Gulf Coast and southern Atlantic Coast. This, he reasoned, would prevent encroachments on Florida from other European powers, help convert the Native Americans to Christianity, and safeguard Atlantic shipping. Thus he dispatched Luna y Arellano to colonize Florida in 1559. Luna y Arellano commanded a fleet of 13 ships transporting 500 infantry, 200 cavalry, and more than 1,000 colonists. Among the latter were women, children, slaves, and natives. Luna y Arellano was tasked with establishing settlements in Pensacola (on the Gulf Coast) and Santa Elena (present-day Parris Island, South Carolina). His ultimate goal was to establish an overland route connecting the two communities.

Luna y Arellano arrived off the coast of Pensacola on August 15, 1559. After going ashore, he established the town of Santa María. A few days after his arrival, however, a hurricane destroyed most of his ships, and ruined much of the expedition's supplies. Luna y Arellano also found it impossible to reach Santa Elena overland. It was difficult to penetrate the interior because of the terrain, thick vegetation, hostile natives, and the lack of proper provisions. Notwithstanding repeated attempts to sustain the settlement at Santa María, dissent among the hungry troops and colonists led to mutiny.

With Luna y Arellano's attempts at colonization largely unsuccessful, he was recalled to Mexico. Shortly thereafter, the surviving colonists abandoned the colony. After the failure of the Luna y Arellano expedition, the Spaniards ignored the Gulf Coast of Florida until 1693, when Andrés de Pez led a scientific expedition into the region. Angel de Villafane's subsequent attempt to colonize Santa Elena also ended in failure. Luna y Arellano died in Mexico City on September 16, 1573.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Coronado, Francisco Vásquez de; Florida; Pensacola (Florida); Pez, Andrés de

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Lyttelton, William Henry

Born: December 24, 1724 Died: September 14, 1808

Governor of South Carolina (1756–1760) and governor of Jamaica (1761–1766). William Henry Lyttelton was born into an aristocratic

family in Buckinghamshire, England, on December 24, 1724, and graduated from Oxford University in 1742. He began his political career as a member of Parliament in 1748. His political fortunes rose alongside those of his close family friend, William Pitt. In 1755, Lyttelton secured appointment as governor of South Carolina, replacing the disfavored James Glen. Lyttelton assumed the government post in 1756 amid the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and numerous and disturbing rumors of French-inspired native attacks against Carolina. Glen had for years negotiated peaceful relations with the southeastern American Indians, conducting talks with the Cherokees even as Lyttelton arrived. Lyttelton, more popular with the Carolina Assembly and the royal government than Glen, pressed for a more forceful Native American policy, and reaped his rewards during the Cherokee War of 1759–1761.

Lyttelton, an ambitious man, hoped to achieve bold gains in native affairs that he could report back to London. Glen, he believed, had been too pacific in treating with Carolina's indigenous neighbors. Lyttelton believed a firmer hand was needed in dealing with the Cherokees, whose recent open dalliances with the French and their Native American emissaries threatened the longstanding Anglo-Cherokee alliance that safeguarded Carolina's western frontier. Lyttelton's boldest and most ill-advised move came in the fall of 1759. Emboldened by news of British victories in the north, Lyt-

telton decided to force the Cherokees into submission. When a Cherokee peace delegation of headmen arrived in Charles Town (present-day Charleston) in October, Lyttelton had them arrested and marched as hostages to Fort Prince George-Keowee, believing the Cherokees would not risk war. This move backfired, however, for it inflamed anti-British sentiment in the Cherokee towns and inspired an attack on Fort Prince George-Keowee. These actions sparked the Cherokee War. Lyttelton did not remain much longer in Carolina, as he accepted the governorship of Jamaica in 1761. He eventually retired to Britain, was raised to the peerage, and spent his later years as a man of letters before dying in Worcestershire on September 14, 1808.

ROBERT PAULETT

See also

Cherokees; Cherokee War; Fort Prince George-Keowee (South Carolina); Glen, James; Pitt, William, the Elder, First Earl of Chatham

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Mabila, Battle of

Event Date: October 18, 1540

The bloodiest battle in North America prior to 1862, pitting Spanish forces against the Choctaws. The battle occurred on October 18, 1540, at the confluence of the Alabama River and the Cahawba River in modern-day central Alabama, between a Spanish army of 600 explorers led by Hernando de Soto and several thousand Choctaws led by Tascalusa. During de Soto's exploration of the American Southeast, he seized Tascalusa and held him as a hostage.

On October 18, 1540, on arrival at the fortified Choctaw town of Mabila, de Soto's followers noticed that the settlement's inhabitants included thousands of warriors armed with bows, spears, and clubs. There were few women, children, or elderly men. De Soto entered the town accompanied by several dozen followers, whereupon they were ambushed by Choctaw warriors concealed in town buildings.

The Spanish managed to cut their way free, but they lost 20 of their number in the immediate fighting. None of the Spanish troops inside the town escaped unscathed, despite armor that proved sufficient to prevent most lethal wounds. During the escape, the Spanish lost virtually all of their baggage and equipment.

After escaping the ambush, de Soto's men fought a pitched battle outside Mabila's palisade. In the open, the Spanish were able to use superior technology and cavalry tactics to powerful effect. In so doing, they slaughtered hundreds of Choctaws outside the town. As the Choctaws retreated behind Mabila's wooden walls, de Soto ordered his men to form four squadrons and assault the palisade surrounding the town from every direction. The Spanish breached the rough-hewn log palisade and then threw torches at the thatched roofs



The aftermath of Hernando de Soto's attack on the town of Mabila. The Battle of Mabila, fought on October 18, 1540, between Choctaw Native Americans and Spaniards, resulted in at least 2,000 Choctaw casualties. (North Wind Picture Archives)

of houses in the town. De Soto kept a mounted patrol on each side of the palisade to kill any Choctaws attempting to escape the inferno.

Although the defenders repulsed the Spanish repeatedly, they suffered heavy casualties in each assault. After a nine-hour battle, resistance ended, and every Choctaw defender who had survived the fires was cut down by the Spanish. The town burned to the ground in the fighting, destroying all of the captured Spanish baggage.

By the end of the day's fighting, at least 22 Spaniards were dead and an additional 148 were wounded. Some historians estimate Spanish casualties at 70 dead and hundreds wounded. Most accounts place the Choctaw casualties at between 2,500 and 3,000, although one Spanish witness to the battle claimed 11,000 Choctaws perished in the fighting and its aftermath. Tascalusa's remains were never found by the Spanish, but it is likely that he died in the fighting or in the conflagration. In any event, no mention of Tascalusa is found in any later European account.

Following the battle, de Soto continued his exploration and conquests, despite talk of mutiny among his followers, many of whom wished to abandon the expedition and return to Cuba.

PAUL JOSEPH SPRINGER

See also

Choctaws; Soto, Hernando de

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Mahicans

Native American group, an eastern part of the Algonquins, who inhabited the interior northeastern part of North America. The French often called them Loups, the French word for "wolves." Mahican is the Dutch spelling of the tribe's name; Mohican, less in favor today, is the English spelling. The Mahicans' homeland was the upper Hudson River Valley, from the Catskill Mountains north to the southern tip of Lake Champlain. From the Schoharie River their homeland extended east to the Berkshire Mountains of Massachusetts and from northwestern Connecticut to southern Vermont. They are not be confused with the Mohegans of Connecticut.

The five clans of the Mahicans lived in fortified villages, each comprising 20 to 30 longhouses on hills. The Mahicans were agriculturalists who also hunted, fished, and gathered wild foods. In addition, they traded for Great Lakes copper, which they used in jewelry and arrowheads.

Living inland, the Mahicans generally avoided slavery under European ship captains. As such, they lacked the hostility toward Europeans that was so evident in coastal tribes. Indeed, the Mahicans were friendly toward, and eager to trade with, the explorer Henry Hudson in 1609. They also engaged in the fur trade with the

Dutch. Mahicans adapted quickly to Dutch firearms and were excellent marksmen.

The fur trade, however, exposed the Mahicans to European diseases and destabilized their region. The Mahicans fought an on again-off again war with the Mohawks, who desired part of the lucrative Mahican wampum production on Long Island Sound as well as a share of the Dutch fur trade. By 1623, the Mahicans were harvesting more furs than nature could replenish, in effect largely exhausting the fur supply. In consequence, when the West India Company acquired the charter of New Netherlands in 1624, Dutch policy favored settlement rather than trade.

The Dutch intermarried with the Mahicans, but they also created difficulties for them. The Dutch request that the Mahicans arrange trade with the Algonquins and French-allied Montagnais, enemies of the Mohawks, provoked a war with the Mohawks during 1624–1628. The Dutch initially supported the Mahicans, but with the Dutch sustaining casualties, Gov. Peter Minuit evacuated Fort Orange (Albany) and began a policy of strict neutrality. The Mahicans lost the war in 1628 and were forced to pay tribute to the Mohawks.

To provide the Mohawks with wampum for the Dutch trade, the Mahicans subdued and absorbed lesser tribes such as the Wappingers. The Mahicans maintained their villages in the vicinity of present-day Albany, New York, although many Mahicans relocated north and east to escape the Mohawks altogether. Disease and war both took their toll.

The Mahicans joined the French anti-Iroquois alliance in 1650. They continued relations with the Dutch and other Europeans and their intermittent war with the Mohawks until the English took New Netherland in 1664. The Mahicans had less influence with the English than did the Mohawks and other Iroquois. They moved to western Massachusetts and in 1672 fell under the protection of the Iroquois League. The Mahicans played only a limited role in the 18th-century wars between the English and the French, often appearing on the English side as scouts or auxiliaries. They also fought on the Patriot side in the American Revolutionary War.

As European settlements encroached, the Mahicans sold their land. By 1775 the last of the Mahican land holdings was at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where they held only 200 acres. The Mahicans' population plummeted over the course of two centuries. In 1600, the Mahican Confederacy near Albany, New York, may have numbered some 8,000 people. By 1672 the population was only about 1,000, and by 1796, Mahicans numbered just 300 people in Stockbridge, living with the Oneidas and the Brothertons in New York, and 300 with the Delawares and the Wyandots in Ohio. Other Mahicans moved to present-day Indiana or beyond the Mississippi River.

JOHN H. BARNHILL

Delaware; Iroquois; Minuit, Peter; Mohawk-Mahican War; Mohawks; Oneidas; Wappingers

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Maine

During the early 1600s, English and French explorers visited the coast of Maine and saw its commercial potential. Fishing vessels from France, England, and Virginia soon plied the Gulf of Maine and set up seasonal camps on the coast. English and French traders moved inland and established fur-trading posts.

Cultural and economic rivalries among four players dominated Maine's colonial history. At first European contact in 1524, about 20,000 Algonquian-speaking Abenaki people inhabited Maine. By 1619, some three-quarters of them had succumbed to a cataclysmic series of epidemics caused by European pathogens.

From their first landfall in 1605, the French considered eastern Maine to be part of their colony, Acadia, and challenged English traders for control of the territory. Throughout the years the French possessed Acadia, they encouraged the Abenakis to attack Maine's English settlements. By 1630 a dozen English villages dotted the Maine coast. Their economies relied on fish, timber, and beaver

pelts. Two kinds of English settlers vied with each other for control of western Maine. Puritans began settling the region, bringing with them the established authority of Massachusetts. They clashed with the independent-minded, non-Puritan fishermen, traders, and woodcutters who preferred to live at the rocky edge of civilization. By 1652, the Maine settlements accepted Bay Colony authority despite enduring religious and cultural differences. Maine was to remain a province of Massachusetts until 1820.

The 1675 outbreak of King Philip's War along the New England frontier put Maine's settlements on the firing line. English encroachment on native lands and the unfair trading practices and capricious brutality of some English traders drew several Abenaki tribes into the conflict. They attacked and destroyed isolated, vulnerable Maine settlements. The English prevailed on some Abenakis to remain neutral and forced them to give up their weapons as security. Unable to hunt, many of these neutralized Abenakis simply starved. The aggrieved survivors ultimately took up arms against the English.

After Metacom's 1676 slaying brought an end to King Philip's War, the remnants of the defeated New England tribes took refuge among the Abenakis in Maine. They continued to raid Maine's English settlements. When the Maine settlements asked New England for relief, Massachusetts voted to send an expedition. It could ill afford such a foray, but saw an opportunity to assert greater authority over Maine. War-weary Massachusetts sent battered remnants of its militia to Maine under the command of Richard Waldron. Waldron's duplicity and brutality drove neutral Abenakis into the hostile camp. Defeat piled on disaster as the Abenakis threw everything



Woodcut of French missionaries coming ashore in Somes Sound, Mount Desert Island, Maine, in the early 1600s. (North Wind Picture Archives)

they had at Maine's settlements. Fearing that the French would take advantage of the situation, the Duke of York ordered Edmund Andros, the governor of New York, to come to Maine's assistance. Andros sent a force to Pemaquid in the summer of 1677 and decreed that it would be the seat of authority for all trade and settlement. He ordered the New Englanders and natives to meet for peace talks. The resulting Peace of Casco was concluded in April 1678, but neither the Puritans, the Maine settlements, nor the Abenakis found the imposed agreement satisfactory.

English settlers continued to encroach on Abenaki land. The various Abenaki peoples formed an alliance in 1688 and attacked English towns during King William's War (1689–1697). French and Abenaki fighting men forced the colonists to abandon all settlements east of Wells in 1690. Massachusetts sent an expedition commanded by Benjamin Church to destroy native villages and crops. Church built Fort William Henry at Pemaquid in 1692. In 1696, native warriors captured the fort. Hostilities in Maine continued for two years after France and England made peace.

Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) brought another decade of bloodshed. A 500-man French and native force destroyed a number of coastal Maine towns in 1703, and Massachusetts declared war on all of Maine's native people. Many Abenakis, recalling years of hardship and hunger during earlier wars, retreated inland toward the St. Lawrence.

After the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the English expanded once again into Abenaki territory. A band of Abenakis conducted raids against English settlements in the Kennebec region in 1720. In July 1721, Lt. Gov. William Dummer of Massachusetts declared war on the Abenakis. In one of the war's decisive engagements, in August 1724, New England militiamen marched on the central Abenaki village, Norridgewock, and killed a French Jesuit and several dozen Abenakis. Dummer's War ended in 1727, with the victors imposing a one-sided treaty on the permanently dispersed and weakened Abenakis.

During King George's War (1744–1748), Maine militiamen—led by Maine's Sir William Pepperell—participated in the 1745 capture of the French fortress at Louisbourg. Massachusetts again declared war on the Abenakis. Some Abenaki bands allied with the English and some with the French. The end of the war in Europe did not put an end to raids and counterraids in Maine. Years of strife over the expanding English frontier led to further English-native conflict in Maine during the French and Indian War. The Maine frontier saw its last native raids in 1758. In the decade following the end of the French and Indian War, the English population doubled, from 23,000 to 46,000.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Abenakis; Acadia; Casco, Treaty of; Church, Benjamin; Dummer's Treaty; Dummer's War; Fort William Henry (Maine); King George's War, Land Campaigns; King Philip's War; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Massachusetts; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Waldron, Richard

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March, John

Born: June 10, 1658 Died: July 1712

Officer in the Massachusetts Bay Militia. Born on June 10, 1658, in Newbury, Massachusetts, John March worked as an innkeeper and shipbuilder in Newbury before joining the militia. In 1690, he was captain of a company of volunteers under the command of Sir William Phips, which had just participated in the unsuccessful expedition against Quebec.

March stayed at Fort William Henry at Pemaquid, Maine (then part of Massachusetts), during 1692–1695. In November 1694, he was instrumental in the capture of Bomoseen, the Norridgewock chief, when the latter came to Pemaquid for a conference. In 1697, Lt. Gov. William Stoughton dispatched March, now a major, along with about 500 soldiers, to prevent any movement by the French against the eastern frontiers of Maine. March successfully repulsed a war party of 200 Native Americans and Frenchmen on the banks of the Damariscotta River on September 9, 1697.

In 1702, March became commander at the Fort at Casco Bay (Fort Loyal, Falmouth, now Portland, Maine). At the outbreak of Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), the fort came under heavy attack by the Abenakis. March was wounded but nevertheless held the fort. For his defense of the fort, March was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He commanded the fort at Casco Bay until 1707.

In the spring of 1707, Gov. Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts appointed March to lead the expedition against Port Royal in Acadia (Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia). March's force of more than 1,600 men arrived at Port Royal on May 26, 1707. The smaller French and Native American forces put up an unexpectedly successful defense, and because March had no experience with cannonade and siege warfare, he broke off the attack after 10 days and ordered his men back to their ships. March withdrew to Casco Bay, where Governor Dudley sent him reinforcements with orders to try again. When March proved too indecisive, Dudley replaced him with Colonel Francis Wainright.

On August 20, 1707, some 2,000 men landed in Port Royal again, yet this time the French forces were well prepared and resisted the English invasion. The British withdrew after a 16-day siege and

heavy losses. March permanently lost his provincial command and died in Woodbridge, New Jersey, in July 1712.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Abenakis; Acadia, New England Attack on; Casco Bay; Fort Loyal (Maine); Fort William Henry (Maine); King William's War, Land Campaigns; Phips, Sir William; Quebec, Attack on (1690); Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns

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Marines

The major naval powers of the 17th and 18th centuries all added soldiers of the sea, or marines, to their naval forces. Marines served in detachments aboard ship, as naval infantry during expeditionary campaigns, and as naval artillerists for coast defense and expeditionary duty. Aboard ship their combat role was to provide small-arms support during ship-to-ship engagements. They also composed the nucleus for ship-to-shore landing parties and spearheaded cutting-out parties and amphibious raids. Among European powers, British marines saw the most action during the colonial wars in North America.

In 1537, Spain became the first European nation to organize marines for naval service. The force expanded in 1704 and reorganized along more modern lines in 1717. At that time the marines became the primary shipboard marksmen and served as artillerists. In addition to participating in numerous campaigns in South and Central America and the West Indies, Spanish marines served aboard warships operating off of the Florida and Carolina coasts. Michiel de Ruyter and Johan de Witt prodded the Netherlands Navy to establish a marine force in 1665.

France also organized marine forces. In 1622, the chief minister to King Louis XIII, Jean Armand du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu, created 100 *compagnies ordinaires de la mer* to garrison seacoast fortresses. In 1626, they were formed into the Régiment de la Marine, created for naval warfare, but most of its members were lost in a subsequent shipwreck. Reformed in 1635, the French marines underwent a great many changes in title, but they chiefly took part in fighting on land. In 1669, King Louis XIV authorized formation of the Régiment Royal des Vaisseaux, but the principal role for the marines was the protection of naval arsenals. The French troupes de la marine, as they were later known, initially had little connection with French naval forces at sea. In North America, troupes de la marine referred to the provincial regular forces of New France.

Before becoming a great colonial power, England relied on regular infantry regiments for naval service. The contest between England and Spain to dominate the West Indies highlighted the need for a specially trained and equipped force to accompany the Royal Navy. Accordingly, at the onset of the Second Anglo-Dutch War in 1664, an Order in Council called for the establishment of a 1,200-man regiment raised and commanded by the lord admiral and paid for out of Admiralty funds. It was called a maritime regiment of foot and was the first large formation to be armed exclusively with firelocks. One detachment went to Virginia in 1676 as part of a bloodless show of force.

The name "marines" first appeared in official records in 1672, but the naval infantry remained part of the British Army until 1755. Whenever war broke out between 1664 and 1755, marine regiments were raised via voluntary enlistment. As soon as peace came, they disbanded. Queen Anne established six marine regiments and six other regiments for sea service in 1702. Each marine regiment comprised 1 grenadier and 11 line companies. Because the marines were formally designated exclusively for sea service, they were included in the complement of men that Parliament voted for naval service. Their combat duties were twofold. First, they acted as small-arms men on board ship. Second, they served in landing parties.

During Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), marines distinguished themselves. Indeed, some 1,900 marines spearheaded the capture of Gibraltar in 1704. Thereafter, they bore the brunt of the first siege. The six marine regiments each contributed 100 men to participate in Colonel Francis Nicholson's expedition to Nova Scotia in 1710. The marines spearheaded the amphibious landing at Port Royal on September 25, 1710, and then assaulted a fort guarding the harbor. Although they demonstrated valor during the assault and siege, they proved less adept at irregular warfare. In one skirmish, the detachment left to garrison lost 70 men to a Native American ambush. Subsequently, in 1711, marines joined Admiral Hovenden Walker's Quebec campaign. Some 208 marines and 20 female camp followers drowned when transports ran aground in the St. Lawrence River.

In 1739, the outbreak of the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744) prompted George II to call for the raising of a body of marines. Parliament responded by raising six marine regiments. But such was the lack of trained troops to supply the fleet that Admiral George Anson's expedition to South America had to make do with invalid companies and pensioners, many of whom deserted before Anson sailed. During the war, marines were prominently involved in actions in Europe and the West Indies and were the only British infantry present at the first siege of Louisbourg in 1745 during King George's War.

It was now clear that the Royal Navy had worldwide commitments. Among many, Anson had witnessed the problems caused by the lack of a permanent marine force. Anson argued that what was needed was a specialized force fully trained in fighting both at sea and on land. He urged that they be paid on a regular basis and led by experienced professionals. Accordingly, in 1755, when a new 5,000-man marine force was raised to fight against France (and later Spain), the Admiralty took control and organized it into three divisions stationed at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth. About half the men had been discharged in 1748, so a large proportion had

to be recruited by scouring the country and offering bounties. In North American waters there were few notable ship engagements. On land, marines participated in the 1758 capture of Louisbourg. Another marine force accompanied Major General James Wolfe's campaign against Quebec, where they garrisoned Wolfe's base on the Island of Orleans and participated in various amphibious diversions that preceded the Battle for the Plains of Abraham in 1759.

By the time of the American Revolutionary War, the permanent marine force had established a reputation for unswerving loyalty. Indeed, a ship captain's ability to impose discipline ultimately rested on his ship's marine contingent. In the larger ships, about one man in every six was a marine. Two marine battalions were sent to Boston in the spring of 1775 to reinforce the garrison. Under the command of John Pitcairn, a marine major, they participated in the march to Lexington and Concord. The success of British marines contributed to the establishment of the U.S. Marines Corps.

James R. Arnold

See also

Anglo-Dutch War, Second; Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Great Britain, Navy; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Louisbourg, Siege of; Louisbourg Expedition; Quebec, Attack on (1711); Quebec, Battle of; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns

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Marlborough Garrisons (Massachusetts)

Fortified houses located in Marlborough, Massachusetts. Settled in 1660, Marlborough had a scattered population of some 225 people in 30 houses at the outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675. Some of these buildings, including the meetinghouse, would have been designated garrison houses in order to provide safety for community members in time of attack. The remaining houses would be, in effect, written off. The strategic significance of Marlborough, which lay in the outermost ring of the towns surrounding Boston, was its location at a crossroads on the route to the Connecticut River Valley settlements of western Massachusetts. A "praying Indian" community of native Christian converts known as Okamakemest was also located there.

In August 1675, Samuel Mosley, a local militia captain who despised Native Americans, arrested 16 praying Indians at Marlborough on suspicion of murder. He did so based on the torture-induced confession of one of them. Tied together at the neck, the Native Americans were marched to Boston, where nearly all were acquitted. This event added fuel to the fire of King Philip's War.

In February 1676, Massachusetts chose Marlborough as its main supply base between Boston and the Connecticut River Val-

ley. Food, clothing, and ammunition were deposited there in preparation for an offensive to be led by Major Thomas Savage against the Nipmucks. In March 1676, after Savage and his men had set out, a group of natives, possibly Nipmucks, attacked Marlborough while most residents were in the meetinghouse attending services. The attackers burned 13 houses and 11 barns. They also destroyed fences and fruit trees and killed and maimed cattle. Ephraim Curtis, an Indian trader, and 40 men from Marlborough and Sudbury found the natives' camp that night and attacked it, inflicting an unknown number of casualties.

Although most of Marlborough's inhabitants survived the attack, they abandoned the town afterward. The militia kept its base there, however, owing to its strategic importance. In April, another group of American Indians, having destroyed Sudbury the day before, again attacked Marlborough, destroying most of the remaining houses and driving off cattle. Nathaniel Saltonstall's eyewitness account of the conflict included the note, "Marlborough, wholy [sic] laid in Ashes, except two or three Houses." By spring 1677, however, 27 families had returned to the town.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Indian Presents; King Philip's War; Mosley, Samuel; Nipmucks; Praying Towns and Praying Indians

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Maryland

Sandwiched between Pennsylvania to the North and Virginia to the south, Maryland, named for Queen Henrietta Maria (1609–1669), was founded in 1634 by Cecelius Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore. It was intended as a haven for persecuted English Catholics. Calvert's father, First Lord Baltimore, had received a land grant to the area by King Charles I; however, he died in April 1632 and so his son was the recipient of the grant.

The first settlement of Maryland was St. Mary's, established at the mouth of the Potomac River in 1634. The royal charter for the colony granted proprietary powers to Calvert, who was required to follow English law, but was in reality autonomous. The charter allowed Calvert to grant huge estates to colonists. Although the majority of large landowners in Maryland tended to be Catholics, the majority of early colonists were Protestants who either came to Maryland as indentured servants or migrated north from Virginia. Consequently, conflicts between Catholics and Protestants would be an ongoing problem within Maryland throughout the 17th century.

During the English Civil War (1642–1649) and the subsequent reign of Oliver Cromwell as lord protector (1653–1658), the Chesapeake colonies became virtually independent, as the English Par-



Woodcut depicting St. Mary's trading post, Maryland's first settlement, in the early 1600s. (North Wind Picture Archives)

liament and royal officers concentrated on the struggle for power. The Maryland and Virginia assemblies protested the execution of Charles I in 1649, and both voted to recognize his son, Charles II, as king rather than submit to parliamentary authority. By that time, Maryland had a large Protestant majority, including a significant population of Puritans.

Calvert sought to placate the Protestant majority by establishing a bicameral legislature, which passed the Maryland Toleration Act of 1649, assuring freedom of religion for the colony's residents. It was revoked in 1652 by parliamentary commissioners who removed Lord Baltimore as governor of the colony. This action placated moderate Puritans in Maryland but was insufficient to prevent a short civil war within the colony in 1654. Cromwell, for his part, supported Lord Baltimore in the dispute and in 1657 returned his proprietary rights under the 1634 charter, after which the Toleration Act was reinstated. When Charles II was restored to the

throne in 1660, very little effect was felt in Maryland, where Lord Baltimore remained in control. When the Glorious Revolution toppled the Catholic James II in 1688, Protestants in Maryland led by John Coode seized the opportunity to oust the Calverts and make Maryland a royal colony. Maryland was restored to the Calvert family in 1715 after Charles Calvert, Fourth Lord Baltimore, converted to Anglicanism.

Despite the religious turmoil in Maryland, the economy of Maryland expanded rapidly. Like nearby Virginia, Maryland quickly came to depend on tobacco production, as tobacco had quickly become a lucrative cash crop. New colonists poured into the region, both from Virginia and from Europe. The increased labor supply increased agricultural production but also caused the price of land to rise and the price of tobacco to fall.

The close economic similarities between Virginia and Maryland were matched by cultural similarities, including militia systems,

African slave labor, and sometime acrimonious relations with native populations. When in 1675 a minor disagreement between a frontier planter and a party of Doeg natives turned violent, the conflict quickly grew to envelop the frontier settlements of both colonies. When a group of frontier militia murdered 14 friendly Susquehannocks and the colonists made no effort to offer reparations, the Susquehannocks retaliated by attacking settlements in Virginia and Maryland.

By 1675, however, the region's Native Americans had been decimated by disease and internecine warfare, and could not oppose the combined power of the Chesapeake colonies. In September 1675, Virginia and Maryland fielded over 1,000 militia troops. They then marched on a Susquehannock settlement on the Potomac River which had been provided by the Maryland government. The colonists demanded a parley with the leadership of the village. Five Susquehannock chiefs came forth and denied any responsibility for the earlier violence. The militia's response was to murder the chiefs. The militia leaders who ordered the murders were subsequently tried, but none faced significant punishment for their activities.

Maryland and Virginia officials denounced the militia's actions but found little support among the citizenry. As the Susquehannocks pressed the war, reports arrived in the colony of attacks in New England during King Philip's War (1675–1676). Apprehensive frontier settlers began attacking all native tribes in the region, regardless of disposition. When Nathaniel Bacon declared himself the leader of the frontier settlers in their campaign against the natives, openly defying Virginia governor William Berkeley's calls for diplomacy, a de facto state of civil war existed in Virginia. Maryland colonists contributed troops and supplies to both sides in the conflict. Eventually, Berkeley was able to suppress the rebellion, but not until tremendous losses had been inflicted on regional natives.

In the period of colonial wars between European powers, Maryland remained largely untouched by the fighting, with the exception of French privateers occasionally taking prizes in the region. During King George's War (1744–1748), Maryland supplied troops for ill-fated British expeditions against Spanish possessions in Central and South America.

The French and Indian War (1754–1763) commenced with a series of skirmishes between English and French forces in southwestern Pennsylvania. The English colonists involved in the opening combat were led by Major George Washington, who had recruited volunteers in Virginia and Maryland for his 1754 expedition. At the same time, Maryland sent delegates to Albany, New York, to discuss the possibility of a unified colonial plan for defense. Although the delegates agreed to a plan of union, it was rejected by each colonial assembly.

In 1755, a second expedition set forth into the same frontier region visited by Washington the previous year. This consisted of a British and provincial force of more than 2,000 men led by Major General Edward Braddock. It passed through Maryland en route to an attack on Fort Duquesne, near modern-day Pittsburgh. Brad-

dock's force was ultimately ambushed and routed by French and native forces. Braddock was killed in the fighting, and his disorganized forces fled to Philadelphia. Fighting in the frontier region characterized the next two years, including attacks on Maryland frontier settlements. In 1757, the brunt of the fighting shifted to the northern frontier, although attacks in the hinterlands of the Chesapeake colonies continued. Maryland supplied troops, food, and equipment for the British war effort but remained largely untouched by the war.

In the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), Maryland was sharply divided between Loyalists and Patriots. Maryland supporters of each cause participated in the conflict, although the major campaigns of the war left the state virtually intact.

PAUL J. SPRINGER

See also

Bacon's Rebellion; Berkeley, William; Braddock's Campaign; Calvert, Cecilius, Second Lord Baltimore; Chesapeake, Virginia and Maryland Conflict over; Claiborne, William; Coode's Rebellion; English Civil War, Impact in America; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Glorious Revolution in America; Ingle, Richard; Susquehannock; Susquehannock War; Virginia

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Maryland, Protestant-Catholic Conflict in

Start Date: 1632 End Date: 1657

The Protestant-Catholic conflict in Maryland originated as an intercolonial territorial dispute that grew into a more pronounced fight over religious authority. The conflict between the colonies of Maryland and Virginia began when King Charles I granted a charter to converted Catholic Cecilius Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore, in 1632. Virginia officials strongly opposed Maryland's charter on grounds that the proposed Catholic colony was an encroachment on vested Protestant territory. The tract of land chartered to Calvert had once been the territory of the London (Virginia) Company. But the land was lost to the Maryland Colony because Virginia became a royal colony in 1624. This enabled the king to grant all or any part of the territory to any party he wished.

The king appointed Calvert's brother, Leonard, the governor of the territory, which promoted security, the rights of conscience, and religious freedom. Immigration to the colony flourished early on, and created problems for William Claiborne, a member of Virginia's provincial council. Claiborne had a license from Virginia's



Allegorical scene of Lord Calvert presenting the document establishing civil and religious liberty in Maryland in 1649. (Library of Congress)

governor to trade with the Dutch in Manhattan and the colonists in Newfoundland. His trading post, however, was located within the boundaries of the Maryland charter on Kent Island, and Claiborne refused to acknowledge Baltimore's authority over the island.

In 1635, Lord Baltimore sent one of his commissioners, Captain Thomas Cornwaleys, to remove Claiborne from the island. Cornwaleys outfitted two large trading pinnaces, the *St. Helen* and the *St. Margaret*. On April 23, in what was possibly the first North American naval battle, they engaged and captured Claiborne's sloop, the *Cockatryce*, with 14 men. In the engagement, 3 men on the *Cockatryce*, including its captain, Lieutenant Ratcliffe Warren, were killed and several others were wounded. The inhabitants of Kent Island remained insubordinate, however, and in 1637–1638, Calvert led a successful expedition against the island, which then submitted to Maryland rule.

The Maryland experiment of religious toleration was further complicated in 1642, when tension between Charles I and Parliament erupted into the English Civil War (1642–1649). While Governor Calvert was in England reporting to his brother, Richard

Ingle, a supporter of Parliament, arrived in Maryland and reportedly cured the colony's royalists. This prompted Ingle's arrest. On his release, Ingle returned to Maryland in 1645 aboard the ship *Reformation* and systematically plundered the colony. At the same time, Claiborne reasserted his claim to Kent Island and Calvert was forced to flee to Virginia. "Ingle's Rebellion," also known as "the plundering time," continued until Calvert raised sufficient manpower to end Ingle's reign over Maryland. Calvert arrived at St. Inigoes Fort in the winter of 1645 and offered a general pardon to all the inhabitants of Kent Island. In return, he asked that they swear obedience to Maryland's proprietor, Cecilius Calvert.

Ingle was only one part of Maryland's problems, however. The colony's third governor, William Stone (appointed in 1648), faced further problems when the Puritan-controlled Parliament in London retaliated against the remaining Chesapeake Bay royalists. The Protestants outnumbered the Catholics nearly three to one, and Stone's administration had only nominal powers in the colony. This created a stalemate between the Catholic faction and the relatively large Puritan population of Providence, situated along the Severn River. Civil war broke out after 1654 when Parliament's Puritan commissioners, Richard Bennett and William Claiborne, assumed authority over the colony's government. They did so by placing restrictions against Catholics practicing their faith and exempting the inhabitants from taking the proprietary oath. Stone reasserted his authority after Oliver Cromwell dismissed Parliament. Stone confiscated provincial records and sent nearly 100 armed men to Providence.

On March 22, 1655, the numerically superior Puritans met Stone's force in battle near present-day Annapolis. In what became known as the Battle of the Severn River, the governor lost nearly half of his men as casualties. Stone and his council were captured and held prisoner for two months, despite negotiations on the terms of release. In late 1657, Lord Baltimore and Bennett settled their differences and the proprietor's authority was restored in the colony. The agreement between the proprietor and Bennett not only settled the issue of colonial authority but also removed Claiborne as the ever-present instigator. That enabled the colony of Maryland to continue with its original aim of providing colonists a haven of religious tolerance.

James J. Schaefer

See also

Claiborne, William; Fort St. Inigoes (Maryland); Ingle, Richard; Maryland; Puritans

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Mason, John

Born: ca. 1586

Died: December 1635

Founder of the colony of New Hampshire and governor of Newfoundland (1615–1621). John Mason was born around 1586 in England. Little is know of his early life. In 1615, he became governor of Newfoundland, a post he held until 1621.

In 1622, the Council for New England issued a land patent to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason. It included all the territory between the Merrimack River and Kennebec River, from the coast to the headwaters of the two rivers. Mason, who probably had never visited New England, was convinced that he could create trading posts with Native Americans in the interior along the rivers.

Although his aspirations may have fit the modern notion of entrepreneurship, Mason was decidedly feudal in his dealings, treating settlers as his employees. They were bound only to him and their sole aim was to protect his interests.

In 1623, the Gorges/Mason-owned Laconia Company granted a patent to a small group of men who set sail for the Piscataqua River (New Hampshire). They were led by two London fishmongers, Edward and William Hilton. Mason instructed them to establish a colony that would send fish back to England. The Hiltons settled at Dover Point, a point of land formed where the Piscataqua meets Great Bay. There they began to catch and cure fish. They did not exactly prosper, but they did survive and were in fact able to send provisions to the starving Plymouth Colony.

In 1629, Gorges and Mason divided their properties imprecisely at the Piscataqua. Gorges was to receive all land to the north and east, whereas Mason gained control of all to the south and west. Mason poured money into his colonizing efforts and expanded his area of control. He took firm charge of the organization of his tiny settlements on the Piscataqua and created a command structure. He sent necessary supplies, including the first cattle in English North America, to his employees. But when Mason died suddenly in December 1635 in New Hampshire, his former employees stole his American land holdings.

Mason left two difficult legacies to New Hampshire. First, his grant for New Hampshire was never confirmed by the Crown. Thus the lack of a verified grant created a nightmare of land title disputes that continued over the next century and a half. Second, he instigated long-term animosity between the settlers of New Hampshire and Massachusetts over trade and boundary issues.

MARCIA SCHMIDT BLAINE

See also

New Hampshire

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Mason, John

Born: ca. 1600 Died: 1672

English-born militia officer best known for leading the assault that destroyed the Pequot settlement on the Mystic River in 1637 (Mystic Fort Fight). John Mason was probably born in 1600 in England. There are few known details of Mason's life prior to his arrival in the New World. He served with English forces in the Netherlands under Sir Horace Vere about 1630, where he held a lieutenant's commission and befriended Sir Thomas Fairfax. Mason arrived in Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1632. There he became a militia officer and was commissioned to hunt local pirates and given responsibility for overseeing the construction of fortifications. At one point he became a representative to the Massachusetts General Court. In 1635, Mason helped found what became Windsor, one of the first English settlements on the Connecticut River.

Following the Native American raid on Wethersfield in April 1637, the Connecticut Colony declared war on the Pequots and appointed Captain Mason to lead its forces against them. Mason traveled down the Connecticut River to Fort Saybrook with 90 English militiamen and 60 Mohegans led by Uncas. The Connecticut General Court had instructed Mason to attack the primary Pequot settlement on the Pequot River, but once at Saybrook, Mason decided to sail to Narragansett Bay and march overland to assault the town on the Mystic River.

Obtaining permission from the Narragansetts to travel through their territory, Mason's force attacked Mystic on May 26, 1637, surrounding the village, setting it on fire, and killing or capturing any Pequots who attempted to escape. As many as 700 Pequots—men, women, and children—perished in the attack. Following the successful campaign, Mason led forces to hunt down and capture other bands of Pequots later that summer. After the Treaty of Hartford subjugated the Pequots to the Narragansetts and the Mohegans in 1638, Mason led another expedition later that year against a Pequot group that was trying to live independently.

Shortly after the Mystic Fort Fight, Mason was promoted to major. In 1660, he was also appointed the colony's deputy governor. Mason lived at Fort Saybrook from 1647 to 1659 and later helped found the town of Norwich. During the Pequot War (1636–1638), Mason established a firm friendship with Uncas. That relationship was a key component of Connecticut's strong support for the Mohegans in later years. From the Pequot War until the end of his life, one of Mason's chief duties was negotiating with local Native American tribes. He died in Norwich, Connecticut, sometime in 1672.

MATTHEW S. MUEHLBAUER

See also

Connecticut; Fort Saybrook (Connecticut); Hartford, Treaty of (1638); Mohegans; Mystic Fort Fight; Narragansetts; Pequot War; Uncas

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Massachusetts

English colonization of Massachusetts began with the 1620 landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. Ten years later, the Puritans established Massachusetts Bay Colony at Boston. The two colonies left important and enduring legacies, including the Mayflower Compact and town meetings as models of self-government, a tradition of public education, the proliferation and dispersal of religious dissidents, and the notorious Salem Witch Trials of 1692. Religious leaders in Massachusetts also ignited the Great Awakening, a mass religious movement that reawakened popular hunger for salvation.

From a geopolitical standpoint, English expansion in Massachusetts spawned additional New England colonies, checked New Netherland's expansion, and drove the indigenous peoples to war. The frontier settlements of Massachusetts bore the brunt of native and French hostility over the course of four Anglo-French

wars. Finally, Massachusetts became the focus of British wrath as it led the colonies to the brink of revolution.

At the time of first contact with Europeans, several thousand Algonquin tribes lived in Massachusetts. In 1620, the Wampanoag sachem, Massasoit, entered into a treaty of friendship with the Pilgrims at Plymouth. The Wampanoags ceded land in the hope of receiving protection from their longstanding enemies, the Narragansetts.

English population growth took off during the 1630s with the arrival of thousands of Puritans. They settled the Atlantic Coast from Maine to Long Island and inland along major rivers. Ignoring Dutch claims on the region, they founded several towns in Connecticut. Under Gov. John Winthrop, the Puritans organized an efficient government and pursued their goal of creating a Puritan society. Increasing numbers of colonists began to chafe under the restrictive yoke of Puritanism, however. Religious thinkers such as Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson became leaders of dissident religious factions. Indeed, Massachusetts banished all such "heretics" and thereby compelled the exiles to found new settlements.

As the English population encroached on native lands, an exchange of provocations led to war with the Pequots of Connecticut.



Faneuil Hall, meeting- and marketplace in Boston since 1742. (National Archives)

The war culminated in the May 26, 1637, massacre of a Pequot village on the Mystic River by a 150-man force of New Englanders, Mohegans, and Narragansetts led by Captain John Mason. After the slaughter, the Massachusetts government divided up Pequot land among Puritan colonists.

Puritan doctrine left its adherents free to pursue wealth, and the growing colony prospered. Although the majority farmed, others turned to fishing, timbering, and oceangoing trade. Boston merchants sold fish, grain, lumber, horses, and cattle to West Indies planters, and Massachusetts trading vessels transported slaves from Africa to the West Indies. At the same time Puritan missionaries, notably Rev. John Eliot, worked to bring Christianity to the Native Americans.

In 1675, Massasoit's heir, Metacom—known as King Philip to the English—responded to English encroachment by organizing a native confederacy to resist English expansion. In June, Puritan executions of three Wampanoags ignited King Philip's War. Native forces attacked more than 50 New England frontier settlements, destroying 12. Settlers abandoned their homes and fled eastward. Failing to find their highly mobile attackers, New Englanders turned their wrath on convenient targets. These included the "praying towns" inhabited by Christian Native American converts. This ultimately drove many into the enemy camp.

During the winter of 1675–1676, the surviving natives continued to raid, even striking within 20 miles of Boston. As spring approached, the natives confronted starvation, and by June 1676 they began to surrender. A force led by Benjamin Church killed Metacom in August 1676. The war cost an estimated 1,000 English and 3,000 Native American lives. The few American Indians who escaped death or slavery took refuge beyond the English frontier. Many later assisted the French in prosecuting a series of wars against the English.

With the natives largely subjugated, the Massachusetts populace resumed its pursuit of trade and wealth. But widespread defiance of English trade laws goaded King Charles II to act. In 1679, he divested Massachusetts of New Hampshire (although Maine remained under Massachusetts authority until 1820), and in 1684 he revoked the Massachusetts Bay Colony's charter. Then, in 1686, King James II subsumed all the New England colonies under the short-lived Dominion of New England with Sir Edmond Andros as governor and the appointed Governor's Council, but no elected assembly. The resulting discord would lead colonists in Massachusetts to topple Andros after they received news that James II had been overthrown in the Glorious Revolution. In 1691, King William III merged Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay into one royal colony. This period of turmoil was a contributing factor in the Salem Witch Trials of 1692.

New France and its American Indian allies took advantage of the upheaval in Massachusetts to attack the colony's frontier during King William's War (1689–1697). In May 1690, the French burned a coastal settlement and slaughtered more than 70 men, women, and children. Also in May, Massachusetts sent 14 vessels and 700 men, under the command of William Phips, against Port Royal,

Acadia. The mission's success encouraged Massachusetts to send Phips to Quebec with 34 ships and 2,000 men. The October 1690 attack failed dismally. Raids against frontier settlers continued until the peace of 1697.

The outbreak of Queen Anne's War in 1702 brought another decade of frontier violence. After the costly French-Abenaki raid on Deerfield, Massachusetts, in February 1704, Colonel Benjamin Church led an unsuccessful 600-man expedition against Acadia in May 1704. Three years later, more than 1,500 New England militiamen and seamen led by Colonel John March again sailed for Port Royal. The May 1707 expedition also ended in failure. Finally, a joint New England–British expedition captured Port Royal, and with it Acadia, on October 2, 1710. Massachusetts troops also joined the disastrous August 1711 British expedition against Quebec.

Massachusetts would play a leading role in 18th-century conflicts. Dummer's War (1722–1727) took place as the French and the Abenakis sought to prevent English expansion into Maine. William Shirley became governor of Massachusetts in 1741, and during his 17-year tenure promoted Massachusetts involvement in British wars. More than 400 Massachusetts men died during the 1741 expedition against the Spanish at Cartagena during the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744). Massachusetts men made up most of the 4,000-man force of New England soldiers in William Pepperell's expedition, which captured Louisbourg in 1745 during King George's War (1744–1748). Although no significant fighting took place on Massachusetts territory during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), nearly 8,000 Massachusetts men participated in the Nova Scotia, New York, and Quebec campaigns.

The peace of 1763 brought the demand that Britain's colonies assume the costs of colonial defense. The 1764 Sugar Act hit hard at Massachusetts merchants, and the colony's political thinkers saw that a precedent had been set for future taxation. Passage of the Stamp Act followed in 1765, resulting in the sacking of Lt. Gov. Thomas Hutchinson's house by the Sons of Liberty, along with other acts of protest. As Parliament in London continued to impose taxes, such as the Townshend Duties, Massachusetts approached the other colonies to organize joint congresses and boycotts of British trade. The presence of naval patrols offshore and British regulars on land created a volatile situation in Boston, leading to the shooting deaths of five civilians on March 5, 1770, in the incident that came to be known as the Boston Massacre.

Revolutionary events gathered momentum with the tax protest of December 16, 1773, called the Boston Tea Party, and Parliament's passage of the punitive Coercive Acts in 1774. In defiance of the acts, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts continued to meet, while militiamen mustered and towns stockpiled arms. In April 1775, General Thomas Gage, royal governor of Massachusetts, ordered his regulars to march on Lexington and Concord and seize their stockpiles. The opening battle of the American Revolutionary War took place when the British regulars confronted a small force of Minutemen on Lexington Common on the morning of April 19, 1775.

Roberta Wiener

See also

Abenakis; Acadia, British Conquest of; Acadia, New England Attack on; Boston Massacre; Boston Tea Party; Cartagena, Expedition against; Church, Benjamin; Deerfield, Massachusetts, Attack on; Dummer's War; Gage, Thomas; King Philip's War; Louisbourg Expedition; Maine; March, John; Massasoit; Metacom; Mohegans; Narragansetts; Pepperell, Sir William, Jr.; Pequot War; Pequots; Phips, Sir William; Pilgrims; Plymouth; Praying Towns and Praying Indians; Puritans; Shirley, William; Sons of Liberty; Stamp Act; Townshend Acts; Wampanoags; Winthrop, John

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Massachusetts Bay-Pequot Treaty

Event Date: November 1634

Failed peace agreement between the colonists of Massachusetts Bay and the Pequot natives. In October 1634, the Pequot Nation sent an envoy to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in hopes of concluding a treaty of friendship and securing protection against their enemies, the Narragansetts. The colonial leaders received the envoy's gifts but refused to negotiate with him because they held he was not of sufficient rank. The colonists then told the envoy to summon Pequot sachems (chiefs) for a conference. They also demanded that the Pequots produce the murderers of Virginia merchant ship captain John Stone, who had been killed with his crew in the spring of 1634 while trading along the Connecticut River. Certainly, the leaders of Massachusetts Bay used Stone's death as a bargaining advantage. This was ironic, as Massachusetts had earlier charged Stone with adultery, fined him, and threatened him with death should he ever return to that colony.

In November 1634, two Pequot sachems arrived in Massachusetts Bay. Producing a large amount of wampum, they persuaded the English to offer it to the Narragansetts on their behalf. The Pequots also offered the English Connecticut lands for settlement hoping to establish a buffer between themselves and the Narragansetts. The English, fearful of a Narragansett-Dutch alliance against them, hoped to establish peace and accepted.

The English still insisted that the Pequots turn over those natives involved in Stone's murder. The Pequot emissaries explained that Stone had kidnapped two natives to serve as guides and that Stone and his crew had died during an attempt to rescue the two kidnapped natives when gunpowder had accidentally blown up aboard the ship. The Pequots also stated that the Dutch had already killed

the grand sachem, Tatobem, leader at the time of Stone's death. The emissaries also claimed that all but two of the Pequots involved had since died of smallpox. On English insistence, the Pequot negotiators agreed to hand over the two who remained and to pay a large indemnity in pelts and wampum. Because of the excessive treaty demands, however, the Pequot council refused to ratify the treaty.

The pretense of Pequot noncompliance with the treaty was the excuse for a Massachusetts Bay expedition against them, led by John Endicott in 1636. This expedition began the Pequot War (1636–1638).

SARAH E. MILLER

See also

Endicott, John; Endicott Expedition; Mystic Fort Fight; Pequot War; Pequots

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Massasoit

Born: ca. 1590 Died: 1661 or 1662

Grand sachem of the Wampanoags of New England. The name Massasoit is actually a title meaning "grand sachem" or "great leader" bestowed on Ousa Mequin (Yellow Feather), sachem of the Pokanoket and the grand sachem of the Wampanoag Confederation. Little is known about Massaoit prior to his contact with the Plymouth Colony in 1621. He was born about 1590 in Montaup, a Pokanokets village near present-day Bristol, Rhode Island, and rose to leadership over eight large villages.

The first documented contact of Massasoit with the English occurred in 1619. In that year, he met with Captain Thomas Dermer following the latter's voyage with Tisquantum (Squanto) to New England. William Bradford, the second governor of Plymouth Colony, described the Pokanoket sachem as "a very lust [sic] man in his best years, an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech: In his Attyre, a little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, only a great Chaine of white bone beades about his neck. . . . His face was painted with a deep red like mulberry and he was oiled both head and face."

Traditionally, Massasoit is remembered for his alliance with the Pilgrims and his efforts to aid the Plymouth Colony. There is no doubt that he was a calculating and skilled diplomat. He established personal relationships with the principal leaders of the Plymouth Colony, including William Bradford and Edward Winslow. Concern over the possibility of conflict with the neighboring Narragansetts led Massasoit to forge an alliance with the colonists at Plymouth in March 1621. The resulting treaty was mutually beneficial, providing security for the colonists and military aid for the Wampanoags in



Chief Massasoit of the Wampanoags and some of his warriors, shown here at a meeting with colonists. (Library of Congress)

case of hostilities with the Narragansetts. Cemented even further by Edward Winslow's resuscitation of the critically ill sachem in 1632, the alliance also served to keep the Wampanoags out of the Pequot War (1636–1638) and enabled Massasoit to resist Puritan efforts to Christianize his people.

Expanding English settlements around Massachusetts Bay brought pressure on Massasoit to cede land to the English. To this he relented, selling land in the 1650s to the colony in exchange for the maintenance of harmony. Until his death in 1661 or 1662, the Wampanoag bands under Massasoit and the colonists of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth remained at peace. Continued encroachment on Wampanoag lands, however, would lead Massasoit's son, Metacom, known to the English as King Philip, to launch King's Philip's War in 1675.

ALAN C. DOWNS

See also

Massachusetts; Metacom; Narragansetts; Pequot War; Plymouth; Puritans; Wampanoags

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Mather, Cotton

Born: February 12, 1663 Died: February 13, 1728

Puritan leader and minister who played a leading role in the transition from extreme religious orthodoxy to a more secular outlook in New England. Cotton Mather was born on February 12, 1663, in Boston, Massachusetts. Entering Harvard College at age 12, he graduated in 1678. Fearful that his habit of stammering would interfere with his preaching, he studied medicine for a time before earning his master's degree from Harvard in 1681. By 1680, he had overcome his stammer sufficiently to begin preaching. Five years later, he was ordained and joined his father Increase Mather in the pulpit of the Second Church of Boston, holding that position until his death.



Cotton Mather, a prominent Puritan leader who played a leading role in the transition from extreme religious orthodoxy to a more secular outlook in colonial New England during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. (Library of Congress)

As minister of one of the largest churches in Boston, Mather earned a reputation for pastoral care. He was the first American minister to organize clubs for young people, and he began the practice of making regular calls on elderly and ill church members and on prisoners. He also helped establish a school for the education of slaves and organized efforts to build churches in poor communities, to provide relief for needy ministers, and to establish missions among the Native Americans.

Mather's role in the Salem Witch Trials of 1692 has been much debated. He believed in diabolical possession, and his book *Memorable Providences*, *Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions* (1689) and two other works on the subject, probably helped contribute to the witchcraft hysteria. Yet at the time of the trials, Mather urged the judges not to overuse "spectral evidence" (whereby witnesses claimed to see specters of accused witches) and advised punishments milder than execution. Nevertheless, he gave his full support to the proceedings and he later defended them, most notably in his book *Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693). Yet in his most famous work, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), a monumental ecclesiastical history of New England, Mather presented the Salem Witch Trials as having unjustly condemned to death many innocent people.

After 1692, Mather's influence diminished somewhat because of the trend away from Puritan dominance and because of his own hot temper and arrogance. Although he had hoped to follow in his father's footsteps as president of Harvard, Mather was denied this honor. In 1703, when the lower house of the Massachusetts legisla-

ture, consisting largely of religious conservatives, appointed Mather president, the more liberal upper house overruled it. Thereafter, Mather looked to a new educational institution to be the stronghold of Congregational orthodoxy, persuading Elihu Yale to contribute generously to the project and convincing the governor of Connecticut to name the college after Yale.

Although at the outset of his career Mather bitterly attacked those with differing religious beliefs, he grew more tolerant with time. Also, toward the end of his life, Mather began to expound doctrines that placed him at a distance from the strict Calvinism of his youth and closer to the deism of the 18th century, with its emphasis on a rationally ordered universe and a benevolent God.

An even more prolific author than his father, Mather wrote more than 450 books, cementing his reputation not only as a religious leader but also as a man of letters and a scientist, made evident in *The Christian Philosopher* (1721) and other works. He had a wideranging curiosity about the natural world and saw no conflict between his religious beliefs and science, because, in his view, an understanding of nature was the best cure for atheism. He conducted many experiments of his own and published the results, including one of the earliest known descriptions of plant hybridization. In this, he anticipated Benjamin Franklin, who claimed that Mather's essays had provided the inspiration for many of his own practical devices.

Mather corresponded with some of Europe's leading scientists and was a great admirer of Sir Isaac Newton. In 1712, he became one of the few American colonists to be elected to the Royal Society of London. In 1721, when smallpox broke out in Boston, Mather advocated inoculation, against the protests of most physicians, the general populace, and some clergy. Mather died in Boston on February 13, 1728.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Massachusetts; Puritans

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Menéndez, Francisco

Born: ca. 1700 Died: 1772

Former slave who helped found and lead the first community of free blacks in the colonial south (Spanish Florida). Francisco Menéndez was born in West Africa—probably in the Mandingo region—about 1700 and brought to South Carolina as a slave in the early 18th century. By the 1720s, he had escaped bondage and joined with the Yamasees in a campaign against English settlers.

Despite initial successes, the Yamasees and their allies were unable to prevail in the conflict. Menéndez, who had lived for three years among the Yamasees, was among the survivors who sought sanctuary in Spanish-held St. Augustine, Florida. The Spanish colonies had long been a haven for escaped slaves, who were usually granted their freedom if they were willing to embrace Catholicism.

By the time Menéndez arrived in St. Augustine, Gov. Antonio de Benavides was attempting to maintain harmonious relations with the British. As part of his effort, he had ceased granting outright freedom to escaped slaves. Menéndez subsequently became the property of the royal accountant in St. Augustine, Don Francisco Menéndez Márquez, the man whose name he ultimately adopted. It is believed that it was in this position that Menéndez learned to read and write Spanish, which was highly unusual among the enslaved.

Menéndez's military experience with the Yamasees resulted in his appointment to command a slave militia during a series of British invasions beginning in 1727, when Colonel John Palmer led an attack from South Carolina. The slaves mounted a valiant defense of St. Augustine, for which they sought their freedom in compensation. Menéndez unsuccessfully petitioned the governor and the bishop in Cuba for this. A change in the governorship in 1737 brought a reversal of Menéndez's fortune. Gov. Manuel de Montiano was willing to reward loyal service. In 1738, Francisco Menéndez and his followers were granted their unconditional freedom.

Montiano commissioned the creation of Fort Mosé, a settlement for escaped slaves, two miles north of St. Augustine. He appointed Menéndez captain of the new fort and granted him the power to govern the small group of escaped slaves. Fort Mosé became the first all-black, free settlement in the southern part of the continent.

When the British launched a major invasion of Florida in 1740, the population of Fort Mosé was evacuated to the Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine. In June 1740, a daring raid, probably led by Menéndez, resulted in the recapture of Fort Mosé. The fort proved too badly damaged to be inhabitable, however. Its citizens thus relocated to St. Augustine for 12 years.

Menéndez's activities in the following decade are not at all clear. In 1741, he was aboard a Spanish privateering ship when it was captured by the British. Menéndez was tortured and taken to the Bahamas, where he was brought before a British court. The tribunal ordered him reenslaved. There is no record of his whereabouts for the next several years, but by 1752 Menéndez was once again in charge of the newly rebuilt Fort Mosé. Whether he was ransomed, had escaped, or had purchased his freedom is unknown.

Fort Mosé was finally abandoned in 1763, when Spain ceded Florida to the British. Menéndez then emigrated to Matanzas, Cuba, taking with him the contingent of freed slaves from Fort Mosé. Menéndez died in Havana, Cuba, sometime in 1772.

DOROTHY A. MAYS

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Castillo de San Marcos (Florida); Florida; Fort Mosé (Florida); Montiano, Manuel de; Slavery; Slave Trade and the American Colonies; St. Augustine; Yamasee War

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Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro

Born: 1519

Died: September 17, 1574

Spanish sailor, soldier, explorer, conquistador, founder of St. Augustine, Florida, and governor of La Florida. Born sometime in 1519 in Avilés, Spain, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés left home at age 14 for a life on the high seas. He excelled as a seaman and garnered a notable reputation while fighting pirates and French corsairs in the Mediterranean. In 1554, the Council of the Indies appointed Menéndez captain general of the Armada de la Carrera de Indias (the Fleet of the Indies). He subsequently safely commanded the convoy of treasure ships from the New World back to Spain. By the time he was 40, he had been promoted to general of the Armada.

Menéndez had an independent streak, however, and in 1563 the House of Trade had him jailed for failure to obey orders. He spent almost two years in prison. On Menéndez's release, however, King Phillip II reinstated him as the captain general of the Fleet of the Indies.

Once reinstated, Menéndez hoped to search for a lost vessel that had carried his son, among other friends and relatives. The king granted him permission to do so. At the same time, the Crown also wanted to reassert Spain's rule over La Florida. In addition to his personal goals, Menéndez thus had official orders to chart the Florida coastline and to explore and colonize the mainland.

To those ends, Philip II named Menéndez governor of La Florida. In the meantime, however, the French had laid claims to the area. In 1562, under French Huguenot Jean Ribault, the French had attempted to establish a colony named Charlesfort (near present-day Beaufort, South Carolina). Although short lived, the settlement laid the necessary groundwork for France's second and more successful colony at Fort Caroline (near present-day Jacksonville, Florida), begun in 1564 under René Goulaine de Laudonnière. When Menéndez set sail for La Florida in 1565, his orders included a command to eradicate the French Protestants from what was now considered a Spanish domain.

Menéndez sailed from Spain in July 1565 with 11 ships and about 2,000 soldiers. Because of storms, however, he arrived with perhaps only 5 vessels and about 1,000 men. The expedition sighted land on August 28, the feast day of St. Augustine. On September 8, 1565, they set up camp ashore just south of Fort Caroline and founded the earliest permanent European settlement in the United States. They named it St. Augustine.



Portrait of the Spaniard Pedro Menéndez de Avilés from 1791 by Francisco de Paula Martí. Menéndez established the St. Augustine settlement in Florida. (Liibrary of Congress)

Learning of the Spanish plans, Ribault launched a preemptive strike, but his fleet was scattered by a major storm. This left Fort Caroline virtually undefended, and Menéndez and 500 men marched overland to destroy it. On September 21, 1565, they razed the fort and killed the majority of the French colonists. Marching back to St. Augustine, the Spanish discovered Ribault's shipwrecked soldiers and massacred them as well, thus ending the French presence in La Florida. When Ribault was found with the aid of Native Americans, he too was killed.

As Florida's first colonial governor, Menéndez explored and colonized along the coast as far north as the Chesapeake Bay, affirming Spanish rule over the entire Southeast of North America. In addition, he was largely responsible for establishing relations with the local natives and creating the mission towns to convert them, both of which allowed La Florida to flourish for over 150 years.

Menéndez returned to Spain in 1567 to recruit more settlers. Despite remaining governor until his death, Menéndez returned to Florida only once, briefly in 1571. On his return to Spain in 1572, he was the favored candidate to lead the Spanish Armada in a planned assault against English forces. However, Menéndez died in

Santander, Spain, on September 17, 1574, before the expedition could begin.

LISA L. CRUTCHFIELD

See also

Florida; Florida, Franco-Spanish Conflict over; Fort Caroline (Florida); Laudonnière, René Goulaine de; Port Royal (South Carolina); Ribault, Jean; Spanish Mission System, Southeast; St. Augustine

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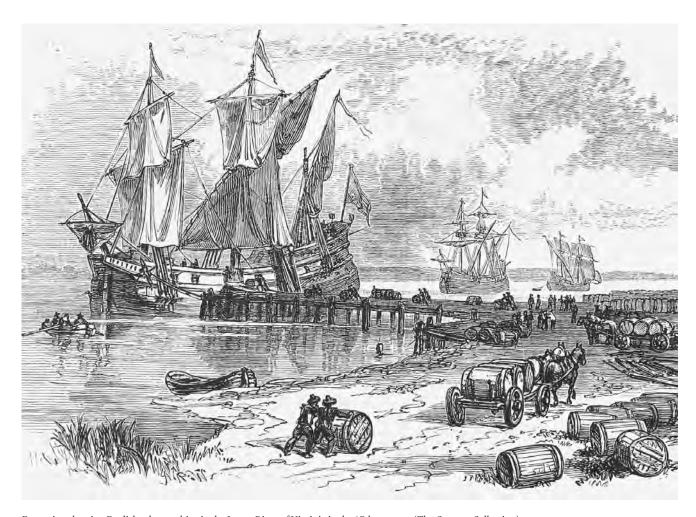
Mercantilism

Mercantilism was the economic system that dominated European commerce and trade from the 1600s to the late 1700s. It was based on the idea that nations would gain a favorable balance of trade by exporting more than they imported. The surplus generated from the excess exports could then be used to enhance a nation's power by developing a more powerful military or expanding a country's empire. Mercantilism relied on government policies designed to protect domestic trade, including tariffs, duties, monopolies, and colonialism.

During the early period of exploration, most colonial powers sought to increase their national wealth through the accumulation of precious metals, mainly gold and silver. An early economic theory known as bullionism argued that a nation's economic prosperity could be measured by how much gold or silver that state possessed. A principal new source of gold and silver was found in colonies in the Americas and Africa. Consequently, states sought to acquire new colonies in these regions.

By the 1600s, however, it became apparent that the simple accumulation of precious metals led to inflation. Even with large stocks of gold and silver, states would have to purchase or import other materials, which would decrease both the stocks of bullion and the value of the precious metals because there would be more in circulation. It then became accepted policy that nations also needed to develop their commerce to maintain a strong economy and increase their share of international trade. This became especially important as those European nations without colonies that exported large amounts of gold or silver were able to dramatically increase their wealth by importing materials like timber, fur, molasses, or tobacco and then exporting manufactured or refined products. By exporting these products, the manufacturing states were also able to acquire more gold and silver. The scramble for colonies with gold and silver subsequently became a race for colonies with valuable raw materials.

In order to discourage imports from rival states, European nations established high tariffs and taxes on imported goods.



Engraving showing English tobacco ships in the James River of Virginia in the 17th century. (The Granger Collection)

Ideally, the nations would be able to secure access to needed materials through their colonies. For instance, by establishing colonies in North America, England was able to get a ready supply of timber and stop importing wood from the Baltic countries. Trade with foreign countries was also restricted in the colonies. Hence the English Parliament enacted the Navigation Acts, which mandated that only English ships could engage in trade with the American colonies and that various raw products such as sugar, cotton, and tobacco could only be exported from the colonies to English ports. Any goods exported to other European states were supposed to be sent first to an English port before being sent to their final destination. Restrictions such as these, in theory, provided the government in London with a near-monopoly on trade with the colonies and a monopoly on certain products, such as tobacco. In practice, however, the English did not adequately enforce the Navigation Acts prior to 1763, resulting in what historians have called "salutary neglect" in that colonies could enjoy many of the benefits of empire without the restrictions.

Beginning in 1699, Parliament enacted a series of laws that tried to restrict manufacturing in the colonies so as to preserve the monopoly on manufactured goods for companies in Great Britain. The government even attempted to restrict trade between the colonies. For instance, in 1732 Parliament passed the Hat Act, which forbade the sale of hats between colonies and forced the territories instead to import quality hats directly from companies in Great Britain. Various governments even put rules in effect that prevented skilled tradesmen or artisans from immigrating to other nations in order to prevent rival states from gaining any economic advantage. In order for the mercantilist system to function, nations needed colonies to act as both exporters of raw materials and importers of finished products from the mother country.

The competition for colonies and disputes over trade practices led ultimately to a series of wars. Between 1652 and 1674, there were three Anglo-Dutch wars over trade and colonies. These conflicts helped expand English control in North America. For instance, the Dutch turned over New York after the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1664–1667). After the Dutch surrendered New York, the English, French, and Spanish became the main adversaries in the fight over colonies in North America.

To import and export goods and products, nations had to build large merchant fleets. Furthermore, the need to protect existing colonies and to acquire new colonies reinforced the necessity for nations to maintain large and powerful navies. The construction and maintenance of the fleets was expansive, prompting states to seek even greater wealth in order to pay for the naval forces. In France, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, controller general of finance under King Louis XIV, enacted a fee on all ships entering French ports. The proceeds from this were then used to fund naval construction. In addition, the cost of military campaigns grew increasingly expensive as wars that began in Europe became global conflicts involving far-flung colonies. Following the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Great Britain in particular sought to recoup some of the costs of the conflict and of maintaining troops in North America from its colonies there.

The myriad tariffs and fees placed on imported goods inflated prices and hurt consumers, who often had to buy more expensive domestically produced items. In addition, government monopolies granted to companies such as the British East India Company also raised prices by eliminating competition. Scottish philosopher Adam Smith pointed out the flaws in mercantilism and in his work *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) was the first to use the term "mercantilist" to describe the system. Smith's emphasis on free trade was shared by many American colonists. In the end, the succession of mercantilist laws and policies enacted by the British government, particularly after 1763, when the British began vigorously enforcing the Navigation Acts, provided one of the chief causes of the American Revolution.

Tom Lansford

See also

Anglo-Dutch War, First; Anglo-Dutch War, Second; Anglo-Dutch War, Third; Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Firearms Trade; Iron Act; Molasses Act; Navigation Acts; Rum Trade; Townshend Acts

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Metacom (King Philip)

Birth: Unknown Death: August 12, 1676

Metacom, also known as Philip, Metacomet, or Pometacom, was the son of Massasoit and sachem (chief) of the Wampanoags (1662–1676). Metacom's precise birth date is unknown, as are the circumstances of his early years. When Massasoit died in 1660, his eldest son, Wamsutta, informed the leaders of Plymouth Colony that he was now sachem. He also asked them to give him and his brother, Metacom, English names. The Plymouth officials drew on

classical history and bestowed the name of Alexander Pokanokett on Wamsutta. They dubbed Metacom, Philip.

Wamsutta's cordial relations with the English ended abruptly in 1662, when rumors that he was plotting an attack on Plymouth Colony began to circulate. Wamsutta temporarily mollified the English, but tensions increased when he contracted an illness shortly after he returned from being questioned at Plymouth and died in early 1662. His death raised suspicions among the Wampanoags. Wamsutta's brother Metacom assumed the role of sachem, and on August 6, 1662, agreed on a pact with Plymouth. The Wampanoags accepted that they were the subjects of the English Crown, and Metacom promised not to break any treaty signed by his predecessors. He also agreed that he would not sell land to "strangers," English settlers deemed unacceptable to the colony, nor would he provoke a war with neighboring native tribes. In return, the colony promised that all settlers would treat the natives as friends and would advise and aid them, presumably militarily. Metacom thought the document was binding for seven years, but he could not read, and in actuality the written document he signed established the terms in perpetuity.

For nearly a decade, Metacom maneuvered to maintain his power and ensure his people's welfare as the English population—and their power—steadily expanded. Wampanoag lands bordered Plymouth Colony, Rhode Island, and the Massachusetts Bay settlement.

Metacom sold tracts of land to various colonists in an attempt to maintain his influence in the politically charged arena, but subsequent conflicts over colonial borders were rarely settled to Metacom's satisfaction. Indeed, colonial courts were biased and unwilling to rule in favor of the Native Americans. The Wampanoags were also angered by colonial efforts to shape native politics, and additional tensions arose as English livestock wandered into Wampanoag fields, destroying crops.

In 1667, the conflict between the Wampanoags and English settlers became more acute when to establish the town of Swansea, Plymouth violated the agreement with Metacom and authorized the purchase of Wampanoag land that was also claimed by Rhode Island. Believing that his earlier agreement with Plymouth had expired, Metacom had begun selling the same land to Rhode Island colonists.

War parties appeared on the outskirts of Swansea in attempts to intimidate the colonists. Plymouth demanded a meeting with Metacom in 1671 and compelled him to surrender his firearms and sign a treaty that bound him to Plymouth's authority, challenging any previous land sales to other colonies. The colony also insisted on a literal interpretation of the treaty, whereby all Wampanoag guns were to be confiscated. Metacom had assumed that only the guns he and his men carried to the signing were to be surrendered. Metacom refused the colony's interpretation, and Plymouth then announced that it would confiscate the guns surrendered and ordered the Wampanoags' allies to disarm as well. Metacom sought assistance from Massachusetts Bay, but found himself confronted by a joint commission from the Bay Colony, Plymouth, and Connecticut, all insisting on strict enforcement of the treaty.



Undated illustration showing Wampanoag sachem Metacom, also known as King Philip, the leading figure of King Philip's War of 1675–1676. (Library of Congrerss)

There is evidence that, at about this time, Metacom sought the backing of other native leaders and peoples, such as the Nipmucks, who felt pressure from the colonists. Metacom also appears to have tried to establish an alliance with the Narragansetts, who were old enemies but the most powerful tribe in the region. Rumors of his efforts reached colonial authorities, and conflict ignited with the death of John Sassamon, one of Plymouth's native informers, on January 29, 1675. Shortly before his death, Sassamon had warned Plymouth officials of Metacom's plans.

The circumstances of Sassamon's death remain unclear. At first, little attention was paid to his death, which may have been accidental, but Plymouth officials became convinced that the Wampanoags had murdered him. By questionable process, the three Wampanoags accused in Sassamon's death were tried in an English court, found guilty, and hanged. But the jury could not determine if Philip had known about or ordered the murder.

In June 1675, a band of Pokanokets again appeared at Swansea, rifling through several abandoned homes and slaying livestock. After the death of one of the Pokanokets, retaliation on the part of both natives and colonists led to the Native American siege and destruction of Swansea. A full-scale native uprising ensued, seemingly sparked more by the rage of the Wampanoags than any plan. Metacom was besieged at his home at Mount Hope (Bristol, Rhode Island) but managed to escape and join with Nipmuck and Podunk allies to attack and burn English settlements west and south of Boston.

King Philip's War had begun. The New England Confederation officially declared war on September 9, 1675. Various Native American groups from the Connecticut River Valley and the Narragansetts joined the uprising after being attacked by English forces, but Metacom was not in formal command. He had left New England in December to seek support from the Mahicans in the upper Hudson River Valley.

As attacks by colonial forces and their native allies became more effective, disease and hunger also took their toll on Metacom's allies. In the spring of 1676, the informal Native American alliance began to disintegrate as many moved north and west to escape the fighting or made peace with the colonies. In June, Mohawks allied with colonial New York attacked Metacom and his forces, killing all but 40 of them and forcing Metacom to return to Massachusetts.

On August 12, 1676, colonial forces surrounded Metacom and his remaining force. That day he was shot and killed just outside Mount Hope by a native serving with colonial forces. Metacom's head was cut off, and his body drawn and quartered and the pieces sent to the colonial capitals. His head was displayed at the fort at Plymouth for the next 25 years. Metacom's uprising decimated the native population of southern New England, and his death marked the end of native independence in the region. The Narragansetts, the Wampanoags, the Podunks, the Nipmucks, and several smaller bands were virtually eliminated, leaving Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island fully open to the spread of European colonization.

Anna Kiefer

See also

King Philip's War; Massachusetts; Massasoit; Narragansetts; New England Confederation; Plymouth; Praying Towns and Praying Indians; Rhode Island; Wampanoags; Wamsutta (Alexander)

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Miantonomo

Born: Unknown Died: 1643

Key Narragansett leader who played a pivotal role in the history of early New England. Miantonomo (also spelled Miantonomi) presided over the Narragansetts with his uncle Canonicus. There is almost nothing known about the circumstances of Miantonomo's birth and his early years, but he was most likely born in modernday Rhode Island or eastern Connecticut.

The Narragansetts had allied themselves with Rhode Island, a colony that dissented from the Puritan orthodoxy of neighboring Connecticut and Massachusetts. Numerically inferior to the other New England colonies, Rhode Island did not enjoy the support of its sister colonies. However, it did back Massachusetts and Plymouth during the Pequot War (1636–1638) and sought assistance from their Narragansett allies and Miantonomo.

Miantonomo gave advice and military assistance to the English during the conflict. However, he repeatedly admonished them for



Miantonomo, Native American sachem of the Narragansetts, shown after his capture by Uncas, July 1643. Wood engraving, American, 19th century. (The Granger Collection)

their mode of warfare, complaining that they killed too many men and did not take enough prisoners. The Narragansetts saw warfare as a way to intimidate and extract tribute from their enemies, and as a means to acquire captives. For them, warfare was not principally about killing and destruction.

After the war, however, Miantonomo realized that native peoples had to band together to counter the English expansionist tendencies. He argued that rather than thinking of themselves as Narragansetts or as Mohegans, the native peoples had to formulate a common identity. Miantonomo employed imagery of a peaceful, precontact New England in his efforts to convince the natives to band together. Instinctively, New England governments became alarmed when they learned about Miantonomo's pannative activities.

In the 1638 Hartford Treaty, which ended the Pequot War, Miantonomo was granted hunting territory on former Pequot lands. The agreement had also stipulated that the Narragansetts and the Mohegans refrain from fighting. However, the Mohegans under Uncas routinely attacked Narragansett hunters. In accordance with the treaty, Miantonomo informed Massachusetts Bay Colony of his

intent to punish the Mohegans. Given some armor by a colonist, Miantonomo was weighed down and easily captured by the Mohegans during a battle in 1642. While a prisoner, Miantonomo and Uncas discussed the possibility of joining forces. But in the end, Uncas turned Miantonomo over to the Connecticut authorities.

Connecticut officials, however, were not quite sure what to do with the sachem. On the one hand, they wanted to be rid of Miantonomo, regarding him as a troublemaker. Yet at the same time, they did not want his blood on their hands. They handed Miantonomo back over to Uncas. In 1643, with colonial representatives in attendance, Uncas's brother slew Miantonomo, the first Native American to propose a pan-native movement.

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See also

Massachusetts; Mohegans; Narragansetts; Pequot War; Rhode Island; Uncas

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Micmacs

An Algonquian-speaking Native American tribe centered in the Gaspé Peninsula, which they called Mi'kma'ki, situated on the eastern tip of the modern-day province of Quebec and immediately to the north of New Brunswick. The Micmacs (Mi'kmaq) at one point commanded a territory that extended to areas of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, the north shore of New Brunswick to the St. John's River, parts of Quebec, eastern Maine, part of Newfoundland, and the islands in the St. Lawrence River. The Micmacs were members of the Wabanaki Confederacy, which was a loose alliance of the Maliseets, the Eastern and Western Abenakis, the Penobscots, and the Passamaquoddys. The area inhabited by this confederacy included much of eastern Canada and northern New England.

The Micmacs may have been the original settlers in the area, arriving not long after the end of the last Ice Age. Since prehistoric times, they lived by hunting and gathering in seasonal movements to available food supplies. Later on, they augmented hunting and gathering by cultivating seasonal crops, although their northern locale made it difficult to pursue agriculture in a significant way. Micmacs worshiped the so-called Great Spirit and passed down numerous religious legends. Many were about a super being named Glooscap, the maker of much of the Micmacs' surrounding landscape.

When the Micmacs first encountered European fishermen (Spanish, Portuguese, and French) in the early 1500s, they did not experience a devastating shock as did many other tribes. For a long time they had held that a spiritual being friendly to the Micmacs had crossed the Atlantic to discover a blue-eyed people. The legend also

said that these new people would one day come from the East to disrupt their lives. Some believe that the legend may have sprung from visits by the Vikings around the year 1000. Despite their friendship with the Europeans, the Micmacs were devastated by European diseases, which reduced their numbers from approximately 20,000 before contact to 4,000 or so by 1620.

The Micmacs sought to trade with the Europeans. They also tried to employ European technologies, especially in weaponry. When the French explorer Jacques Cartier visited Canada in 1534, he initiated Franco-Micmac trading relations. In 1603, Samuel de Champlain also visited the area, and in 1610 Chief Membertou converted to Roman Catholicism. Eventually, French Jesuit missionaries converted most of the Micmacs to that faith.

In 1710, the British captured Port Royal, the center of French Acadia, in an action during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713). The British renamed the town Annapolis Royal. In 1745, during King George's War (1744–1748), the French, based at Louisbourg, tried to retake Port Royal. With the help of French settlers, Micmacs, and the Malisect tribe, they attacked the British garrison. However, coordination between the French forces, who were led by inexperienced commanders, was poor. The resultant piecemeal siege proved unsuccessful. The British expulsion of the French inhabitants from Acadia in the 1750s devastated the Micmacs, who by then had developed tight bonds with the French to include significant intermarriage. The Micmacs fought back by launching repeated raids against British interests in the area.

In the late 1700s, after the French had been expelled from Canada, the Micmacs signed a number of treaties with the British. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 is still the fundamental law between the Micmacs and the Canadian government. During the American War of Independence, the Micmacs sided with the Patriots, mainly because they mistakenly believed that a British defeat would bring back the French. In 1794, the Micmacs signed the Jay Treaty, allowing them to cross the American-Canadian border freely. Most surviving Micmacs live in the Canadian Maritimes, although extensive intermarriage with the French has made it difficult to determine their numbers.

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See also

Abenakis; Acadia; Acadia Expulsion; King George's War, Land Campaigns; Port Royal (Nova Scotia); Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns

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Middle Plantation, Treaty of

See Virginia-Indian Treaty (1677/1680)

Military and Naval Medicine

Because virtually all naval and military forces operating in colonial North America were of western European origin, their medical care closely mirrored the practices in their home countries. The 18th century was, in fact, the first time that military medicine became a governmental responsibility, a change that can be traced to England in 1660, when King Charles II (1660–1685) created a professional corps of military surgeons. As with their counterparts in the regimental officer corps, military surgeons purchased their commissions, and many functioned both as doctors and as warriors, holding rank in both capacities and collecting salaries in each. A standing army also necessitated screening recruits and housing, feeding, and dressing them in a manner that would promote their health, and all of those responsibilities fell to a lesser or greater extent on the military surgeons.

Professional training in an era when surgeons were separate from and inferior to physicians was a recurring problem. Through much of the 17th century, the Prussian Army drew almost all its medical corps from field barbers, or *feldschurs*, a practice that finally changed during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), when King Frederick II (the Great, 1740–1786) solicited the help of the French. In the first half of the 18th century, the only place in Europe where surgery was being formally taught was Paris, and the Prussian king approached French military surgeon Louis Petit in 1744 asking for trained surgeons to help educate his military medical corps. His new Prussian physicians established field dressing stations near the front, as well as intermediate level field hospitals and rear area facilities for those with the most severe wounds. They also generally improved transport and care of those wounded in battle.

The Prussians and Austrians eventually established their own schools of military medicine and even published periodicals devoted to military medicine. They promulgated printed regulations for camp sanitation and administration of military hospitals. France had already done much the same under King Louis XIV (1643–1715), who ordered that his army have a regular medical staff chosen by examination and who built military hospitals in 51 French cities where the surgeons were annually required to take and pass courses in anatomy.

The British were slower to change, although by the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713) the Duke of Marlborough had issued regulations dealing with health and sanitation for his armies and by the Battle of Blenheim (1704) he had placed collecting stations for the wounded just out of musket range of the front lines. British articles of war mandated that one day's pay a year be withheld from a soldier's wages to pay for military hospitals and that any spoils taken after a battle be set aside for maintenance of the sick and wounded.

In 1752, Sir John Pringle published his *Observations on Diseases of the Army*, which contained rules for sanitation and ventilation of military hospitals and took the radical point of view that cleanliness decreased the rate of hospital-acquired infections. Prior to Pringle's reforms, military hospitals were crowded, poorly ventilated, and filthy. They were, in fact, major sources of infection and death. Typhus, or "jail fever," was recognized as identical to the "hospital fever" that plagued military facilities.

Shortly after the publication of Pringle's book, James Lind's *Hygiene of the Sailors* (1757), Baron von Swieten's *Camp Diseases* (1758), and Richard Brocklesby's *Observations on Military Hospitals* (1764) offered major improvements in military medical care in a time when soldiers and sailors were fed diets almost entirely lacking fruits and vegetables, when water was often drawn from contaminated streams next to open latrines, and when wool uniforms sold to the troops by their officers regularly led to death from heat stroke during summer marches.

By the 18th century, the musket had become the primary weapon of set-piece battles and Frederick the Great had perfected the use of close-range, coordinated volleys in which opposing forces lined up 200 yards apart and whichever side could load and fire the fastest was likely to win. Since the bulk of training in military surgery was still obtained on the battlefield, treatment of gunshot wounds assumed primary importance during that century. John Hunter, the preeminent English surgeon of the 1700s, obtained much of his experience serving with British forces in the Belle Isle invasion and the Portuguese campaign and returned to write his landmark *Observations on Gunshot Wounds* (1794).

There was still a general belief that gunpowder was, of itself, poisonous and that musket wounds should be cauterized with hot oil and dressed with a variety of salves. The ointments were often the surgeon's closely guarded secret and were never sterile. Wounds

Common Diseases during the Colonial Era

Disease	Cause	Transmission	Symptoms
Dysentery	Bacteria/amoeba	Contaminated food or water	Bloody diarrhea, abdominal pain, blood poisoning, kidney failure
Malaria	Protozoa	Mosquitoes	Fever, chills, joint pain, anemia, kidney failure, coma
Scurvy	Vitamin C deficiency	Lack of citrus fruit	Liver spots, spongy gums, bleeding from mucus membranes
Smallpox	Virus	Person-to-person	Fever, vomiting, rash, pustules
Typhus	Bacteria	Fleas, mites, and lice	Fever, chills, muscle pain, rash, delirium, bleeding into the skin, kidney failure
Typhoid	Bacteria	Contaminated food or water	Fever, chills, weakness, muscle pain, diarrhea, intestinal hemorrhage
Yellow fever	Virus	Mosquitoes	Fever, muscle ache, vomiting, jaundice, kidney failure

were usually probed with unsterile instruments in an effort to extract any foreign material and were then washed with antiseptics such as mercury based corrosive sublimate, chalk, camphor, myrrh, or hot turpentine. They were then typically packed with charpie (unraveled linen cloth) soaked in wine or brandy. Needless to say, infection was the rule rather than the exception and was so common that production of "laudable pus" was viewed as an essential phase of healing.

The most common operation performed by military surgeons in the 18th century was amputation. It was a routine remedy for not only gangrene but also serious trauma that defied easy repair, injuries to major vessels, and open fractures or penetration of a joint.

Naval medicine was, like its land-based counterpart, a combination of health maintenance composed mostly of sanitary and dietary considerations and wound surgery. Although James Lind had demonstrated in 1747 that scurvy could be prevented by regular intake of citrus juice, the disease remained the plague of sailing ships because the Royal Navy did not mandate citrus supplements until 1793. Diseases such as typhus, smallpox, yellow fever, and dysentery were fostered by close quarters, poor hygiene, unsanitary food and water, and visits to areas where infectious agents were endemic. Ships were notoriously dangerous places in which to work, with injuries quite common as a result of falls from rigging and blows from heavy tackle. Drowning was a frequent problem, which was compounded by the fact that a majority of seaman could not swim.

The sick and wounded were typically housed in the forward area of the ships' gun decks. That deck was divided by the vessel's ribs into bays. Those bays in the main part of the ship contained guns, whereas those in the bow, where hammocks were hung for the patients, came to be known as "sick bays." During battle, the ship's surgeon set up shop below the water line, where he and his patients were less likely to be struck by cannon balls. Surgery was performed on chests laid side by side in the cable tier or orlop deck beside barrels for wash water and for collecting amputated body parts. Ships' boys, called "loblolly boys" after the porridge they delivered, were responsible for feeding and washing the sick and injured and for mopping the blood that accumulated around surgeries.

Because they shared in prize money, victories at sea might enable ships' doctors to become relatively prosperous. In addition, many naval surgeons, such as Carl Linnaeus, Sir James Hooker, and, later, Charles Darwin, doubled as amateur naturalists.

Physicians and surgeons were among the first colonists in both Massachusetts and Virginia. John Winthrop brought a barber surgeon to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1645, but the man left after three years, complaining he was unable to make a living. Jamestown had a surgeon general (Thomas Wooten) in 1607, and two doctors, Walter Russell and Anthony Bagnall, served with John Smith in 1608. Wooten treated Smith for an injury and a local Indian for a gunshot wound that year, but both returned to England in 1609 so that when Smith was injured by exploding gunpowder, he had to return to London for treatment.

Samuel Fuller came to Plymouth on the *Mayflower* as surgeon to the colony, although he probably lacked a medical degree. In one of the few instances when Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay Colony cooperated, Fuller helped treat an outbreak of scurvy in Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina). Fuller died of fever in 1633. In 1636, Plymouth Colony did pass a law requiring that veterans injured in Indian wars be supported for life. Virginia and Rhode Island followed with provisions for lifetime half pay for disabled soldiers.

Still, for much of the 17th century, American colonists were forced to rely on their own resources, on ministers doubling as medical practitioners, or on doctors from passing ships for the majority of their care. As late as 1775 and the coming of the American Revolutionary War, there was still a dearth of trained physicians and surgeons in the colonies. On May 8 of that year, the Provincial Congress of the Massachusetts Bay Colony authorized a committee of physicians to examine the qualifications of potential military surgeons. What they found was primarily a collection of men trained by apprenticeship with little more than knowledge gained by practice. Although the Continental Army medical corps was formalized after the Battle of Bunker Hill in 1775, medical care in the colonies remained well below European military medical standards throughout the war.

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See also

Sickness and Mortality in Colonial America

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Militias

Militias, or organizations of citizen soldiers, formed the principal military force in North America during most of the colonial period. The systems that evolved in the French and English colonies were very much the same in that, with few soldiers available, for the most part the colonists themselves had to look after their own defense. As the colonies were founded, most established similar compulsory militia systems, although the militias varied in exact requirements and composition from colony to colony.

In New France, a militia (*milice*) was organized in Trois-Rivières in 1651, and another, the Milice de la Sainte-Famille, came into being at Montreal in 1663. These early militia formations were ad hoc, localized, and short-lived organizations. To compensate for the departure from New France of the French Army's Régiment de

Carignan-Salières, King Louis XIV ordered in 1669 that the adult French Canadian male population be formed into a formal militia. The organization devised by the French governors during the early 1670s continued with few structural modifications until the very end of New France.

In theory, every able-bodied man aged 16 to 60 in New France was expected to serve in the militia, but as in the English colonies, certain groups were excluded, among them the clergy, the nobility, and civil servants.

The governor general of New France commanded the militia. Colonels, majors, and *aide-majors* (adjutants) were all appointed by the government and drawn from among the bourgeoisie. In rural areas, militia companies generally corresponded to parishes and were commanded by captains, assisted by lieutenants and sergeants. Company officers were drawn from among local notables and during peacetime were part of the civil administration. In Quebec, Montreal, and Trois-Rivières, the companies roughly corresponded to the various administrative wards. As these cities developed their own civil and judicial administration, the functions exercised by the urban militia officers became strictly military. Government guidelines required that each company undergo periodic drill, but there is little evidence that this was followed in practice.

Throughout the colonial period, the administrators of New France stated emphatically that the militia formed the colony's primary military force. Because of the small French population, the militia of New France was correspondingly small. On paper that of Canada numbered approximately 2,250 men in 1683, 4,000 in the first decade of the 18th century, some 8,000 during the 1740s, and between 10,000 and 12,000 during the 1750s. Only a fraction of that number could actually be deployed at any time, however, without crippling the economy and logistic support of operations. Because of New France's continued reliance on Native American warriors, relatively few militiamen ever became expert woodlands guerrilla fighters. During the field battles of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), notably on the fateful Plains of Abraham at Quebec, militia were also shown to be extremely poor conventional combatants.

In the colonies of Acadia, Île Royale, and Louisiana, the militia establishment was even smaller and far less significant militarily than in Canada, owing to the smaller French population. It also appears that in these locations, militia officers never held civilian administrative posts.

In the English colonies, the militia tradition rested on a precedent that reached back before the Norman conquest. England, an island nation, counted on its navy rather than a standing army to provide defense against attack. This lack of a strong standing ground force had a pronounced impact on the development of English, hence American, political institutions. Unable to rely on a military establishment to enforce their will, England's kings had to rule with the rough consent of the governed. Indeed, the English people came to view a standing army as a threat to liberty, particularly given the mid-17th-century military dictatorship of Oliver

Cromwell. The Bill of Rights imposed by Parliament on William and Mary in 1689 after the Glorious Revolution prohibited standing armies in the realm in time of peace.

In England, all freemen between the ages of 16 and 60 were required to bear arms in defense of their country in the event of foreign invasion. The professional British Army, even in modern times, remained small and was accepted only grudgingly by the English people. The Royal Navy was another matter altogether. It was regarded as essential to national defense.

In English America, a militia system suited colonial needs not only because it seemed logical but because the colonials had the traditional fear of a strong standing army as an instrument of tyranny. One of the articles critical of King George III in the 1776 Declaration of Independence accused the crown of keeping "among us in times of peace" standing armies without the consent of the colonial legislatures.

British, French, and Spanish colonists in North America more often than not found themselves largely left to their own devices as far as defense was concerned. The European governments generally provided some weapons and munitions and limited naval protection. Only occasionally did the mother country send out large contingents of regular troops, and then only at the end of the colonial struggle.

Because of the threat of Native American attack, militias were established early in the colonies. In 1632, the Virginia Assembly instructed every man fit to carry a firearm to bring it to church so he might drill with it after services. The heart of the militia system was the militia company. In northern colonies, militia companies were organized by town or groups of neighboring towns. In the south, with its widely scattered plantations, militia companies were organized on the county level.

Approximately 60 men made up a company. Militia companies trained together and could, in theory, fight together, but rarely did so. Whenever an offensive expedition was needed, men from different militia units were drafted into composite companies for the attack, thus leaving a defensive force in place in each town. Militiamen also served on local watches, especially in times of war or unrest. Some of the colonial militia systems in the lower South, especially in South Carolina, with its massive imbalance of enslaved Africans to free whites, were occupied more as slave patrols than units of military defense.

Militiamen were almost exclusively infantry. Initially, two-thirds were armed with muskets and one-third with the pike. The latter weapon was of little use in forest warfare and by the end of the 17th century had largely disappeared from the North American battlefield.

Massachusetts was the first to establish militia cavalry units, known as troops, in 1652. Virginia did so in 1661. Cavalry forces, because of the heightened cost of upkeep on equipment and horses, often limited their membership to men of a certain status or income. Such cavalry troops were employed chiefly in reconnaissance and communication duties.

Most colonies required compulsory militia service. With the exception of certain civil servants, apprentices and indentured servants, and ministers, all able-bodied males between certain specified

ages, usually 16 and 60, would be enrolled in the local militia. Every colony had a compulsory training law, except Quaker-influenced Pennsylvania, which nevertheless had a voluntary militia. Most colonies specifically excluded African Americans from militia service, but some only excluded slaves.

Individuals reporting for militia duty had to provide their own equipment, ammunition, clothing, and provisions. In colonial times, weapons were considered essential to protect against hostile Native Americans and to shoot game for food. Still the maintenance of weapons and necessary equipment could be a considerable expense and apparently, at least in the more established urban areas late in the colonial period, there was frequent borrowing of equipment at inspection time.

Militias were required to assemble whenever there was an emergency. Training included weapons' inspection, practice firing, and moving as a unit. In the early days of settlement, when fears of native attack ran high, militiamen trained more frequently. Massachusetts forces trained every Saturday in the early days of the colony. This was a burden on the men, who were busy establishing farms, and training days were cut back as soon as the threat of native attack eased. In most colonies, especially as time passed, militia training days, which dwindled to eight days a year or even fewer, became little more than community social gatherings, with the men firing a round or two before adjourning to the local tavern. This wreaked havoc on military preparedness.

On occasion, militia companies trained with other units, but only rarely as combined arms, since there were few cavalry companies and even fewer artillery units. Generally speaking, in the course of the 18th century, militias became more social than military organizations.

Civilian control of the military was a deeply embedded tradition in the English colonies. The Virginia Bill of Rights minced no words on this matter, stating that "in all cases the military shall be under strict subordination to, and governed by, the civil power." The colonial assembly exercised control, although in practice it delegated this authority to the governor, whose commission in royal colonies made him commander in chief of his province's military forces. Traditionally, he appointed the colonels who commanded the colony's military districts. In the northeastern English colonies, company grade officers were elected by the men, a practice inherited from the English that nonetheless tended to select the natural leaders. In the rest of the colonies the colonial governors appointed the company officers. Generally speaking, most officers came from the upper classes. Company officers appointed the noncommissioned officers of sergeants and corporals.

There were no logistics services or permanent staff officers. Militiamen were expected to provide their own supplies for the campaign, which against the Native Americans were usually only a matter of several days. If operations were longer, the colonial legislature would take over this function.

Some colonies had elaborate militia command structures. Massachusetts became the first English government to establish regu-

lar, permanent regiments in 1636, and Virginia instituted an extensive system of military districts.

In an emergency, individuals might be impressed, levied, or drafted in their militia companies for active service. In most cases, however, one could secure exemption from this by a fine or providing a substitute. In colonial wars the militia would be paid and supplied, often armed and clothed, by the governments.

As the English government and especially the British Army became more involved in fighting in America in the 1740s and 1750s, the colonial militia slowly evolved into a ready reserve force. Large, volunteer provincial armies made up of marginal men and young men looking for adventure, cash, and freedom from their families were raised to accompany British offensive expeditions against French Canada, instead of producing composite companies out of the militia itself. It was from these individuals, usually the dregs of colonial society, that the British gained their low opinion of colonials as poor fighting men. By the end of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the militia had become, at least in the older, settled colonies, a community association with minimal emphasis on military matters. Instead, it was an institution that granted social status, but which did not instill any confidence in its military prowess.

Militarily, colonial militias remained an indifferent lot with a decidedly mixed combat record. They often responded slowly in a crisis and colonial authorities learned early on that they were ineffective in being able to prevent surprise attacks by Native American forces. Governments learned that the natives would very likely get in the first blows and that the militia was best used in counterattacks, especially to destroy native settlements and their means of livelihood. Militia forces adopted native tactics—the so-called skulking way of war—and proved remarkably successful in mounting their own hit-and-run attacks on native villages. French and English militia units generally fought fiercely and well against one another. There are, however, many examples of militia units being destroyed through lack of awareness, overconfidence, poor training, or simple poor leadership.

Although the militia was useful for certain roles during the American Revolutionary War, it could not stand up to regular units in pitched battle. Continental Army commander General George Washington dismissed the militia as a "destructive, expensive, and disorderly mob" and after the war pleaded for a standing army as alone able to fight a "modern war." His call went unanswered, and militias continued to be the principal military defense of the United States well after the War of 1812. Indeed, the Second Amendment of the U.S. Constitution was adopted to ensure a ready supply of weaponry for military service: "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed." The tug and pull between a citizen militia and regular army continued as a major theme in U.S. military history.

SPENCER C. TUCKER AND JEAN-FRANÇOIS LOZIER

See also

Cavalry and Cavalry Tactics; Committee of Militia (Massachusetts Bay); France, Army; Great Britain, Army; Impressment, Army; Infantry Tactics; Muskets; Skulking Way of War

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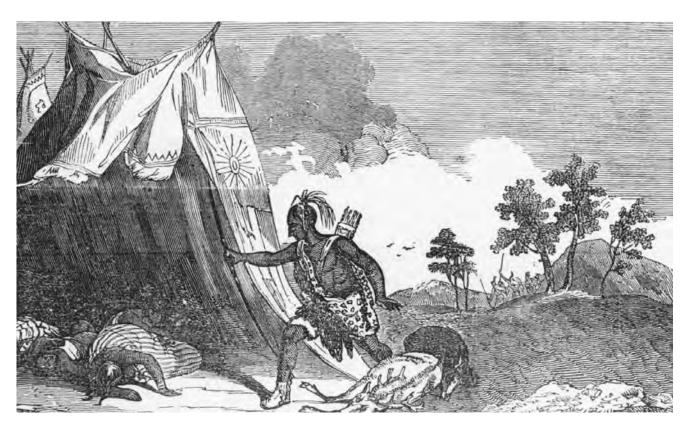
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Mingos

Native American nation originally inhabiting a broad area of what is now New York State who then settled in present-day Ohio and western Pennsylvania. The Mingos were often a participant in the imperial conflicts of the 18th century. They unsuccessfully jockeyed for advantage amid competing French, British, and colonial interests in North America.

Their name derived from *mingwe*, an Algonquian term meaning "stealthy" or "treacherous," but the Mingos were less a distinct tribe than a multicultural grouping. Included among them were refugees from the Seneca, Wyandot, Shawnee, Conestoga, and Delaware tribes. By 1740 they were inhabiting western Pennsylvania, part of the Great Lakes region that the French called the Pays d'en Haut, or "upper country." In this borderland between colonial empires, otherwise minor tribes loosely allied themselves with one another for mutual strength. They shared an identity and sense of mission separate from that of their powerful neighbors in the Iroquois Confederation.

By 1750 the Mingos, the Delawares, and the Shawnees of the upper Ohio River Valley arranged an alliance known as the Covenant Chain. According to diplomatic agreements, the Mingos were regarded as "brothers" of the British and "nephews" of the Iroquois Six Nations because the latter had been granted the role of spokesman for other tribes aligned with the Crown. But in 1751 the bonds of the Covenant Chain were threatened as the Ohio Company of Virginia established a presence in the region to challenge claims by the French and the Native Americans. A series of events then began that would spark the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia sent Major George Washington



Undated illustration showing Mingo chief John Logan finding his family murdered by English settlers led by Michael Cresap and Dan Grealborne in 1774, which helped trigger Lord Dunmore's War. (Library of Congress)

into the disputed area in 1753. Dinwiddie assigned Washington the unfamiliar role of emissary to deter the French from expanding their operations. Although the Mingos would generally support the French in the forthcoming conflict, a sachem (chief) known as Tanaghrisson, or Half-King, acted independently to assist Washington. Guided by Mingo warriors, the British surprised the French at Jumonville's Glen in 1754 and, though it is uncertain who initiated combat, defeated them.

The Mingos massacred wounded prisoners and Washington placed his troops in front of the remaining French soldiers to guarantee their safety. Tanaghrisson, desperate to assert himself as a figure worthy of British support, executed the French commander only to die shortly thereafter from what some attributed to "French witchcraft." The conclusion of the war forced the Mingos to migrate westward into Ohio.

In 1768, the Mingos rejected the Treaty of Fort Stanwix whereby the Iroquois relinquished much of Ohio to the British. The result was Lord Dunmore's War (1774), in which colonists bested the Mingos and the Shawnees. The Mingos also joined the British in battling Patriot forces during the American Revolutionary War. The triumph of the fledgling United States forced the Mingos from the Ohio Country altogether.

JEFFREY D. BASS

See also

Covenant Chain; Delaware; Dinwiddie, Robert; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Jumonville's Glen, Action at; Lord Dunmore's War; Ohio Company; Senecas; Shawnees; Tanaghrisson (Half-King); Washington, George

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Minuit, Peter

Born: 1580 Died: 1638

Director general of New Netherland, 1626–1633. Peter Minuit was born in Wesel, Duchy of Cleves, in present-day Germany in 1580. His Protestant family had emigrated there to escape religious persecution in the Netherlands, then controlled by Catholic Spain. Named the third director general of New Netherland in December 1625, following the brief terms of Cornelis May and William Verhulst, the enterprising Minuit arrived in New Amsterdam on May 4, 1626.

Three weeks later, on May 24, 1626, Minuit convened various local Native American leaders and purchased Manhattan Island from the natives (perhaps the Camarsees, a Metoac tribe) for goods valued at 60 guilders, reportedly beads, knives, and cloth. A 19th-century writer calculated this to be \$24, a figure that has stuck in



Peter Minuit, the third director general of the Dutch colony of New Netherland, who is perhaps best known for his purchase of Manhattan Island from the Native Americans in 1626. (Library of Congress)

the public imagination. It is highly unlikely, however, that the natives understood that they were ceding all rights to the land in this exchange. In their view, the transaction more likely signified permission to settle there and share the land.

Soon after Minuit's arrival, he oversaw the construction of about 30 small homes, the humble beginnings of what would become New York City. He also oversaw the construction of Fort Amsterdam at the tip of Manhattan.

By late 1626, the colonists had already exported more than 7,000 beaver skins. Minuit was well aware that the tiny new colony would never succeed if it could not attract large numbers of settlers. This was especially true with the English establishing numerous settlements to the northeast. Indeed, the Dutch West India Company wanted an ever greater return from their New World colony. Minuit was permitted to establish the "patroon system," whereby a Dutchman would be given considerable land in New Netherland if he brought 50 settlers with him from Holland.

Despite concerns about the English, Minuit established trade relations with Gov. William Bradford of Plymouth in 1627. No serious skirmishes with local tribes were reported, but when defense against attacking natives became an issue up the Hudson River at Fort Orange (near present-day Albany), Minuit ordered the remaining settlers to withdraw to Fort Amsterdam.

Dismissed from his post in 1632, Minuit was recalled to Holland for an investigation into his use of company funds to build a huge ship, the *New Netherland*. He also had to answer other questions about his administration. Wouter van Twiller replaced him as director general. By the time of Minuit's departure, New Amsterdam had a population of more than 300 people. It had also sent more than 50,000 animal furs back to Europe.

Minuit later returned to America in a new venture. He joined the New Sweden Company in 1637 and arrived in the New World with 50 colonists in March 1638. Minuit helped found New Sweden and oversaw construction of Fort Christina near present-day Wilmington, Delaware. The Dutch saw this settlement as an encroachment on their territory, however. Gov. Willem Kieft of New Netherland sent a letter of protest to Minuit, who was not deterred, however. Later that same year Minuit returned to Sweden for a second group of colonists. He sailed by way of the Caribbean to secure a cargo of tobacco to pay for the voyage but perished there at sea in a hurricane.

See also

Fort Amsterdam (New York); Fort Christina (Delaware); Kieft, Willem; New Netherland; New Sweden

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Missiaguas

See Ojibwas

Mississippi River

The 2,300-mile Mississippi River bisects the center of the North American continent from Minnesota in the north to the Gulf of Mexico in the south. The river's vast drainage area covers the entire midsection of the continent from the Rocky Mountains to the Appalachian Mountains and contains a number of other large rivers, including the Missouri, the Red, the Arkansas, the Ohio, the Tennessee (which flows into the Ohio), and the Yazoo. The Mississippi became a center of French colonial rule in North America. It then became the natural boundary between competing colonial powers after the 1763 Treaty of Paris set it as the boundary between the colonial possessions of Great Britain and Spain.



Father Jacques Marquette and fur trader Louis Jolliet descend the Mississippi River in 1673. (Library of Congress)

The economic importance of the river cannot be overstated. Navigable waterways were, and in many ways still are, the economic lifeline of the region. They were necessary to move large quantities of goods cheaply from the areas of production to the market. Thus, control of the river gave the French control of the vast economic resources of the center of the North American continent, including both fur trading and agriculture.

Perhaps the most important point along this strategic river was New Orleans. Its location, a short distance above the river's mouth at the Gulf of Mexico, made it the central controlling point of economic activity on the river and thus of the center of the continent. The French commandant general of Louisiana, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, established New Orleans in 1718.

Whereas Spanish exploration of the river began in the 16th century, the French staked their claim to the river in the 17th century. In 1519, Alonso Álvarez de Pineda sighted the mouth of the river. And in 1542, Hernando de Soto reached the river. It then became a part of Spain's claim to the Gulf Coast of North America. French explorers Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet traveled down the river looking for a link to the Pacific Ocean, which did not exist. René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, also traveled down the river to its mouth and laid claim to Louisiana for France in 1682. The French claims in the center of North America were based on control of the entire watershed drained by the Mississippi; thus the river was the center of French Louisiana.

The French claim would also be a source of tension among the three major colonial powers. The Spanish were concerned because the French claim meant a gap in the Spanish claim to the entire Gulf Coast. The French and the British eventually came to blows over the issue of control of the Ohio River Valley.

The French and Indian War (1754–1763) between these two major colonial powers ended in a complete British victory. It saw the river become a boundary between the two great remaining colonial empires in North America of Britain and Spain. All the territory east of the Mississippi, excluding New Orleans, became British, and all the territory west of the Mississippi became Spanish. This made the Mississippi an international boundary. Both powers gained the right of navigation on the river. At the conclusion of the American Revolutionary War, the river served as the international boundary between Spanish Louisiana and the newly independent United States. Navigation rights on the river would be a bone of contention between the two counties, however, until the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.

Donald E. Heidenreich Jr.

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; La Salle, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de; Louisiana; New France; New Orleans (Louisiana); Paris, Treaty of; Soto, Hernando de; Spain

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Mog

Born: Unknown Died: May 13, 1677

Abenaki headman responsible for a series of Abenaki victories over New England colonists during King Philip's War (1675–1676). Nothing is known about Mog's birth, youth, or early career. Not even his tribal affiliation can be stated with certainty. Whether he belonged to the Kennebec or Androscoggin Abenaki communities is unclear. Mog's English contemporaries took him to be a Penobscot Abenaki, which was an error.

By July 1676, Mog had become a sachem, or chief, of his people and made his first appearance in the historical record when he attended a meeting of Abenaki sachems with representatives of Massachusetts. Some Abenaki groups had been caught up in King Philip's War, and as a result the colony had embargoed trade with all Abenakis. The assembled sachems offered peace in return for renewed commerce. However, the Massachusetts representatives rebuffed the offer. Angered by such intransigence, the Abenakis as a whole decided to enter the war.

Presumably, Mog led some of the raids that devastated the English settlements in Maine (then part of Massachusetts) in the fall of 1676. He certainly presided over the greatest Abenaki victory of the season when he and his warriors captured the English fort at Black Point on October 12, 1676. Emboldened, he sent word to Boston that he was willing to negotiate for peace. That winter, the Massachusetts Council had him brought to Boston, by ship, for talks. At those talks the council attempted to cajole Mog into signing a treaty conceding Abenaki defeat in the war. It was a concession completely divorced from reality. Nevertheless, Mog signed the treaty, presumably out of fear for his life. He then escaped back to Maine, where he repudiated the agreement.

Mog boasted that, thanks to his visit, he had found the way to burn Boston. He planned to capture English fishing boats and then use them to mount an amphibious assault on the town. To this end, Abenaki warriors began seizing English vessels. However, they found them too cumbersome to use. Given sufficient time, Mog might have found a solution to this difficulty, but his time was about to run out.

The English had retaken Black Point over the winter, and on May 13, 1677, Mog led an expedition to recapture it. During the assault, he was shot and killed. To honor his father's achievements, Mog's son changed his own name to Mog. He would figure prominently in later Abenaki–New England wars.

Andrew Miller

See also

Abenakis; Black Point, Attacks on; King Philip's War; Massachusetts

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Mohawk-Mahican War

Start Date: 1624 End Date: 1628

The Mohawks waged war against the Mahicans during 1624–1628 to help secure Mohawk access to Dutch traders at Fort Orange (present-day Albany, New York). In many respects, the Mohawk-Mahican War can be considered the prototype for the Beaver Wars (Iroquois Wars, 1641–1701). In those conflicts, the Iroquois Confederation waged war against other native peoples in the Great lakes and Ohio Country over access to furs and European trading posts. The Mohawk-Mahican War was the first conflict of the colonial period in which one of the Iroquois Five Nations went to war with the objective of securing trade with a European power.

In 1614, the Dutch established Fort Orange (at first called Fort Nassau) approximately 160 miles north of New Amsterdam, at the confluence of the Mohawk River and the Hudson River. The post gave them access to furs from the north via the Lake Champlain corridor and from the west via the Mohawk River. The fort straddled the territories of two peoples who had maintained an uneasy peace, the Algonquian-speaking Mahicans, whom the Dutch and later the English sometimes called the "River Indians," and the Mohawks, the easternmost nation of the Iroquois Confederation. Both had long fought the other, seeking captives to replace their dead.

With the establishment of Fort Orange, the Dutch unwittingly introduced a new element to the conflict. Native peoples quickly realized the advantages of European trade goods. Metal implements were sharper and more durable than stone tools, and woolen cloth was warmer and dried more quickly than leather. Soon the natives became increasingly dependent on European goods. They also realized that it was to their advantage not only to possess metal tools and weapons, but also to deny them to their enemies. This seems to have been the chief motivation behind Mohawk attacks on the Mahicans. If the Mohawks could displace the Mahicans and drive them away from the vicinity of Fort Orange, the Dutch would be forced to trade exclusively with them.

Outnumbered by the natives in the vicinity, dependent on them as trading partners, and not wanting any part of the fighting, at the start of the conflict most of the Dutch departed Fort Orange for New Amsterdam. For the most part, the Dutch who remained at Fort Orange wanted the Mahicans to win the war, which had begun in 1624. But they stood by as the conflict raged, more concerned about the effects the war had on trade than anything else.

In 1626, the Dutch entered the fray. Seven Dutchmen from Fort Orange actively sided with the Mahicans, joining them in a war party against the Mohawks. Despite the presence of Dutch soldiers with firearms, the Mohawks, who were armed only with bows and arrows, successfully ambushed them and their Mahican allies. The Mohawks killed four of the Dutchmen. To set an example, the Mohawks allegedly immediately roasted one of the dead men and devoured him in plain sight of the survivors.

Realizing the disastrous effect that this incident could have on trade, the Dutch West India Company moved swiftly to repair relations with the Mohawks. A few days after the incident, Dutch trader Pieter Barentsz visited the Mohawks and apologized for the raid. Peter Minuit, the new director of New Amsterdam, also visited the Mohawks. Within a few days, he had appointed a new representative to Fort Orange who was well acquainted with the Mohawk language.

For their part, the Mohawks expressed surprise that the Dutch had meddled in the conflict. They too offered apologies, stating that had the Dutchmen not interfered, there would have been no bloodshed. Following this incident, the Dutch West India Company adopted a policy of strict noninterference with the Five Nations.

The conflict ended sometime in late 1628, with the Mohawks haven driven most of the Mahicans east and south. Many of the Mahicans relocated to the Connecticut River Valley. Still others were captured and adopted into Iroquois clans.

The Mohawk-Mahican War is important in that it was the first conflict fought between native peoples for primarily commercial motives. Both sides were trying to secure their trade with the Dutch at Fort Orange at the expense of the other. The war also may have served as a template for the later Iroquois Wars against the Hurons and other natives in their quest to gain control of the beaver pelt trade.

ROGER M. CARPENTER

See also

Fort Orange (New York); Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Mahican; Minuit, Peter; Mohawks; Mourning War; Native American Trade; Native Warfare; New Netherland

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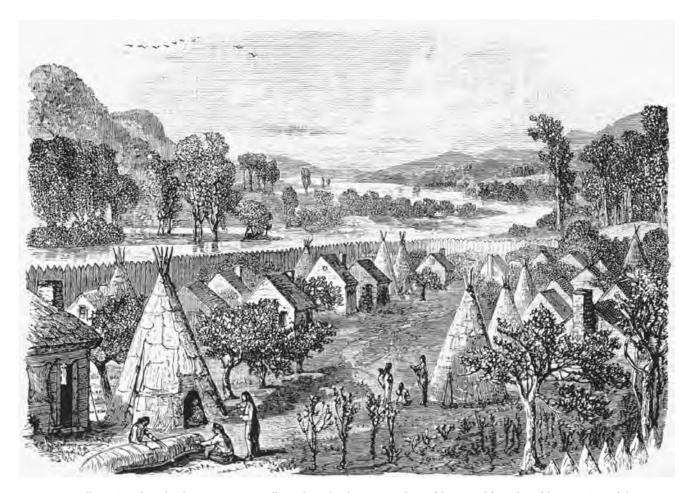
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Mohawks

Native American group, part of the Five (later Six) Nations of the Iroquois, or Iroquois Confederation, whose territory included much of upstate New York. The Mohawks, along with the Senecas, comprised one of the two main fighting wings of the Iroquois Confederation during the colonial period. They participated in wars against the French and their Algonquin allies and served as the principal enforcers of British-Iroquois policy following the creation of the Covenant Chain alliance in the late 1600s.

The Mohawks, or *Ganienkeh* (people of the place of the flint), occupied the Mohawk River region west of Albany in present-day New



Contemporary illustration of a Mohawk Native American village. The Mohawks constituted one of the original five tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy. (North Wind Picture Archives)

York. They guarded the "eastern door" of the Iroquois Confederation, where they became the first Iroquois to encounter European trade goods, which they acquired during raids against their Algonquian neighbors to the north. Soon they discovered Europeans as well.

In July 1609, allied Algonquins from the St. Lawrence River Valley defeated some 200 Mohawks near the southern tip of Lake Champlain. The Algonquins brought along a handful of French soldiers, including Samuel de Champlain, whose firearms helped carry the day. The following year, the Algonquins and French defeated the Mohawks in an even larger battle. Saddled with technological inferiority, the Mohawks, demonstrating the independence of action that characterized membership in the confederation, sought and obtained a trade alliance with the Dutch at Fort Orange (Albany). This agreement brought the firearms they desired.

Armed and aggressive, the Mohawks interjected themselves into the fur trade during the mid-17th century. Handicapped by their limited access to valuable furs and European trade centers, the Mohawks initiated a series of systematic wars, known as the Beaver Wars, to secure direct access to both fur supplies and European traders. Their main targets were the Mahicans, who managed trade with the Dutch at Fort Orange. They also targeted the Hurons, who

controlled western fur resources and blocked Mohawk access to fur supplies in the St. Lawrence Valley and the Great Lakes region. In the 1620s, the Mohawks drove the Mahicans to the east of Fort Orange. They then took control of the fur trade with the Dutch. Conflict between the Mohawks and the Mahicans continued intermittently for the next 50 years, until English authorities brokered a peace deal in 1673. That arrangement formally brought the Mahicans under Iroquois control.

The Hurons fared no better. In the 1640s, the Mohawks and the Senecas invaded Huron territory and, over the next decade, burned Huron towns and villages. They also destroyed their agricultural fields, systematically exterminated entire groups of Hurons, and forcibly assimilated most of the survivors into Iroquois society. By 1653, the Hurons had been eliminated as an independent political entity.

When the English supplanted the Dutch as the colonial masters of New York, the Mohawks effortlessly shifted their trade interests to the newcomers. They became so invested in their new friendship with the English that Mohawk leaders refused to ratify a peace agreement between the Iroquois Confederation and the French. As a result, in 1666 the French twice sent punitive expeditions into Mohawk territory, finally forcing the Mohawks into submission.

Yet the evolving Iroquois-English alliance, known as the Covenant Chain, afforded the Mohawks a means to cast off French influence. As the Iroquois Nation closest to Albany, the Mohawks cultivated an especially close relationship with English traders and officials. The Iroquoian wars of the late 17th century gradually merged with the European wars between the French and the British. And the Mohawks, more than any other Iroquoian people, supported the English against the French. The results, however, did not always favor the Mohawks. During King William's War (1689-1697), the Mohawks suffered heavily at the hands of the French and their native allies. In 1693, in particular, the French destroyed three large Mohawk villages and French-allied warriors took over 300 Mohawks into captivity. The rest of the Five Nations Iroquois suffered similar defeats, until at last the Iroquois Confederation concluded a peace treaty with the French in 1701. In it, they pledged to remain neutral in future disputes between France and England.

Maintaining that neutrality proved difficult for the Mohawks because of their close proximity to the British, whose commerce and culture steadily seeped into Mohawk society. Protestant missionaries were particularly active, winning converts among Mohawk leaders and commoners alike. Not surprisingly, during both Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) and King George's War (1744–1748), Mohawk warriors fought to aid the British cause. Then, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Mohawk military aid to the British intensified even further. This was in no small part due to the influence of Sir William Johnson, the British superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern colonies who maintained a residence among the Mohawks and twice married Mohawk women. Mohawk war parties helped Johnson achieve victory at the Battle of Lake George (1755) and played an important role in the successful campaign against Fort Niagara in 1759.

The Mohawks' close relationships with the British perhaps afforded them greater status than other members of the Iroquois Confederation during the 18th century, but ultimately it proved their undoing. During the American Revolutionary War, the Mohawks refused to abandon their attachment to the British, a stance that helped to transform the struggle for American independence into an Iroquoian civil war that brought about the end of the confederation.

DANIEL P. BARR

See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Beaver Wars; Champlain, Samuel de; Covenant Chain; Dutch-Mohawk Treaty; Fort Orange (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Johnson, Sir William; Lake George, Battle of; Mahican; Mohawk-Mahican War

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Mohegans

Algonquian-speaking Native American tribe that lived along the Thames River in Connecticut. Mohegan territory also extended into Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The life ways of the Mohegans were similar to other northeastern woodland natives. They roamed the forests, lakes, rivers, bays, and the tidal waters of the Atlantic Ocean to hunt and fish. They also planted corn and other vegetables in summer locations. The Mohegans fashioned canoes that were either birch bark covered framed canoes or dugout canoes. The tribe lived in wigwams, which were usually covered with birch bark or hides. The Mohegans also built more permanent rectangular-shaped housing.

The origins of the Mohegan tribe are somewhat obscure. Older scholars thought that they were a branch of the Mahicans (Mohicans), another Algonquian-speaking tribe living in the Hudson River Valley in New York. It was also thought that the Pequots of Massachusetts were a subgroup of the Mohegans. Today, scholars believe that the Mohegans were a subgroup of the Pequot, who separated from them about the time the first English settlers landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620. In 1620, the sachem Sassacus was the chief of the Pequots. Uncas, a subordinate chief, rejected Sassacus's authority and led a splinter group to the Thames River not far from Long Island Sound. The cause of the separation apparently lay in political disagreements among several of their chiefs.

Because the names "Mohegan" and "Mahican" sound very similar, the Mohegans are often confused with the Mahicans. The Mahicans were called Loups ("wolves") by the French, possibly because the word "Mahican" may have derived from *maingan*, meaning "wolf." However, "Mohegan" seems to have come from an Algonquin word meaning "tides." James Fenimore Cooper made the Mahicans famous in his 1826 novel *The Last of the Mohicans*. Adding to the confusion was the fact that Cooper used as a character a "Mohican" who "lived by the sea." Moreover, the names of several other characters seem to have been drawn from the Mohegans. Although they may have been distantly related, the Pequot-Mohegans were a distinctively different group from the Mahicans.

Uncas befriended the English colonists. After the English defeated the Pequots in the Pequot War (1636–1638), the Mohegans became a powerful tribe. After the conflict, they laid claim to Pequot lands as well as their own. In addition, they absorbed many of the remaining Pequots.

The Mohegans aided the colonists in King Philip's War (1675–1676). Metacom (King Philip), the chief of the Wampanoags, had allied with the Nipmucks and the Narragansetts. During the autumn of 1675, Metacom's forces had been quite successful in attacks on English settlements and their forces. However, on December 19,

1675, a combined force of colonial troops from Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and Connecticut joined forces with 150 Mohegan warriors. They proceeded to attack the main Narragansett village in Rhode Island, which was located in a well-defended swampy area. The swamps were already frozen in bitter winter weather, allowing the militia and Mohegan forces, commanded by Plymouth governor Josiah Winslow, to attack the village. In prolonged fighting, the Narragansett village was destroyed. Probably a thousand or more of Metacom's allies were killed, including a great many women and children who were burned to death in their fort. Militia losses were less than two dozen dead.

The Mohegans were constant allies of the English in the wars against the French. However, eventually their numbers were severely reduced by European diseases, especially repeated epidemics of smallpox. Later, British settlers took much of the Mohegans' lands and sold some of them into slavery in the West Indies. By 1775, a surviving group of the Mohegans had joined with a mixed group of Christianized natives who were living at Brotherton, New York. The group was led by Rev. Samson Occom, a Mohegan minister. The group was relocated voluntarily by the federal government to the Stockbridge Reservation in Wisconsin in the 1820s. The Mohegan tribe survived, was formally recognized by the federal government in 1994, and has settled land claims with the state of Connecticut.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Connecticut; Great Swamp Fight; King Philip's War; Metacom; Narragansetts; Nipmucks; Pequot War; Pequots; Sassacus; Uncas; Wampanoags

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Molasses Act

Event Date: May 17, 1733

Tax imposed by Great Britain in 1733 on molasses and sugar imported by the American colonies. The Molasses Act was meant to deal with sugar products from French colonial islands in the Caribbean.

At first, the American colonies imported sugar from other British colonies in the Caribbean, but France imposed an importation ban on sugar from its colonial possessions because of concerns that this could create a rum trade and industry that would compete with brandy produced within France itself. At the same time, French taxes on its planters were lower than those of the British on their growers. As a result, French planters offered their sugar and molasses at prices below those of British planters in order to move the commodity.

Anno fexto

Georgii II. Regis.

An Act for the better fecuring and encouraging the Trade of His Majesty's Sugar Colonies in America.



penerge the Melfare and meaning profession of Pour Pajetly's Sugar Colonies in America are of the greatest Confequence and Importance to the Crave, Navigation, and Strength of this Kingdom: And whereas the Planters of the fall Sugar Colonies have of late Pears fallen under such great Discouragements, that they are unable to

improve or carer on the Sugar Crobe upon an equal Footing with the foreign Sugar Colonies, without fome Advantage and Reiler be given to them from Great Britis: For Remody whereof, and for the Sood and Cleifare of Pour Majeffy's Subjects, me Pour Majeffy's Muhicas, the Communis of Great British and loyal Subjects, the Communis of Great British affects in Parliament, have given and granted unto Pour Majeffy the feveral and respective Rates and Dutles beeted after mentioned, and in such Manaer and Form, as is herein after expressed; and design whose bumbly befreely Pour Majeffy that it may be considered that it may be considered that the same of th

The Molasses Act of May 1733. (Brown Brothers)

American traders were eager to acquire the cheap sugar and molasses in exchange for lumber, beef, and pork. Newfoundland imported the sugar and molasses in exchange for poor-quality fish destined as food for the slaves of the Caribbean. The molasses exported to the American colonies served as an important ingredient in domestically produced rum, the majority of which was consumed at home. Approximately 20 to 25 percent of this rum became part of the triangular trade system and was exchanged for gold, slaves, and ivory from Africa.

As early as 1710, British planters complained about these activities to both the Board of Trade and Parliament. The Board of Trade dodged the issue, but Parliament finally acted on behalf of the planters by passing the Molasses Act on May 17, 1733. The act did not ban the American importation of French sugar or molasses. But it did place a 6 pence per gallon tax on imported molasses. The molasses tax essentially doubled the price of the commodity, which had been selling for approximately 30 percent less than that offered by the British planters. It also added a tax to rum and sugar imported by the American colonies.

New Englanders viewed the tax as a threat to their trade, and they tended to avoid the tax through bribery and smuggling. During the 1730s and 1740s, the British government did little to enforce

the Molasses Act. Consequently, this so-called salutary neglect benefited the colonies. In fact, London actually spent more money on the customs bureaucracy than it received in molasses tax.

The Molasses Act angered the American colonists, who correctly viewed it as a threat to their profitable trade with Africa and the Caribbean. Smuggling, especially by merchants from Massachusetts, reduced the impact of the act on the colonial economy. Nonetheless, Parliament renewed the Molasses Act every five years at the insistence of the British West Indies planters. After the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Parliament replaced the Molasses Act by the more stringently enforced 1764 Sugar Act, which placed a tax on all sugar and molasses regardless of the source and thereby represented a clear attempt to raise revenue rather than regulate trade. This switch from salutary neglect helped to ignite the flame that erupted into the American Revolutionary War.

TERRY MAYS

See also

Iron Act; Mercantilism; Navigation Acts; Smuggling; Sugar Act; Townshend Acts; Triangular Trade

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Monckton, Robert

Born: June 24, 1726 Died: May 21, 1782

British general and governor of New York from 1761 to 1764. Robert Monckton, the son of a peer and member of Parliament, was born on June 24, 1726, in Yorkshire, England. In 1741, he was commissioned in the 3rd Foot Guards. He fought in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and advanced to the rank of lieutenant colonel of the 47th Foot in 1751. That same year Monckton entered Parliament, controlling the family seat of Pontefract. He was appointed to command Fort Lawrence in Nova Scotia in 1752 and became lieutenant governor of Annapolis Royal in 1754.

Monckton became a major figure in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). During the winter of 1754–1755, Monckton began plans for a 2,300-strong expedition against France's Fort Beauséjour and Fort Gaspereau on the Chignecto Isthmus. Taking advantage of surprise and excellent preparation, his larger force quickly overcame minimal French resistance and captured the forts in June 1755. Following the French surrender, Monckton implemented the instructions of Lt. Gov. Charles Lawrence by expelling and deporting the 1,100 Acadians in the area. Appointed lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia in December 1755, Monckton led an expedition against the

French along the St. John's River (in present-day New Brunswick) in 1758. That year, he was promoted to colonel.

In 1759, Monckton was named a brigade commander and second-in-command of the Quebec expedition. During the siege of Quebec, he led the landing at Point Lévis and directed the construction of batteries on the heights opposite the city. He also participated in the Battle of Montmorency Falls. At the end of August, responding to James Wolfe's request for advice, the expedition's three brigadiers—Monckton, George Townshend, and James Murray—suggested a landing above Quebec. Monckton directed the landing at Anse au Foulon and commanded the right of the British line in the Battle of the Plains of Abraham on September 13, 1759. During that battle he was severely wounded by a musket ball through his chest. Nevertheless, Monckton was able to recover sufficiently to assume command at Quebec for a month following the French surrender. During this time, the British consolidated their control over the city and surrounding area. On October 26, Monckton departed for New York to complete his recovery.

After commanding British forces in the southern provinces in 1760, Monckton was promoted to major general in February 1761. He became governor of New York the next month. In 1762, he led a force of 13,000 men to capture the French island of Martinique in a month-long campaign. Monckton returned to England the next year to face a court-martial in 1764 on charges of misconduct during the Martinique campaign but was fully exonerated. Promoted to lieutenant general in 1770, he again served in Parliament for both Pontefract and Portsmouth. Monckton died in London on May 21, 1782.

Bradley P. Tolppanen

See also

Acadia Expulsion; Bay of Fundy Expedition; Fort Beauséjour (Nova Scotia); Fort Gaspereau (Nova Scotia); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Quebec, Battle of; Wolfe, James

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Monongahela, Battle of (1755)

See Braddock's Campaign

Monongahela River

River in modern-day West Virginia and western Pennsylvania. In the mid-18th century, the Monongahela was part of the water route connecting the Atlantic Coast and the Ohio River Valley. It was claimed by the Iroquois, the Cherokees, New France, and the Eng-



Plan of Fort Duquesne, located at the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, on the site of what is now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. (The Granger Collection)

lish colonies of Virginia and Pennsylvania. The river is formed on the Allegheny Plateau near present-day Fairmont, West Virginia, by the junction of the West Fork River and Tygart River. It meanders northward 128 miles until it joins with the Allegheny River to form the Ohio River, at the Forks of the Ohio, in modern-day Pittsburgh. In the 18th century, however, the area was covered in dense hardwood forests.

The Monongahela Valley seemed comparatively open and accessible to English settlers in the mid-18th century. The French had neglected the area, and there were no major Native American settlements near by. Thus it attracted the first English-speaking settlements west of the Appalachians. In the vicinity, however, lived displaced Delawares, Shawnees, and Mingos. They had no recognized claim to the territory. Rather, they had a vague tributary relationship to the Iroquois Confederation, which eroded as they increasingly dealt directly with Europeans. The French viewed English interests in the area as a threat to their fur trade and to communications between Canada and Louisiana.

By the 1730s, Pennsylvania traders were frequently moving through the area. The Ohio Company of Virginia, intending to settle the Monongahela Valley and the Ohio Valley and to join in the Indian trade, built a fortified storehouse on the Potomac (at Cumberland, Maryland) in 1749. Christopher Gist explored the Monongahela for the company in 1751–1752. Frontiersman Thomas Cresap and Nemacolin, a Delaware chief, blazed a path from the Potomac River to the Monongahela at Redstone Creek (Brownsville, Pennsylvania), 37 miles upstream from the Forks. In 1753, as the French began building

forts from Lake Erie to the Allegheny River, the Ohio Company built a trading post, the first multifamily settlement on the Monongahela.

The Virginia Militia began erecting a stockade at the Forks in February 1754, but the French seized the site in April and built Fort Duquesne. Lieutenant Colonel George Washington's Virginia forces failed to take Fort Duquesne in 1754. Likewise, British forces under Major General Edward Braddock were defeated in the Battle of the Monongahela, eight miles from the Forks, in 1755. English settlers abandoned the valley after Braddock's defeat. To make room for their wagons and artillery, however, Washington and Braddock improved on Nemacolin's road, which became part of Braddock's Road.

In 1758, Brigadier General John Forbes's British forces built their own road through Pennsylvania and succeeded in taking Fort Duquesne. As a result, the Delawares abandoned their French allies at the fort because they had been promised that the English would stay out of the Forks region. Nevertheless, the English built a temporary stockade on the banks of the Monongahela, 1,000 feet from the ruins of Duquesne, and rebuilt Fort Redstone, which had been burned by the French. They then built Fort Pitt at the Forks.

After the French and Indian War (1754–1763), settlers used the Forbes and Braddock roads to return to the Monongahela Valley, contributing to aggravated tensions with local American Indians. The army had unsuccessfully sought to force the settlers' departure in 1761–1762, but the need to supply the forts also provided the farmers with markets for their produce. Native raids during Pontiac's Rebellion (1763) once again forced the abandonment of the region.

In 1763, King George III prohibited English settlements west of the Appalachians without specific treaty provisions. Nevertheless, some settlers evidently returned. Under the Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768), the Iroquois ceded the territory between the Appalachians and the Ohio River (the rival Cherokees confirmed this in the Treaty of Hard Labor). This move legally reopened the Monongahela Valley to white settlement.

Between 1768 and 1775, a series of conflicts among Native Americans, Virginians, and Pennsylvanians took place over control of the area. Both Pennsylvania and Virginia issued land grants to repopulate the region and to bolster their rival claims. Each arrested the other's settlers and officials. When the Shawnees revolted against the incursions, Virginia's Gov. John Murray, Lord Dunmore, launched a campaign against them. In the Treaty of Camp Charlotte (1774), ending what became known as Lord Dunmore's War, the Delawares, the Shawnees, and the Mingos relinquished their claims south of the Ohio (as the Iroquois and the Cherokees had already done). In the Treaty of Pittsburgh (1775), they and others promised to remain neutral in the conflict between the colonies and England in return for a pledge that the Ohio River be the permanent western boundary of white settlement. Neither side was able to keep its word, however.

Virginia finally yielded its claim to the Forks in 1776, owing to the exigencies of the American Revolutionary War. A border agreement in 1779 extended the Mason-Dixon Line west across the Monongahela Valley.

See also

Braddock's Campaign; Delaware; Forbes Campaign; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Gist, Christopher; Indian Presents; Mingos; Ohio Company; Ohio Country; Pennsylvania; Pontiac's Rebellion; Shawnees

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Montague-Dunk, George, Second Earl of Halifax

Born: October 5, 1716 Died: June 8, 1771

British colonial administrator. Born on the family estate in Northampshire, England, on October 5, 1716, George Montague was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. He inherited his father's earldom in 1739. Halifax married an heiress in 1741 and added her family name, Dunk, to his own, making him George Montague-Dunk, Second Earl of Halifax.

In late 1748, Halifax became president of the Board of Trade, a subcommittee of the Privy Council charged with overseeing almost all aspects of colonial affairs. Unlike his predecessors, who had been content to let the colonies govern themselves with relatively little interference from London, Halifax immediately set out to reform colonial policy. His position charged him with promoting commerce within the empire, and toward that end, he energetically issued a series of decrees to coordinate British policy toward its colonies and mandate greater cooperation and consistency among the various provinces. Through diligent work and the administrative genius of his chief secretary John Pownall, Halifax quickly became expert in colonial affairs.

Despite the 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Halifax remained deeply suspicious of French intentions in North America. Indeed, he was convinced that the French sought to restrict the British both in Canada and in the Ohio Valley. One of the steps he took to prevent such a development was the establishment of an armed fortress, appropriately named Halifax, in Nova Scotia to rival the French stronghold of Louisbourg. Halifax also ordered colonial officials to hold a conference to promote greater cooperation in regard to Native American affairs. The result was the Albany Congress of 1754.

During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Halifax promoted Major General Edward Braddock's campaign into the Ohio Valley in 1755, not least because Braddock's appointment as commander in chief of British forces in North America brought a uniformity of command that Halifax had long sought in America. Indeed, Halifax almost singlehandedly convinced the other members of the ministry headed by Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of

Newcastle, of France's hostile intentions in North America, precipitating Britain's own aggressive stance.

As the French and Indian War wound down, a shakeup in the ministry led to Halifax leaving the Board of Trade in 1761 to become lord lieutenant of Ireland, which post he held until 1763. During 1762, he was also first lord of the Admiralty and then secretary of state for the Northern Department. In 1763, he became secretary of state for the Southern Department, a position that once again put him at the forefront of colonial affairs.

Within weeks of taking office, Halifax was confronted with the outbreak of Pontiac's Rebellion. As British forces began quelling this disturbance, he turned his attention to American Indian affairs, intent on preventing another such conflict. The result was the Proclamation of 1763. In addition, despite the financial burden placed on the British government, Halifax pushed for a stronger military presence in North America, arguing that regular soldiers were necessary to secure both internal and external peace in the colonies.

With his deep knowledge of American affairs, Halifax proved vital in efforts under George Grenville's ministry to crack down on smuggling and institute stricter trade regulations on the colonies, both of which contributed to the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War. Halifax left office when the Grenville ministry fell in July 1765, but he returned to the cabinet briefly as lord privy seal during the administration of his nephew, Frederick, Lord North, in 1770. He had just been restored to his former post as secretary of state for the Northern Department on his death at Horton, Hampshire, on June 8, 1771. He left no children, and his titles expired on his death.

ELIZABETH DUBRULLE

See also

Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of; Albany Conference; Braddock's Campaign; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Halifax (Nova Scotia); Proclamation of 1763

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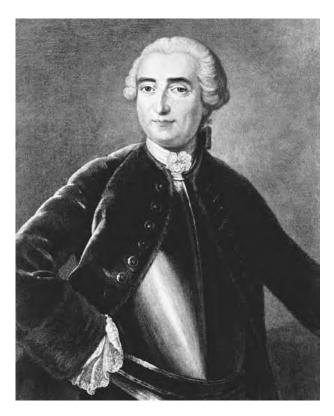
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Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de

Born: February 28, 1712 Died: September 13, 1759

Prominent French Army officer and commander of French forces in North America (1756–1759) during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Louis-Joseph de Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran was born at the Château de Candiac, France, on February 28, 1712.



A very able military commander, French general Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, led French field forces during the French and Indian War of 1754–1763. (Library of Congress)

His father was a career military officer and lieutenant colonel in the French Army. The young Montcalm joined his father's regiment as an ensign at age 12 and was commissioned at the age of 15 in 1727.

Montcalm first saw action in the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1738). On the death of his father in 1735, Montcalm inherited the family estate. He returned to the battlefield in the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748). Wounded in fighting at Prague in 1740, he won promotion to colonel in 1742. Montcalm was wounded several times during the latter conflict. In 1746, he suffered five saber wounds in the Battle of Piacenza before he was taken prisoner. Exchanged shortly thereafter, Montcalm ended the war a brigadier general in command of a cavalry regiment.

Montcalm then returned to his estates at Candiac. He enjoyed time with his family, dabbled in politics, and supervised agricultural concerns on his estates. Meanwhile, tensions between France and Britain in North America boiled over into the French and Indian War in 1754. At the Battle of Lake George in September 1755, French major general Baron Jean-Armand Dieskau was wounded and captured by the English. French king Louis XV then appointed Montcalm a major general to replace Dieskau.

Montcalm arrived in New France in January 1756. Although Montcalm had charge of the troops, overall authority in New France was then vested in Governor-General Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil. According to Montcalm's orders, he was clearly subordinate

to Vaudreuil. Nevertheless, the general and governor repeatedly clashed, leading to several verbal exchanges and angry letters to Versailles from both men. The quarrel between these two strong-willed men certainly had a debilitating effect on the French war effort in North America.

Montcalm reached Quebec on May 13, 1756, and reported to Vaudreuil a week later in Montreal. Shortly thereafter, the French military went on the offensive, scoring victories at Fort Bull, Oswego, and at Fort Ticonderoga. The victories did little to assuage tensions between Vaudreuil and Montcalm, however.

Several matters contributed to the hostility between the two men. Montcalm had little use for colonial troops and native allies. He wished to employ European tactics, had contempt for raids and guerilla warfare, and believed that he should have charge of all French forces and overall strategy in Canada. Vaudreuil held views diametrically opposed to those of Montcalm. The governor-general had little regard for the French regulars, believed in relying extensively on Native American allies, favored raids and guerrilla tactics, and believed strongly that he should control military strategy.

In 1757, Montcalm captured Fort William Henry on strategic Lake George in New York. After the British garrison surrendered, Montcalm was unable to control his native allies, who killed many of the garrison. Montcalm failed to follow up his capture of Fort William Henry by pushing on to capture other strategic points. In July 1758, however, with only 3,800 men, Montcalm successfully defended Fort Ticonderoga against 15,000 British led by Major General Sir James Abercromby. Montcalm was subsequently promoted to lieutenant general.

In 1759, the British went on the offensive. Brigadier General James Wolfe moved against Quebec. On September 13, 1759, Wolfe and his troops arrived on the Plains of Abraham next to the city. Montcalm foolishly ordered an immediate attack. In the ensuing battle, the British were victorious. Both commanders were mortally wounded, but Wolfe at least had the satisfaction of knowing before his death that his troops had won a great victory. Montcalm's legacy is a mixed one. Brave and a capable field commander, Montcalm's military skills were somewhat offset by the general's impatience and his unprofessional hostility toward his superior Vaudreuil, which probably hastened the loss of New France.

RICK DYSON

See also

Dieskau, Jean Armand, Baron de; Fort Bull (New York); Fort Oswego (New York); Fort Ticonderoga, Battle of; Fort Ticonderoga (New York); Fort William Henry (New York); Fort William Henry, Siege of; France, Army; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Lake George, Battle of; New France; Provincial Troops; Quebec, Battle of; Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Pierre de, Marquis de Vaudreuil; Wolfe, James

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Montiano, Manuel de

Born: January 1685

Died: 1762

Spanish military officer and governor of La Florida (Florida) from 1737 to 1749. Born in January 1685 in Bilbao, Spain, to a prominent noble family, Manuel de Montiano served in the Spanish Army for 24 years before being appointed governor of Florida in 1737. By then, Montiano had attained the rank of colonel and captain of the grenadiers.

By the first third of the 18th century, the colonial possessions of Spain in North America extended to present-day Florida. The capital of the colony was St. Augustine, on the northeastern coast of the Florida Peninsula. The government structure of the colony was patterned after other Spanish colonial possessions, which featured a highly defined governmental apparatus as well as a hierarchical political structure. At the apex of that political structure was the governor. As governor, Montiano reported directly to the Spanish viceroy in Mexico City.

By the time of Montiano's appointment in 1737, Spain's geopolitical situation in the New World had become precarious. Most notable was the increasing population in the southern English North American colonies. In 1733, King George I awarded James Oglethorpe a vast territory of land in southeastern North America. Oglethorpe's colony, named Georgia after the English king, witnessed a considerable influx of colonists in its initial years. Spanish authorities were increasingly alarmed by the presence of the English in the Spanish borderlands.

In 1740, following the outbreak of the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744), the threat of English expansion into the Spanish empire became a reality. Oglethorpe launched a bold military move by attacking the Castillo de San Marcos at St. Augustine. Montiano successfully defended the fort for 38 days, and the English withdrew. Nevertheless, the Spanish Crown was shocked by this move. Madrid ordered Montiano to launch a counterattack against Oglethorpe in 1742. Montiano duly assembled a military force of some 1,900 men, consisting of free blacks, soldiers from the recently constructed Fort Mosé, and grenadiers from Havana.

On July 7, 1742, Montiano's forces met those of Oglethorpe in a decisive series of engagements, known as the Battle of Gully Hole and the Battle of Bloody Marsh, on St. Simons Island (Georgia). Bloody Marsh was a ringing defeat for Montiano, and he ordered a

retreat from Georgia. He also directed that the vital military garrison of Fort St. Simons be abandoned. During another British foray into Florida in 1743, Montiano refused to engage the enemy. Instead, he waited them out in the imposing Castillo de San Marcos. As in 1740, the English were forced to withdraw.

Montiano proved to be an able administrator. He improved and fortified key defensive positions in Florida and made valiant efforts to improve relations with the Native Americans. Unfortunately, his work yielded only modest results because of a lack of funding and support from Madrid and Mexico City. In November 1748, Montiano left Florida on being named governor of Panama. Ten years later, he left public service and returned to Spain. Montiano died in Madrid in 1762.

JAIME RAMÓN OLIVARES

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Bloody Marsh, Battle of; Castillo de San Marcos (Florida); Florida; Florida, British Invasion of; Fort Mosé (Florida); Georgia; Oglethorpe, James Edward

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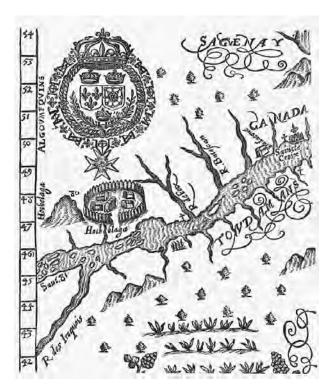
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Montreal

French Canadian town located at the confluence of the St. Lawrence River and the Ottawa River. In 1535, Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence to the Lachine Rapids and landed on an island that he named Mont-Réal. Cartier claimed the area for King Francis I, making it part of New France. In 1611, Samuel de Champlain established a fur-trading station at the site. Subsequent to that, the religious order of the Société Notre-Dame de Montréal (Society of Our Lady of Montreal) received a grant to the island on which a settlement had appeared by 1640. Its members administered a hospital, operated schools, and proselytized among the Native Americans. Operating from Montreal, *coureurs de bois* (fur traders and trappers) ranged north and west in pursuit of pelts.

In 1642, the utopian community of Ville-Marie de Montreal emerged, shielded from Iroquois threats by a pointed stake fence. The settlement became a protectorate, and in 1643 an agreement with the Mohawks brought more furs to the post. Yet repeated native raids disturbed the fur commerce until the French destroyed adjacent Iroquois villages in 1667. Montreal and its 766 inhabitants gradually evolved into New France's primary fur entrepôt. The settlement also became a rival of English-held Albany. In 1686, a military expedition from Montreal pounced on the Hudson's Bay Company and British-incited native assaults disrupted the settlement's hide business. Despite a 1688 truce effort with the natives, the Iroquois massacre of Lachine's population in 1689 sparked French retribution against Schenectady, New York, the following year.

During King William's War (1689–1697), Montreal-based forces staged *la petite guerre* (literally, "little war"), repeated small-scale



Hochelaga, site of Montreal, shown as a Native American village in a 1609 map by Marc Lescarbot. (North Wind Picture Archives)

raids against the English and their native allies. The city then came under attack. The English withdrew in 1690 once the French rushed 1,200 troops to La Prairie, on the St. Lawrence River's eastern bank. The next year, the English again reached La Prairie but were repulsed. In 1697, Montreal served as a base for a campaign against the Iroquois in the St. Lawrence region; however, they found only burnt and deserted villages. By 1701, a meeting at the settlement brought peace with the Five Nations of the Iroquois.

Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) placed Montreal away from the fighting. *La petite guerre* resumed, yet the Iroquois stayed neutral, and life in the settlement remained tranquil. The British seizure of a French supply ship caused shortages that led to a clothing mill's construction in 1703. Six years later, Claude de Ramezay, commander of the Canadians, faced a British march on Montreal. As soon as the defenders retreated east of the settlement, the invaders broke off the campaign and retreated.

Montreal entered King George's War (1744–1748) with improved defenses. The Chambly fortress guarded the Richelieu River approach and Fort St. Frédéric protected the Lake Champlain passage. A wartime atmosphere gripped the settlement as *la petite guerre* began once more and cross-boundary forays resumed. In 1747, the French neutralized an Iroquois threat upriver and the British disbanded a force at Albany preparing to campaign against Fort St. Frédéric.

The French and Indian War (1754–1763) saw Montreal's defenses become untenable once Quebec fell to the British in 1759.

Three converging armies advanced on the city the next year. British brigadier general James Murray led a force up the St. Lawrence River from Quebec and arrived at Varenne, downstream from Montreal, on August 31. Meanwhile, British forces under Colonel William Haviland drove up the Lake Champlain Valley and forced French troops out of Île-aux-Noix by August 25, who then retreated to Montreal. British major general Jeffery Amherst proceeded down the St. Lawrence River on August 10, compelled the surrender of Fort Lévis by August 25, and disembarked on Montreal Island's western side by September 6. Hampered by desertions and with few regulars, New France's Gov. Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial capitulated on September 8 when confronted with overwhelming odds.

Montreal's surrender to the British effectively marked the end of the French presence in Canada. The 1763 Treaty of Paris formally transferred control of French Canada to Great Britain. Under British rule, Montreal prospered owing to its strategic location on the St. Lawrence River. Fur trading gave way to larger, more diversified commercial enterprises, and the shipping and shipbuilding industries also contributed to the city's rising fortunes. By the early 19th century, Montreal had become British Canada's busiest city.

RODNEY J. ROSS

Canada, British Expedition against (1709); Canada, New England
Expedition against; Champlain, Samuel de; Coureurs de Bois; Fort
Lévis (New York); Fort St. Frédéric (New York); French and Indian
War, Land Campaigns; Île-aux-Noix; Iroquois; Iroquois
Confederation; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King William's
War, Land Campaigns; Lachine, Battle of; La Prairie, Battle of (1690);
La Prairie, Battle of (1691); New France; Quebec; Quebec, Battle of;
Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Rigaud de Vaudreuil de
Cavagnial, Pierre de, Marquis de Vaudreuil; Schenectady, Battle of; St.
Lawrence River

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See also

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Montreal, Treaty of

See Iroquois Treaties of 1700 and 1701

Moore, James

Born: ca. 1640 Died: 1706

Colonial soldier and South Carolina governor (1700–1703). James Moore was born in Ireland around 1640. He was descended from Roger Moore, leader of the Irish rebellion against England in 1640.

The younger Moore emigrated from Barbados to North America in 1665 and settled in Charles Town (present-day Charleston), Carolina (North Carolina became a separate colony with its own governor in 1710). Moore became wealthy trading with Carolina's native peoples, especially for Native American slaves. He ultimately acquired a large plantation near Charles Town. As part of an influential Anglican political faction, Moore served in the colonial assembly and was appointed to the council. On the death of Gov. James Blake of Carolina in 1700, Moore convinced the council to select him over a non-Anglican to fill the vacant office.

As governor, Moore proposed an expedition to oust the Spanish from St. Augustine, but his political enemies scorned the proposal as an attempt to enrich himself. The arrival of news that England was officially at war with France and Spain in what was known in the colonies as Queen Anne's War (1702–1713, the War of the Spanish Succession in Europe) curtailed political infighting long enough for the assembly to approve Moore's expedition.

In September 1702, Moore led more than 1,000 colonial militiamen and native allies against St. Augustine. His force occupied the town as the Spanish withdrew into the Castillo de San Marcos. Moore abandoned the eight-week siege of the fortress, however, when two Spanish vessels arrived from Havana. The Carolinians then burned the town and their own ships, and withdrew overland. Moore's enemies in the assembly moved to investigate his conduct of the failed expedition, but the majority supported him. The expedition incurred a debt of more than £8,000, however, for which the assembly eventually issued bills of credit. Moore, never formally confirmed as governor by Carolina's proprietors, stepped down in March 1703. He continued to serve on the council, and became attorney general.

Moore did not abandon his belief that the English should seize Spanish territory. At his own expense, Moore led a second expedition overland against northern Florida in 1704. His forces included some 50 colonists, and about 1,000 Creek, Yamasee, and Savannah warriors. He succeeded in destroying about three quarters of the Spanish-loyal native population. The expedition also enslaved perhaps 1,000 people, killed Spanish priests, and burned missions. The sale of slaves allowed Moore to claim that the expedition had paid for itself. Moore died in Charles Town during a yellow fever epidemic that raged through Carolina in late 1706. His son of the same name was later also governor.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Castillo de San Marcos (Florida); Moore, James, Jr.; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; South Carolina; St. Augustine, Siege of

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Moore, James, Jr.

Born: ca. 1675 Died: March 3, 1723

Frontiersman, trader, colonial soldier, and provisional governor of South Carolina (1719–1721). James Moore Jr. was born around 1675 near Charles Town (present-day Charleston), South Carolina. One of the 10 children of Carolina governor James Moore, the younger Moore became, like his father, a hardened trader who did not shrink from armed conflict. Also like his father, Moore served in the colonial assembly, from 1706 to 1708.

In 1711, the Tuscaroras mounted a deadly surprise attack on settlements in North Carolina. Responding to the beleaguered colony's call for military assistance, in November 1712 the government at Charles Town dispatched James Moore Jr., a few dozen militia officers, and almost 1,000 native warriors (Cherokees, Creeks, and Catawbas) north to help fight the Tuscaroras. On March 20,1713, Moore's force burned the principal enemy village. The settlers inflicted nearly 1,000 casualties among Tuscarora men, women, and children, killing the men and selling the women and children into slavery. After the official end of the Tuscarora War in 1713, a few Tuscaroras persisted in raiding English settlements, but Moore and his men eventually rounded them up.

When the Yamasees attacked Charles Town in 1715, setting off the Yamasee War, the South Carolina governor, Charles Craven, appointed Moore lieutenant general in command of the colony's defense force. The group consisted of more than 1,000 men. The Yamasees, the Creeks, and the Catawbas came close to destroying the colony, and might have succeeded had Moore not persuaded the Cherokees to ally with the English.

In 1719, a rebellious political faction plotted to oust Carolina's proprietors and invite London to appoint a royal governor. They appointed Moore provisional South Carolina governor. He served as governor until the royal appointee, Francis Nicholson, arrived to take office in May 1721.

During Moore's brief tenure, he faced an overt challenge from the deposed governor, Robert Johnson, and his ally William Rhett, a powerful official under the proprietary government. The two assembled a militia and came to Charles Town to demand Moore's capitulation. When Moore refused to step down, Johnson opted to forego violence. Moore subsequently served the Nicholson administration as speaker of the assembly and commissioner for Indian Affairs. His death at Charles Town on March 3, 1723, put an abrupt end to his political career.

Roberta Wiener

See also

Moore, James; South Carolina; Tuscarora War; Yamasee War

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Moral y Sánchez, Francisco del

Born: Unknown Died: Unknown

Spanish military officer and governor of colonial Spanish Florida (1734–1737). Francisco del Moral y Sánchez began his career in the Spanish Army and served nearly 30 years in Cuba, the hub of the Spanish empire in the Caribbean and Atlantic basin. In 1733, the governor of Cuba named Moral governor of Florida. Moral's selection was notable in that the king did not appoint him directly. Hailed as the first colonial city in North America, St. Augustine served as the capital and principal outpost of Florida. Moral arrived there to take up his responsibilities in early 1734.

In 1730, Britain's King George II had sought to create a buffer zone between the Spanish in Florida and the English colonies of the Carolinas. As such, the English Crown assigned Major General James Oglethorpe the task of creating a colony just north of Florida on territory claimed—but not settled—by Spain. Oglethorpe landed near present-day Savannah, Georgia, in February 1733. The new colony was named Georgia in honor of the king.

Between 1733 and 1737, tensions rose between Georgia and Florida with the escalation of border incidents. To bolster his colony's defenses, Moral had ordered the construction of Fort Picolata and Fort San Francisco de Pupo. Because he was low on supplies and lacked adequate equipment and manpower for defense, Moral concluded treaties with both the English and the Native Americans. Oglethorpe and Moral agreed to restrain their native allies so that they would not precipitate violence, to demilitarize the St. Johns River, and to submit border disputes to arbitration. As a result, hostilities virtually ceased for a few years. But the Spanish government was not pleased with Moral's accommodative stance toward the English. In the meantime, Moral encouraged trade with the English and their native allies.

By 1737, Moral's controversial diplomacy and heavy-handed rule, which included the arrests of political rivals, brought his removal. In March 1737, the Spanish government appointed an acting governor who promptly ordered Moral's arrest. Moral remained in custody first in Havana and then Spain until 1740. The Council of the Indies finally cleared him of any wrongdoing in 1748. Although Moral's tenure in office was rife with controversy, he nonetheless did an admirable job keeping the English from encroaching on Spanish territory.

JAIME RAMÓN OLIVARES

See also

Council of the Indies; Florida; Fort Picolata (Florida); Fort San Francisco de Pupo (Florida); Georgia; Oglethorpe, James Edward

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Morris, Robert Hunter

Born: ca. 1700

Died: January 27, 1764

Embattled governor of Pennsylvania during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). A member of a prominent political family, Robert Morris was born in Trenton, New Jersey, about 1700. His father, Lewis Morris, who also served as governor of New Jersey, appointed his son chief justice of the provincial supreme court in 1738.

In 1754, Robert Morris became governor of Pennsylvania as competing claims to the Ohio Country were plunging Britain and France headlong into war on the continent. Morris favored an aggressive approach to defending the colony, but he soon ran afoul of powerful Quakers whose pacifism frustrated the war effort. When British major general Edward Braddock sought funding from the Pennsylvania Assembly for his ill-fated expedition against Fort Duquesne in



Robert Morris, governor of Pennsylvania during the French and Indian War. (National Archives)

1755, Morris lost credibility when the British general was turned away empty-handed. Quakers also agitated over the bounties for prisoners and scalps offered by Morris's administration.

Late in 1755, Morris waffled over the request for an alliance by the Delaware chief known as Captain Jacobs. Pennsylvanians paid dearly for this equivocation as this warrior led raids along the Pennsylvania frontier on behalf of the French. Meanwhile, Morris faced intrigues on a different front. His close political and commercial ties to Gov. William Shirley of Massachusetts ultimately rendered him a target of Thomas Pownall, Shirley's political adversary. Having replaced Shirley in 1755, Pownall would secure Morris's removal from office the following year.

Despite Morris's desire for vigorous campaigning against the French and their native allies, the western counties of Pennsylvania largely deemed him negligent in safeguarding their communities. Even had Pownall not been intent on bringing him down, Morris surely would not have remained in office much longer. By 1756 he had managed to alienate many of the Quakers in the eastern part of the colony as well as settlers on the western frontier. In a final embarrassment, Morris was forced to endure a lengthy audit of his financial records, arranged by Pownall.

There can be little doubt that Morris fell victim to the vagaries of colonial politics, with its bitter factionalism and heavy use of patronage. Continuing to hold his position as New Jersey chief justice, Morris died in Shrewsbury, New Jersey, on January 27, 1764.

JEFFREY BASS

See also

Braddock's Campaign; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Pennsylvania; Shirley, William

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Mortar of the Okchai

Born: Unknown

Died: November 1774

The Mortar, also called Wolf Warrior in some accounts, was an influential member of the Upper Creek Nation and a key warrior of the Okchai settlement. Nothing is known of his birth or very young years. The Mortar became the leader of the Bear Clan of the Okchai faction of the Creek tribe, although he never rose to dominance within the entire Creek Nation.

The settlement of Okchai was located between the Coosa River and Tallapoosa River, both tributaries of the Alabama. The Mortar feared English incursions onto Creek territory and sought repeatedly to forge alliances with regional tribes to halt the spread of English settlements in Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia. However, he was never able to obtain sufficient support to unite even the Creeks, much less the rival Cherokees and Choctaws of the region. He nevertheless maintained close ties with the local Cherokee leadership, and the Mortar's sister was married to a Cherokee, providing a close familial connection.

The Mortar developed a reputation for farsightedness and diplomacy during the French and Indian War (1754-1763), when he counseled the leadership of the Creek Nation to remain neutral. In particular, an English plan to build fortifications on Creek territory infuriated him. The Mortar wished to side with the French to obtain protection against English expansion, but he realized that the French could never provide sufficient supplies to the Creeks to sustain a war against English colonists. Instead, the Mortar maneuvered the French and the English into lowering trading prices for the Creeks by threatening to push the tribe into the war, all the while carefully maintaining neutrality for the duration of the conflict.

In the aftermath of the war, the Mortar again sought to forge a regional alliance of 18 tribes to oppose British colonial expansion and possibly overthrow British rule in the Ohio River Valley. The British did successfully entice regional tribes to surrender their French flags, commissions, and medals for British equivalents. But they could never persuade the Mortar of their peaceful intentions. In 1766, when several Cherokees were murdered in Augusta County, Virginia, the Mortar offered to join a Cherokee war party with 700 warriors in pursuit of revenge, but his offer was refused. Under the Mortar's direction, Creeks killed 2 English traders found on Creek land and threatened to kill any other trespassers. This did not, however, provoke a general conflict with the English.

In 1774, during the Creek-Choctaw War, the Mortar sought Spanish and French assistance for the Creeks, asking the French to negotiate a peace with the rival Choctaw Nation and then establish a protectorate over the Creeks. While traveling to New Orleans to seek Spanish support in November 1774, the Mortar's party was ambushed by Choctaw warriors, and the Mortar was mortally wounded in the fighting. His death likely occurred in modern-day southern Mississippi or Alabama.

PAUL J. SPRINGER

See also

Cherokees; Choctaws; Creeks

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Mosley, Samuel

Born: June 14, 1641 Died: January 1680

Commander of an independent volunteer militia company in Massachusetts during King Philip's War (1675-1676). Samuel Mosley was born on June 14, 1641, in Braintree, Massachusetts. A cooper by trade, Mosley gained fame for his successes as a captain of a privateer operating off both Jamaica and the New England coast against Dutch pirates. After capturing two vessels in the spring of 1675, Mosley brought the pirates to Boston, where they were imprisoned to await trial. It was in the midst of his sudden fame, in June 1675, that King Philip's War began.

Despite his popularity, Mosley held no military position. Thus, he organized an independent company of volunteers to fight Metacom (King Philip) and the Wampanoags. Mosley's company was indeed an odd assortment of men. They included several of his crewmen from his privateering days, apprentices and servants, boys who had yet to enroll in the militia, and even a few of the jailed pirates that he had helped capture. In addition, his company kept a dozen dogs to help discover natives hidden in swampy and inaccessible regions.

Mosley and his company served widely during King Philip's War. They pursued Metacom and his band near Swansea and the Mount Hope Peninsula during the early days of fighting. In August 1675, they scouted near Mendon and Brookfield. Mosley's men were present at Deerfield, Massachusetts, in September 1675 when attacking natives nearly wiped out a company of soldiers and teamsters at the Battle of Bloody Brook. Mosley responded to the sounds of fighting but arrived too late to prevent the English defeat. His company then helped man Hatfield, a military center and garrison in the Connecticut River Valley, and participated in the assault on the Narragansetts' fort in December 1675. Mosley formed and led a second company in 1676.

During the war, Mosley gained a reputation for impulsive and questionable actions. In August 1675, based on intelligence gathered by torturing a captive, he arrested 15 Hassanemesit natives (Christian, or "praying Indians") on suspicion of raiding Marlborough, Massachusetts, and killing several inhabitants. Mosley shackled his prisoners and marched them to Boston, where they were acquitted, released, but then nearly lynched by a mob. Mosley was censured for his actions. He also allowed a female prisoner to be torn to pieces by one of the company's dogs. In another incident, Mosley and his band acted against specific orders and burned an abandoned Pennacook village near Concord, New Hampshire. This action forced the governor of Massachusetts to make restitution. Mosley's actions went far to convince friendly and neutral natives to avoid Englishmen.

Little is known of Mosley's life after King Philip's War, save for his purchase of 15 native captives in August 1676. He died in January 1680, but his place of death is not known.

DAVID M. CORLETT

See also

Bloody Brook Massacre; Deerfield (Massachusetts); King Philip's War; Metacom; Wampanoags

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Moulton, Jeremiah

Born: 1688

Died: July 20, 1765

Officer in the New England militia and member of the Massachusetts Council. Born in York, Massachusetts (now in Maine), in 1688, Jeremiah Moulton lost his parents in the Penobscot attack on York in January 1692. Four-year-old Moulton managed to escape from his Native American captors and flee into one of the garrison houses. He subsequently went to live with relatives and learned the surveying trade.

During Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), Moulton and his brother-in-law Johnson Harmon served in the militia and took an active part in the conflicts between English settlers and the eastern Native American tribes. Moulton gained a reputation as an energetic soldier and later proved to be a capable leader of colonial scouting expeditions during Dummer's War (1722–1727).

Captain Moulton played a prominent role in killing Father Sébastien Râle, a French missionary to the Norridgewocks. On August 23, 1724, some 200 colonial soldiers headed up the Kennebec River from Fort Richmond (Maine) and attacked Norridgewock village. Captain Harmon led the raid, with Moulton as second-in-command. Harmon chose to attack through the tribe's cornfields, and Moulton led his men directly into the village. The Native Americans were taken by surprise and tried to escape across the river, but they were killed in the water. Râle was killed, against Moulton's orders that he be captured alive. When the war was over, Moulton became a judge, sheriff of York County, and a member of the Massachusetts Council.

During King George's War (1744–1748), Moulton resumed his career as colonel, commanding one of the three Massachusetts regiments in the expedition against Louisbourg in 1745. In April 1745, he landed with the New England troops at Canso. With about 400 men, he then destroyed Port-Toulouse, a small French settlement on Cape Breton (St. Peters), on May 6. Moulton was a member of the war council at Louisbourg and stayed on after the fall of the town in June to help with its occupation. He returned to Maine in December 1745 and was appointed judge of probate for York County shortly thereafter. Moulton died in York on July 20, 1765.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Dummer's War; Harmon, Johnson; King George's War, Land Campaigns; Louisbourg Expedition; Norridgewock, Battle of; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Râle, Sébastien; York, Attack on

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Mourning War

A social and cultural phenomenon among Native Americans belonging to Iroquois tribes, the purpose of which was to acquire captives as a method of coping with death. The current use of the term "mourning war" stems from historian Daniel K. Richter, who notes that mourning war was the traditional function of warfare for Iroquois warriors prior to contact with Europeans.

The Iroquois believed that an individual's passing robbed his family, clan, and community of spiritual power. To address this problem, communities adopted new persons in "requickening" ceremonies to take the place and fulfill the social role and duties of the deceased. When the departed was an individual of high status, an adoptee was taken from within the community. But those of lower status often required adoptees from external sources. Mourning war also provided on outlet for grief. The Iroquois had several rituals and practices to address bereavement. However, if these failed, the women of the deceased's household could demand that a party of warriors venture out to acquire captives. Most of these people were assimilated into household and family roles previously filled by deceased kin. Some, however—usually adult men—might be selected for ritual torture and execution in order to assuage the sorrow and pain of grieving family members.

Mourning war fulfilled a number of important social functions, in that the adoption of captives maintained population levels, the continuity of village and family life, and the spiritual power of the community. It also provided a means to cope with the emotional trauma of death. Moreover, these functions had two important consequences on Iroquois warfare tactics. First, they stressed the capture of prisoners, not the killing of enemies. Second, they helped minimize Iroquois deaths in battle. As a result, mourning war tactics stressed the use of surprise and ambush (the skulking way of war), foregoing attacks on fortified places, and retreating when an enemy appeared too powerful.

MATTHEW S. MUEHLBAUER

See also

Captivity of Europeans by Indians; Captivity of Indians by Indians; Iroquois; Native Warfare; Skulking Way of War

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Murray, James

Born: January 21, 1722 Died: June 18, 1794

British general. James Murray was born on January 21, 1722, at Ballencrieff, Haddingtonshire, Scotland. He was the son of the Fourth

Lord Elibank. After serving for three years with the 3rd Royal Scots Regiment in West Flanders, Murray was commissioned in the 4th Marines in 1740. The following year he transferred to the 15th Foot as a captain and served in the 1741 Cartagena expedition. He also served in the defense of Ostend in 1745, where he was severely wounded, and in the Lorient expedition of 1746. In September 1757, Murray commanded the 15th Foot in the ill-fated Rochefort expedition.

In 1758, Murray took command of a brigade in North America, participating in the siege of Louisbourg that same year. His conduct there earned the praise of Brigadier General James Wolfe. As a result, Murray was named one of the three brigadiers, along with Robert Monckton and George Townshend, to serve under Wolfe at Quebec the following year. During operations against Quebec, Murray fought in the defeat at the Battle of Montmorency Falls and commanded raiding operations above Quebec in early August.

The relationship between Wolfe and his three brigadiers grew extremely strained during the siege against Quebec, with Murray and Townshend especially loathing their commander. Nonetheless, at the end of August 1759, Wolfe requested the opinions of his brigadiers regarding further attacks on the Beauport lines. Rejecting the proposal of again attacking Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm's, strongest position, the brigadiers advised concentrating the British force for a landing above Quebec. In the ensuing Battle of the Plains of Abraham on September 13, 1759, Murray commanded the left of the British line. He has been criticized for his role in the battle in leading the 78th Foot in mopping up pockets of resistance rather than pursuing and possibly cutting off the main body of the retreating French forces.

Despite being the expedition's most junior brigadier, Murray commanded the British garrison at Quebec. He strengthened its fortifications. In the spring of 1760, the French, under Brigadier General François Gaston, Duc de Lévis, advanced on Quebec. On April 28, Murray rashly chose to attack the numerically superior French force at the Battle of Sainte Foy. In bitter fighting, the British left flank collapsed, forcing Murray to withdraw back inside the fortress of Quebec. However, Murray quickly reestablished order among his command and withstood the French siege for 17 days until Royal Navy ships arrived to lift it. Following the resupply of his forces and arrival of reinforcements, Murray advanced up the St. Lawrence River as part of Major General Jeffery Amherst's multipronged assault on Montreal.

Murray remained in Canada for six years following the French capitulation as military governor of Quebec. After the Treaty of Paris, Murray became the first civil governor of Canada (then still called Quebec) in November 1763. Murray's policies of protecting French Canadians aroused the ire of British immigrants, who secured his recall in 1766. An inquiry in the House of Lords exonerated him. Murray officially remained as governor until 1768 but did not return to Canada. Nonetheless, his farsighted policies led to the Quebec Act of 1774, which secured the rights of the colony's French inhabitants.

Promoted to lieutenant general in May 1772, Murray was appointed lieutenant governor of Minorca in 1774. He became

governor of the island in 1779. Following a six-month siege by a combined Spanish-French force and a gallant British defense, Murray was forced to surrender the island on February 5, 1782. Tried by court-martial, he was exonerated. Promoted to full general on February 19, 1783, Murray died at Beauport House in Sussex, England, on June 18, 1794.

BRADLEY P. TOLPPANEN

See also

Cartagena, Expedition against; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Lévis, François Gaston de, Duc de Lévis; Louisbourg, Siege of; Monckton, Robert; Quebec, Battle of; Quebec, French Attempt to Recapture; Wolfe, James

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Murray, John, Fourth Earl of Dunmore

Born: 1730 or 1732 Died: February 25, 1809

British colonial administrator, governor of New York (1770–1771), governor of Virginia (1771–1775), and governor of the Bahamas (1787–1796). Born in Scotland, in 1730 or 1732, John Murray was a descendant of the Scottish house of Stuart. The eldest son of William Murray, Third Earl of Dunmore, Murray succeeded to the title in 1756. He was a member of the House of Lords from 1761 to 1770, when he was appointed governor of New York.

The next year, in 1771, Dunmore was appointed governor of Virginia, England's largest and wealthiest North American colony. Very much interested in promoting colonial settlement of the western lands, during 1771–1774 Dunmore directed a series of military campaigns against the Native Americans—chiefly the Shawnees—in what became known as Lord Dunmore's War. The fighting ended with the Shawnees ceding to Britain all lands east and south of the Ohio River.

Despite Dunmore's success in fighting those outside of Virginia, he fared much worse with those inside the colony. Although his war



A 1907 illustration by the American Colortype Company depicting Virginia governor John Murray, Fourth Earl of Dunmore, fleeing to a British warship off Norfolk in 1775. (Library of Congress)

with the natives had made him a hero in Virginia, in 1774 his dissolution of Virginia's colonial assembly, the House of Burgesses, for its opposition to British policy led to the creation of a revolutionary convention in Virginia that supplied delegates to the subsequent American Continental Congresses. In 1775, Dunmore's removal of the colony's gunpowder stores from the Williamsburg Magazine led to threats against his life. Dunmore fled Williamsburg, then Virginia's capital, to take refuge aboard a British warship off Norfolk.

While aboard ship on November 7, 1775, Dunmore issued his most memorable declaration, in which he proclaimed martial law and declared as free all indentured servants and slaves who were able and willing to bear arms in support of the British cause. This was the first mass emancipation of slaves in British North America. Dunmore's declaration of martial law and offer of emancipation threatened the property rights of all Virginians, moderate and radical alike. It also polarized the colony into two camps: Patriots and Loyalists. Dunmore subsequently organized a number of black Loyalists into the Ethiopian Regiment. His force was subsequently defeated in the Battle of Great Bridge near Norfolk on December 9, 1775.

By July 1776, having failed to regain control of Virginia, Lord Dunmore returned to England. He returned to America in 1781 and again proposed arming the slaves to subdue the American revolutionaries, but the proposal was ignored and he sailed back to England. In 1787, he crossed the Atlantic once more to serve as governor of the Bahamas, a position he held until 1796. Retiring to England, Dunmore died there on February 25, 1809.

JOHN F. CHAPPO

See also

Lord Dunmore's War; Virginia

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Musgrove, Mary

Born: ca. 1700 Died: 1763

Trader, diplomat, interpreter, and cultural liaison of mixed Creek-English decent. Mary Musgrove, also known as Coosaponakeesa, was born around 1700 in Coweta, an influential Lower Creek village in modern-day Georgia. She was the daughter of a white, English trader and a Creek mother.

Musgrove was brought up with an understanding and respect for both sides of her cultural lineage. She spent her formative years among the Creeks, but was also baptized and educated for five years in South Carolina. As such, she became one of the few natives of the period who could read and write. Musgrove returned to Coweta around 1715 and was there when Colonel John Musgrove headed an expedition to the Creeks during the Yamasee War. The two sides confirmed the peace with a pledge of marriage between Mary and John's son and namesake, John Musgrove Jr.

The newlyweds set up a trading post near present-day Savannah and were very successful. Mary often facilitated not only economic but diplomatic and social affairs as well. When James Oglethorpe founded Georgia in 1733, he requested Musgrove's help. She encouraged the local natives to provide food and military aid to the fledgling colony, and she herself served as Oglethorpe's official interpreter for almost a decade. During this period, Musgrove did much to foster amicable relations between the British and the Creek Confederacy. Indeed, Oglethorpe himself recognized the colony's indebtedness to her.

The alliance between the British and the Creeks, including the Creek military aid against the Spanish in the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744, also known as the War of Jenkins' Ear), was largely secured by her and a distant relative, Tomochichi. Musgrove also helped to negotiate the treaties that established Georgia's two main colonial towns: Savannah and Augusta.

After John Musgrove died in 1735, Mary successfully managed the considerable family assets. She married Jacob Matthews a year or so later, and the two set up another trading post called Mount Venture on the Altamaha River. After Matthews died in 1742, Mary married again in 1744. Her choice of a third husband, Thomas Bosomworth, raised eyebrows. Many considered him an unscrupulous character, and Mary's influence among the English began to decline after their marriage, especially after the couple initiated a series of controversial land claims.

The problem dated back to 1737, when Tomochichi had granted Mary a plot of land near Savannah. In 1747, other Creek chiefs (and possible relatives of Mary) granted her more land, including three of the Georgia Sea Islands. British officials contested the legality of those grants. The debate came to a head in Savannah in 1749, when Mary and many of her Creek relatives arrived in the capital city to press her legal right to the land. The town was a bit intimidated by such a presence, and Mary fell from favor. She was finally able to plead her case before the courts in England in 1754, but a compromise was not reached until 1760. Mary managed to maintain ownership over one of the three islands and acquired a sum of money as reward for her services to the king.

In the wake of the land controversy, Musgrove's involvement in Georgia-Creek relations waned, but the importance of her influence during the early years of the colony cannot be overestimated. She died sometime in 1763 at her home on St. Catherines Island, off the Georgia coast.

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See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Creeks; Georgia; Oglethorpe, James Edward; Tomochichi; Yamasee War

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Muskets

The introduction from China of gunpowder into Europe in the 13th century led to a military revolution. Gunpowder consisted of saltpeter (providing oxygen for burning), sulfur (which lowered the temperature at which ignition of the powder occurs), and charcoal (which added bulk to the entire mixture and acted as a burning agent). Gunpowder changed little over the years, and "black powder" remained the principal propellant for firearms until the end of the 19th century.

When ignited, gunpowder generates great heat, releasing energy in the form of powerfully expanding gases. Properly channeled, these gases could be used to propel a projectile from a barrel at some velocity and distance. Large projectiles could batter down castle walls, and the smallest could penetrate body armor.

Larger cannon led the way, but in the late 14th and early 15th centuries a wide variety of individual hand "gonnes" appeared. The first primitive types consisted of a tapered wooden pole that was partially hollowed out at its larger end to hold a small, short metal barrel. Metal bands secured the barrel to its "gun stock." Behind the barrel a vertical metal spike running through the stock could be hooked over a portable rest in order to absorb recoil.

The earliest firearms were both unwieldy and heavy. Until about 1660, heavy so-called Spanish-style muskets were fired from a simple forked rest. Even the later lighter firearm models were cumbersome and difficult to load.

Although early gunpowder weapons were wildly inaccurate, infantrymen armed with them could employ them to kill or maim knights on horseback. Such weapons in the hands of well-trained individual infantrymen would eventually end the primacy of horse cavalry and knights on the battlefields of Europe.

To fire the "gonne," the individual using it would pour a set amount of gunpowder down the muzzle, then ram a round ball (usually of lead) after it in order to seat the ball against the powder charge at the bottom of the breach. The ball was wrapped in a cloth wad to ensure a tight fit between ball and barrel to hold the ball in place next to the powder. The individual would ignite the powder charge by means of a slow-burning match applied to the small hole (touch hole) in the top of the breach end of the barrel over the charge.

Until the mid-19th century and the introduction of a new cylindro-conoidal bullet in a rifled barrel, all individual firearms were

Firing Mechanisms of Colonial Muskets

Name	Firing Mechanism	
Matchlock	Tip of slow match plunged into priming powder	
Wheel-lock	Piece of iron pyrite struck against rotating wheel, creating sparks to ignite powder	
Snap-lock	Piece of flint struck against steel, creating sparks to ignite powder	
Flintlock	Refinement of snap-lock, with steel and powder pan cover one piece	

basically the same: smoothbore muzzle-loaders that differed only in the means of their ignition. Improvements in the firing process, however, came steadily after the gun's first appearance. "The hand gonne," culverin, or culiver (there are a bewildering number of names for early firearms) gave way to the harquebus or arquebus (a late-16th-century term for any type of long, individual firearm), and firelocks. Shoulder stocks appeared around 1470. By the early 1500s, hand-held firearms were on the battlefield to stay, accompanied by the invention of a new wheel-lock mechanism. Pistols made their appearance about 1540 and later that same decade the snaplock appeared. By the first decade of the 17th century and the beginning of European settlement of North America, a true flintlock had emerged. Flintlocks were in widespread use by 1650, and by the end of the century they largely had replaced the matchlock, at least in Europe.

As with most individual firearms through at least mid-19th century, the matchlock successor to the "hand gonne" had a long wooden stock. One end of the stock fitted against the individual's shoulder, and the stock itself held the cast-iron barrel and firing mechanism. Unlike the primitive "hand gonne," the matchlock had a trigger mechanism. On the trigger being pulled, its mechanism plunged the glowing tip of a slow match into priming powder in a pan, which then ignited the main charge in the barrel. A great many varieties of matchlock existed but in most cases the priming pan had to be opened by hand before the trigger was pulled.

Matchlocks did not immediately supplant bows or crossbows. The match proved susceptible to rain and wind, and it could reveal troop positions at night, inhibiting ambushes and surprise attacks. Matchlocks nonetheless initially had great psychological impact, especially in colonial America against natives. The Native Americans, however, soon overcame their fear of the great smoke, noise, and flame that accompanied the firing of these weapons, and before long they were trading for, or capturing, them for themselves.

Among its drawbacks, the matchlock was far slower to load and fire than either the longbow or crossbow. It also could not compete with them in terms of accuracy. There was also the concern of an accidental discharge.

The wheel-lock improved on the matchlock but its firing mechanism was very complicated. In the wheel-lock, pressing the trigger caused the cover over the pan containing the powder to slide forward. At the same time iron pyrites known as the spanner,



Eighteenth-century muzzle-loading muskets and rifles. Virtually all military infantry firearms of the period were smoothbore muskets, which were much faster to reload but not as accurate as rifles. (Dover Publications)

clamped into a cock or dog-head, brushed against a rough-edged wheel as the latter turned, creating sparks that ignited the exposed priming powder. The great expense of the wheel-lock meant that it never completely supplanted the matchlock for military use. Wheel-locks were not uncommon in America and are known to have been present in the "lost colony" of Roanoke.

The snap-lock was an important step forward from the wheel-lock. The snap-lock employed flint and steel for the first time. Pulling the trigger opened the pan cover, while at the same time the cock swung forward, scraping the flint against the face of a piece of upright steel, pushing it forward and causing sparks to fall in the exposed pan below.

The flintlock, the last musket of the colonial period, was merely a refinement of the snap-lock in which the steel and pan cover were of one piece. It proved to be simple and effective and replaced both the matchlock and wheel-lock. The flintlock was more reliable. It was also far easier to load, safer, and could be carried for a distance. Flintlock firing followed the following procedure: half-cock the weapon (putting it on safety—the origin of the phrase "Don't go off half-cocked"); take out the cartridge and bite off the paper at the top, pouring a small bit of powder into the pan; ram the remaining powder, paper, and ball down the bore; put the musket on full cock; and pull the trigger. Here the lock struck the flint, producing a spark in the powder pan. The cover, or *frissen*, kept the powder dry and

prevented it from falling out of the pan; it opened when the flint moved forward. (The term "flash in the pan," where there is a sign of something and yet not the desired result, comes from a misfire where there would be a flash only.) The resulting flash raced through the touch hole into the barrel, and the gun fired.

A well-trained soldier could fire three, or perhaps four, shots a minute from his flintlock. Even so, the flintlock musket was a highly inaccurate and rather unreliable weapon. With the French flintlock musket, 1 misfire might be expected in every 9 shots and 1 hang fire in every 18. The flint had to be changed every 30 shots or so.

The soft lead bullet moving at a relatively low velocity had great knockdown power. As soon as it struck any resistant object, such as human flesh, it began to spread, creating frightful wounds. Because this so often removed chunks of bone, amputations remained a common occurrence.

Despite the advance made with flintlocks, European armies did not immediately forego the matchlock or the wheel-lock. In fact, all three weapons were routinely integrated along with pikes. Well into the 17th century, governments did little to standardize firearm specifications or production. Despite this, the flintlock came to dominate Western armies by the 18th century.

The main drawback to the flintlock was its lack of accuracy. Its great windage (the difference between the diameter of the bore and the diameter of the ball being fired) meant that such weapons were



Closeup of a flintlock musket. (North Wind Picrture Archives)

inherently inaccurate. Soldiers could not reliably hit a man-sized target beyond 80 yards. Substantial windage was necessary because of the slightly irregular bullet and the considerable buildup of residue in the barrel from the burning of the black powder. As a result, the bullet actually bounded down the bore ("balloting") and might take flight from the muzzle of the weapon at an undesired angle.

The inaccuracy in fire meant that most battles between infantry took place at near-dueling pistol range. In firing tactics, commanders sought to mass as many muskets as possible in a short length of firing line, expecting that sheer volume of fire would overcome inaccuracy. The result could be frightful numbers of casualties.

Spain was the first nation to introduce firearms in the Western Hemisphere. Indeed, the word "musket" comes from the Spanish *mosquete*. During his exploration of the Caribbean in the 1490s, Christopher Columbus employed primitive hand cannon.

Under the reign of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1519–1556), also king of Spain as Charles I during 1516–1556, the Spanish arms industry greatly expanded. The Spanish are credited with two significant contributions to firearm design. First, the trigger mechanism commonly used on the crossbow was applied to the musket; and second, wooden stocks were designed so that a musket could be fired not braced against the chest as was customary, but rather

pressed against the shoulder. The latter method allowed better aim and a greater absorption of recoil.

The common Spanish firearm was the *escopeta*, or light musket. Used by both infantry and cavalry, the *escopeta* was also employed by civilians. Unlike mainline army regiments, however, presidios and frontier outposts remained persistently underequipped. Reportedly, in all of New Mexico in 1772 there were only 250 firearms. The variety of calibers and the lack of spare parts also proved a constant problem. As a result, the Spanish tended to retain and repeatedly refurbish older weapons. Cases of 17th-century muskets being used in the 19th century were not uncommon.

The Spanish government did not officially adopt a military musket until the mid-18th century. Heavily influenced by French and German design, its Model 1751 was the first standardized shoulder weapon of the Spanish Army until replaced by the Model 1791.

Like the Spanish, the French did not adopt a standardized infantry musket until the 18th century. Initially, arms used by French troops remained at the discretion of individual commanders, as long as the weapons were flintlocks. The French, who officially abandoned the matchlock in 1699, did not adopt a regulation flintlock musket until 1717. Produced in factories at St. Étienne, Maubeuge, Brescia, Tulle, and Charleville (Nozon Manufactory), French muskets were stamped with their place of manufacture.

These weapons were routinely all known as "Charlevilles." The Model 1717—unlike British or Spanish muskets—underwent numerous changes and modifications during the colonial period. For example, in 1728, metal bands replaced pins to secure the barrel in its wooden stock, making the barrel easier to remove. In 1746, a metal ramrod replaced the older, wooden one.

The 1768 model Charleville was lightened and known as the Léger. French armories produced some 150,000 of them. It was .69 caliber with a barrel length of 44.75 inches and an overall length of 60 inches and weight of 9.47 pounds. The French shipped large numbers of the model to America, and it was the principal musket of the Continental Army in the American Revolutionary War. Later, the Charleville formed the basis of the first U.S. military musket, the Model 1795. The French generally produced high-quality muskets, and theirs remained throughout the colonial period second in quality perhaps only to British weapons.

The British, like their Spanish and French counterparts, did not adopt a standardized military musket until the 18th century. Even as late as the 1720s, British regiments purchased their own firearms. Under Queen Anne (1702-1714), however, the British Army officially adopted a standardized shoulder weapon, the socalled Brown Bess. Perhaps the most famous flintlock musket of the colonial period, it may have taken its name from "browning," the process whereby the iron barrel was treated. "Bess" may have been a corruption of the German word büsche, meaning gun, or it may have been simply a soldier's nickname. The Brown Bess was introduced into the British Army in 1720 and remained in service until the 1840s. All models were .75 caliber (three-quarters of an inch or 19 millimeters), but barrel length varied. The Long Land musket common to 1760 had a barrel 46 inches long, whereas the Short Land model, or Second Model, thereafter had a barrel 42 inches long and overall length of 58.25 inches. It weighed 8.80 pounds. The lock for both had a goose-neck cock with a convex surface. The Brown Bess mounted a 17-inch bayonet.

Besides the standard military musket, other types of shoulder weapons found in the colonies included carbines, musketoons, and blunderbusses. Carbines and musketoons were shorter muskets generally intended for so-called light infantry, cavalry, and use aboard ships. No standard archetype of either weapon existed in the colonial period, but most had barrels that measured from 28 to 42 inches in length. Sometimes carbines were rifled. The need for portable shoulder arms in the American woodlands, particularly during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), forced the British military to consider the feasibility of officially adopting such weapons.

The blunderbuss was a large-caliber weapon with a short barrel and a distinctive, flaring muzzle. Introduced to England from Holland in the mid-17th century, the blunderbuss was specifically designed to spray a large number of pellets at close range. For this reason, it was the preferred weapon of naval boarding parties and by coach guards. At sea, large blunderbusses known as "boat guns" (often mounted on swivels) could fire up to one pound of shot. Con-

trary to myth, blunderbusses did not see widespread use in the North American colonies.

One technological innovation that never became widely adopted during the colonial period was the breech-loader. Borrowing a concept first used by experiments with early artillery pieces, it was rightly believed that loading a weapon from the breech (rather than the muzzle) would prove more efficient for the soldier. However, despite widespread attempts to develop a viable breech-loader, the tolerances necessary were simply not possible with the primitive metallurgical technology of the day. Gases escaping from the breech remained a serious problem for the individual doing the firing. Expense was another factor. As a result, European and American military forces continued to employ the standard muzzle-loader well into the 19th century.

A common firearm in the British colonies, the "fowler" (also referred to as the Kentucky, American, or, most frequently, the Pennsylvania rifle) was a musket with an extra long barrel. Sometimes these barrels were more than seven feet in length. The Pennsylvania Rifle was actually based on a hunting piece introduced by German immigrants. A superb firearm with an effective range of up to 200 yards, the rifle greatly outdistanced the military musket. What made this firearm so lethal was rifling, one of the greatest innovations in the history of weapons technology.

Rifling, or lateral, twisting grooves inside the barrel that imparted a spin to the bullet, had been introduced into firearms in Europe by 1550. By spinning a bullet on discharge, rifling allowed bullets to be fired from a weapon with much greater accuracy and distance

Despite their advantages, most armies did not employ the rifle in any large numbers. An exception were specialized units of riflemen formed in the Continental Army during the American Revolutionary War.

Rifled firearms (see separate entry) were costly, and they were difficult to load. In order for the rifling to take effect, windage was sharply reduced and the ball had to be rammed hard down the bore, a time-consuming and more difficult process. Also, since European armies continued to fight in closely compacted ranks at close range well through the 18th century, "accuracy" was never a serious concern. Thus, throughout the colonial period, rifles tended to be used primarily by civilians as hunting weapons, smoothbore muskets by the military.

Over time, the British North American colonies inadvertently acquired a diverse collection of shoulder weapons. Old parts were repeatedly reused and refurbished. More often than not, colonials owned one weapon that served as both a hunting and a militia piece.

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See also

Artillery, Land; Artillery, Naval; Edged Weapons; Harquebus; Pistols; Rifle

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Mutiny, Army

Mutiny is the act of disobeying a lawful authority; most commonly it is applied to military service. Many of the best-known mutinies have occurred in naval forces at sea, where the meager rations, close quarters, harsh discipline, and difficult service conditions of the colonial period created almost perfect conditions for dissent within the ranks. However, mutinies have occurred in virtually every military force in every era for a wide variety of reasons.

Prior to the European colonization of North America, mutinies were typically associated with mercenary units. Mercenaries, never known for strict discipline or abject loyalty to an employer, tended to mutiny against their commanders when faced with poor supplies or a failure by the employer to pay in a timely fashion. Winter was the most common season for mutinies. Then military forces were usually in garrison waiting for the spring campaign season. Bored, poorly supplied troops in winter quarters often expressed frustration with their situation by defying the orders of their commander rather than openly revolting. The penalty for mutiny has varied, depending on the causes and outcomes of the mutinous conduct and the whims of commanders charged with quelling them. Usually, individuals found guilty of inciting a mutiny or leading one have been executed, whereas mere participants have faced lesser penalties.

During the colonial period, the European power that faced the greatest difficulty with mutiny was Spain. The conquests of the Aztec and Inca empires both included native uprisings coupled with mutinous Spanish soldiers. Perhaps the most mutinous army in history was the Spanish Army of Flanders, which experienced 45 separate mutinies from 1572 to 1607. Chief among the causes were delays in payment for the troops, who refused to acknowledge orders until they were paid.

The 1664 English attack on New Netherland (later New York) benefited from a massive mutiny by the Dutch defenders of the colony. When Gov. Petrus Stuyvesant attempted to organize a defense of the colony, the militia refused to fire a shot, and the entire territory became an English possession. In the French and English colonies, friction between regular troops and provincial forces sometimes contributed to mutinous behavior. English regulars had great difficulty in compelling colonial militia forces to submit to royal authority. When colonial troops believed that they had been

mistreated by regular commanders, they routinely deserted en masse and simply marched home. In 1675, Nathaniel Bacon of Virginia, joined by a frontier force bent on the destruction of Native American tribes in the region, mutinied against the authority of Gov. William Berkeley, eventually descending on the colonial capital, Jamestown, and burning it in 1676. Bacon's Rebellion (1676–1677) was eventually put down by Virginia and Maryland militiamen assisted by a party of English regulars. Nevertheless, it represents one of the largest and best-known examples of mutiny in the American colonies.

English colonists often used native allies in their colonial conflicts, but soon discovered that their allies had a different view of military authority. English commanders considered it mutinous when warriors refused to follow commands or left a war party for their own reasons. During the Tuscarora War (1711–1713), a party of Yamasees returned to their homes when they decided that they had plundered and captured a sufficient number of Tuscaroras to make their participation in the war worthwhile. The Carolina colonists accompanying the Yamasees protested but could not stop what they viewed as a mutiny.

During the colonial wars between European powers, mutiny within regular units was almost unheard of, or went unreported by European commanders. Mutinies by provincial units, typically of the mass desertion variety, went unpunished by colonial authorities. During the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), mutiny became almost an annual occurrence in the Continental Army, particularly when the army was in winter quarters and rations were scarce. In the winter of 1780–1781, General George Washington was forced to use French troops to quell a mutiny led by members of the Pennsylvania line, who were upset about poor food, inadequate clothing, and short supplies provided by the Continental Congress.

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See also

Bacon's Rebellion; Berkeley, William; Desertion, Army; Desertion, Navy; Logistics; Mutiny, Navy; New Netherland; Quartermaster General; Stuyvesant, Petrus; Tuscarora War

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Mutiny, Navy

Mutiny is the disobeying of a lawful authority, most commonly applied to military service. Group resistance to discipline has been a continual facet of military organizations but has been particularly prevalent aboard ships. Typically, mutinies have been spontaneous

refusals to obey orders or persist in difficult service conditions. They have tended to be passive rather than active and most have been of a short duration. Although mutinies can occur in any branch of military service, and under almost any conditions, most people associate the term "mutiny" with shipboard actions.

Mutinies, though not limited to naval vessels, have historically occurred most often aboard ships. During the colonial period, service conditions aboard European vessels created almost perfect conditions for mutinies. On most vessels, living space for sailors was extremely cramped, food rations and medical care were poor, and discipline was very harsh. Voyages, lasting months or even years, consisted of isolation from any potential outlet for discontent among the crew.

The penalty for mutinous conduct has varied by time, severity of the behavior, and the whims of individual commanders. According to the Articles of War governing behavior in the British Royal Navy, mutiny was punishable by death. Some captains found negotiations more effective than brute force in ending mutinies, however. Captains whose crew mutinied faced the possibility of developing a poor reputation, and thus it is likely that shipboard activities fitting the literal definition of mutiny were not always reported as such. Although 4 of the 36 Articles of War defined mutiny and prescribed death as its punishment, the ship captains had tremendous leeway in enforcing discipline.

Naval mutinies are not limited to military forces during wartime. Many of the great European exploration voyages included mutinous conduct. During his attempt to circumnavigate the globe, Ferdinand Magellan faced a mutiny led by three of the five captains in his fleet while anchored off the coast of Brazil. One of the captains was killed during the mutiny, another was executed, and a third was marooned after a court-martial. Sir Francis Drake endured a similar rebellion 58 years later after navigating the Strait of Magellan. Like his predecessor, he ordered the execution of the mutiny's leader after a court-martial. Naval mutinies could also be triggered by the practice of impressment, or the forcible enlistment of personnel to serve in armies or onboard ship. With a crew containing enough impressed sailors, who would naturally be disinclined toward discipline, mutiny would never have been very far off.

Probably the most famous mutiny in history occurred on April 28, 1789, aboard HMS *Bounty*, but the largest and most widespread mutiny in the British Royal Navy occurred during the wars of the French Revolution (1789–1799). In 1797, seamen at Spithead, England, demanded an increase in wages, an end to impressments, an improvement in rations, and a reduction in shipboard punishments. The initial reaction of the Admiralty was to react with force, but in time, the Admiralty settled on a negotiated end to the revolt. As such, the collective mutiny at Spithead took the form of a labor strike rather than a rebellion. In the end, the Admiralty offered amnesty to the mutineers, approved an increase in wages, and removed the officers identified as the strictest disciplinarians in the fleet.

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See also

Drake, Sir Francis; Great Britain, Navy; Impressment, Navy; Mutiny, Army; Sailors

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Mystic Fort Fight

Event Date: May 26, 1637

Assault on a palisaded Pequot community near the Mystic River in present-day Connecticut on May 26, 1637. The attack was carried out by a force of English settlers and their Native American allies. The Mystic Fort Fight became the central event of the Pequot War (1636–1638). It resulted in the immediate deaths of hundreds of men, women, and children, and led to the longer-term subjugation of the tribe to the Mohegans and the Narragansetts. These two tribes had assisted the English colonists.

Following the outbreak of the conflict with the Endicott expedition of September 1636, hostilities for the next six months revolved around Pequot harassment of the English at Fort Saybrook, at the mouth of the Connecticut River. But in late April 1637, Pequot warriors raided Wethersfield, an English settlement further up the river, killing 6 men, 3 women, and much livestock, and capturing 2 girls. A week later, on May 1, the General Court of the Connecticut Colony declared "offensive war" on the Pequots. It duly sent 90 men under Captain John Mason on a retaliatory mission.

Shortly thereafter, Mason's force arrived at Fort Saybrook accompanied by a number of Mohegan warriors under their leader Uncas. There Mason met a smaller group of 20 men under Captain John Underhill, sent out by the colony at Massachusetts.

Mason's original orders specified that he attack the main Native American settlement on the Pequot River. However, after considering the difficulties of such an attack, and in consultation with other officers and the expedition's cleric, Mason decided to move his force to Narragansett Bay. From there he planned to attack another large fortified Pequot settlement on the Mystic River.

On the evening of May 23, 1637, Mason landed with about 70 men from Connecticut, 19 from Massachusetts, and some 70 Mohegan warriors. He negotiated with Miantonomo and other Narragansett leaders to pass through their lands and marched his forces westward the following day. The English and the Mohegans then encamped outside, and surrounded, an Eastern Niantic village, a precaution to ensure that none alerted the Pequots of their approach. They did so also because of the Niantics' antagonistic attitudes.

Estimated	Casualties	during	the My	vstic For	t Fight

	Killed	Wounded	Captured	Escaped
Colonial troops	2	20	0	0
Colonial-allied Indians	Unknown	Unknown	0	0
Pequots	400-700	0	7	7

On the morning of May 25, several hundred Narragansett warriors joined Mason's expedition. The weather was hot and the march was a difficult one. Many of the Narragansetts abandoned Mason when his forces reached the Pawtucket River, which was their boundary with Pequot land.

The men rested during the night, then began their attack around daybreak on May 26, 1637. The attackers first surrounded the village and fired a musket volley, surprising the sleeping Pequots inside. Then, divided into two forces—one each under Mason and Underhill—the men simultaneously assaulted the two entrances in the palisade. The Pequots defended themselves with bows and arrows and in hand-to-hand combat. Although the original English intention was to kill the inhabitants, the attackers found the struggle difficult in the tight quarters among the Pequot wigwams, leading their commanders to decide to set fire to the village. The conflagration soon engulfed the settlement, with numerous Pequots dying in the blaze and many warriors fighting to the last. Other Pequots fled the village, but almost all those attempting to escape were slain by the English or their Native American allies.

Combat did not end with the destruction of Mystic village, however. Mason's force then had to continue on to the Pequot River to rendezvous with their ships. During the march, warriors from the other main Pequot settlement attacked, although the English effectively kept them at bay. Mason's march was slowed by the exhaustion of his men and the need to transport the wounded. The English reached their vessels later that day.

English casualties for the campaign amounted to 2 killed and 20 wounded; casualties among the accompanying Mohegan and Narragansett warriors are unknown. Estimates of Pequots slain at Mystic range from 400 to 700 people. Mason claimed that only 7 were taken captive and 7 escaped. Pequots elsewhere scattered after the assault, with many later hunted down by the English and their native allies. Although these operations did not result in the wholesale slaughter witnessed at Mystic, hundreds of Pequots were forced into servitude by the English or were incorporated into the Narragansett or Mohegan tribes.

MATTHEW S. MUEHLBAUER

See also

Endicott Expedition; Fort Saybrook (Connecticut); Mason, John; Miantonomo (Miantonomi); Mohegans; Narragansetts; Pequot War; Pequots; Uncas; Underhill, John

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N

Nairne, Thomas

Born: ca. 1672 Died: April 18, 1715

British military adventurer, diplomat, politician, and trader and the first official Indian agent in South Carolina. Thomas Nairne was most likely born in northern Scotland around 1672. Little is known of his early life or when exactly he went to Carolina. Nevertheless, by 1700 he had established himself as a planter in the colony.

In 1704, Nairne made a name for himself through his involvement in Thomas Moore's 1704 campaign against the Spanish-allied native towns of Florida. Most of Nairne's career, however, was devoted to improving English alliances with the Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw tribes. He also enlisted their support for English attacks against the French colony of Mobile, established in 1702. Beginning in 1706, Nairne was a member of the South Carolina Assembly.

Fearing French ambitions toward Carolina and hoping to solidify Anglo-native relations, the proprietary government appointed Nairne as Carolina's first official Indian agent in July 1707. The following winter, Nairne made a lengthy trip from Carolina to the Mississippi River. Once there, he enlisted native support for a British assault against Mobile. The natives happily accepted Nairne's gifts, but few supported the attack. Nairne's accounts of the journey, however, provide some of the richest and earliest English accounts of southeastern Native American ethnography. Nairne ended his mission imprisoned in the Charles Town (present-day Charleston) jail, falsely accused of treason by his political opponent Nathaniel Johnson, proprietary governor of South Carolina.

While in prison, Nairne made his most valuable contributions to the history of Anglo-native relations in the southeast. A manuscript map that he drew of his travels provided British cartographers with a wealth of new details on the native peoples of the southeast. More important, Nairne attached to his map a commentary that would form the nucleus of Britain's native policy for the remainder of the 18th century. In it, he emphasized the French threat and suggested aggressive British involvement in Native American affairs as a remedy. The British, he argued, needed to cultivate native alliances through trade, construct forts in the Tennessee Valley, and establish buffer colonies south of the Savannah River. Nairne's plan would not become official British policy until the 1720s.

Cleared of all charges by 1710, Nairne was once more elected to the assembly. He resumed his role as Indian agent in 1712, entering into frequent discussions and negotiations with the region's native tribes. He tried, unsuccessfully, to put an end to the shady dealings in which some white traders had engaged with Native Americans. In 1715, on the outbreak of the Yamasee War (1715–1717), Nairne attempted to negotiate a peaceful resolution to the conflict but was murdered by a group of Yamasee warriors on April 18, 1715.

ROBERT PAULETT

See also

Cherokees; Chickasaws; Choctaws; Creeks; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; South Carolina; Yamasees; Yamasee War

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Nansemonds

An Algonquian-speaking Native American tribe inhabiting an area south of the James River in eastern Virginia. The Nansemonds lived in villages along both sides of the Nansemond River near the present-day city of Suffolk. Their chief (or *werowance*), lived near Dumpling Island on the Nansemond River in the vicinity of Chuckatuck. The way of life of the Nansemonds was similar to that of other natives of the eastern woodlands. They lived a semisedentary existence, moving closer to food supplies based on the season. The men engaged in hunting, fishing, and war, while the women tended gardens and to domestic chores.

At the time of the founding of Jamestown in 1607, the Nansemonds could muster about 300 braves in a population estimated to have numbered about 1,200. Prior to the arrival of the English, the tribe had been defeated by Chief Powhatan, who compelled the Nansemonds to join the Powhatan Confederacy.

The earliest Nansemond encounters with the English were hostile because of raids carried out by the latter on Nansemond villages. Captain John Smith wrote that two English emissaries had been sent to negotiate the purchase of an island from the Nansemonds in 1608; however, they were tortured and killed. Led by captains John Martin and George Percy, the English in reprisal drove the Nansemonds off the island, burned their dwellings and assembly buildings, and desecrated the resting places of their dead. As English settlers moved into the area of the Nansemond River to farm the rich land there, fierce Nansemond resistance continued. In 1622, the Nansemonds participated in the March native uprising that precipitated the Second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622–1632).

The Nansemonds temporarily mitigated their hostility toward the English in 1638. That year saw the colonist John Bass marrying a Nansemond woman. Converted to Christianity, she was given the baptismal name of Elizabeth. It is believed that everyone in today's Nansemond tribe is descended from that marriage. The unconverted Nansemonds remained hostile toward the English, making war against them again in 1644 during the wider Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1644–1646). After the conflict, they fled southwest toward the Nottoway River. There the Virginia colonial government assigned them a reservation in the Hampton Roads area. In the late 1600s, the Nansemonds split into two main groups. The Christianized Nansemonds remained along the Nansemond River as Englishstyled farmers. The others stayed on the land reserved for them. After 1744, the reservation was abandoned because the Nansemonds preferred living with the Nottoways on the Nottoway reservation. The old Nansemond reservation was sold in 1792, and the last of these Nansemonds died on the Nottoway reservation in 1806.

The Christianized Nansemonds subsequently moved to an area northeast of the Great Dismal Swamp. The area had few English settlers and was well suited to their way of life. On May 29, 1677, the Nansemonds along with the Pamunkeys and the Appomattocks signed a peace treaty with the English. By this agreement, known as

the Treaty of Middle Plantation (the Virginia-Indian Treaty of 1677/1680), they became tributaries of the English Crown.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Anglo-Powhatan War, Third; Powhatan (Wahunsonacock); Powhatan Confederacy; Virginia-Indian Treaty (1677/1680)

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Narragansetts

Native American group inhabiting southeastern New England. The Narragansetts lived in present-day Rhode Island, although their authority frequently extended south to Long Island and Block Island. Other area tribes that fell under Narragansett control were the Pawtuxets, the Niantics, the Manisseans, the Cowesets, and the Shawomets. Some Nipmucks and Montauks were also beholden to the Narragansett sachems (chiefs). The Narragansetts came to be known by Europeans through their relationship with Rhode Island founder Roger Williams. Williams was exiled from Massachusetts Bay because of his unconventional ideas, especially in regard to religion. His relationship with the Narragansetts helped him pen *A Key into the Language of America*, written in 1643. It is from this account that much of the knowledge of the Narragansetts is derived.

The Narragansetts spoke an Eastern Algonquian language and were governed politically by two sachems, usually an uncle and a nephew. In addition to cultivating maize, squash, beans, and similar crops, the Narragansetts fished and hunted. Because wampum was usually made of shells, the abundance of quahogs (a large clam indigenous to the northeast) and whelks ensured that the Narragansetts dominated the wampum trade. Indeed, by the mid-1620s, the tribe had grown quite wealthy by its control of the wampum trade. Wampum was often used as money for trade, gifts, and even diplomacy, allowing the Narragansetts to develop strong trading ties and tributary relationships with other tribes of New England. When English settlement developed in New England in the 1620s, the Narragansett were thus quite powerful. Fortunately for them, they had avoided the devastating epidemics of 1616–1619 that had diminished many Native American nations.

During the Pequot War (1636–1638), Williams persuaded the Narragansetts to ally themselves with Massachusetts Bay. The English were intent on a preemptive attack on the Pequots and Narragansett assistance was critical. Accompanying the English to Mystic Fort in 1637, Narragansett warriors were appalled by the behavior of the English, who burned the entire village. Most Pequot adult males were away from Mystic preparing for war, so primarily



Roger Williams lands at Providence Plantation in 1636 and is greeted by members of the Narragansett tribe. (Library of Congress)

women and children remained. As the village burned, fleeing survivors were shot outside the walls. The Mystic Fort Fight killed as many as 700 Pequots and essentially annihilated the tribe. During the fighting, the English had attacked some 20 Narragansetts in the mistaken belief that they were Pequots.

In the 1640s, the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Plymouth formed the New England Confederation. The loose union was meant to be a military alliance. In 1643, when Narragansett sachem Miantonomo sold a large parcel of land to an enemy of the Puritans, the confederation-allied Mohegans murdered him. Threatened with war, the Narragansetts submitted to the power of the English king, though not to the colonists. However, in 1644, a treaty between the two groups placed the Narragansetts in a subordinate position, and they continued to lose ancestral lands to the colonists.

Into the 1670s, the English continued to covet native lands. Wampanoag leader Metacom, also known as King Philip, organized attacks against the English settlements. In July 1675, the Wampanoags attacked outlying settlements of Plymouth Colony, sparking King Philip's War (1675–1676). With their initial success, other

tribes joined in the attacks against remote colonial towns. Although the Narragansetts tried to remain neutral while covertly aiding the Wampanoags, the English managed to drag them into the fighting. In retaliation for native attacks, the English organized a force of some 1,000 men who attacked the Narragansetts in late 1675. This offensive culminated in the devastating Great Swamp Fight of December 19, 1675, in which more than 600 Narragansetts died. At least 300 more became prisoners. The Great Swamp Fight was one of the bloodiest battles of the war and deeply demoralized the tribe, although afterward the Narragansetts openly assisted Metacom. King Philip's War raged on with sporadic attacks until the spring of 1676. Hunger and disease drove many warriors from the field, and Metacom was killed during the summer. Afterward, the English sold many of the native captives into slavery and imposed strict regulations on those that remained.

After King Philip's War, the Narragansetts ceased to exist as an independent entity. They joined together with the Niantics. Over the next two centuries, they assimilated with American culture as the only way to survive. The language and last full-blooded

Narragansetts died in the 1800s. Although the Narragansetts were detribalized in 1880, activists were able to regain recognition of the tribe in 1983.

SARAH E. MILLER

See also

Great Swamp Fight; King Philip's War; Massachusetts Bay–Pequot Treaty; Metacom; Miantonomo (Miantonomi); Mystic Fort Fight; Pequot War; Rhode Island; Wampanoags; Wampum; Williams, Roger

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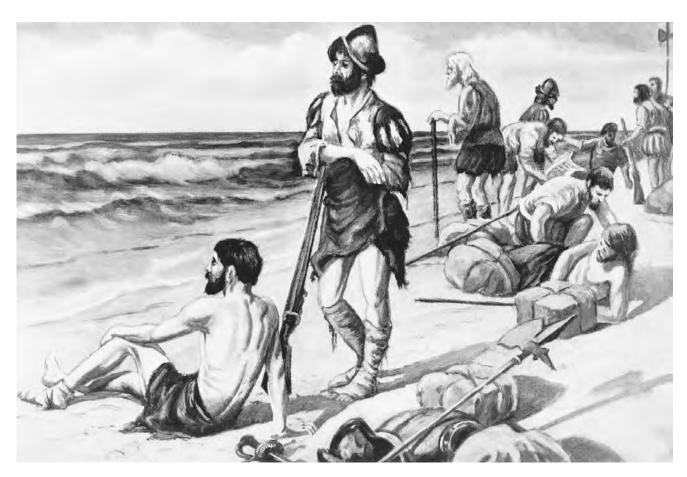
Born: ca. 1480 Died: 1528

Spanish explorer and conquistador who led an ill-fated expedition to Florida in the early 16th century. Pánfilo de Narváez was born in

Tidels or Valladolid, Spain, probably in 1480. As a conquistador, Narváez assisted in the conquest of the island of Cuba in 1511. In 1519, on the orders of the Spanish governor of Cuba, Juan Velasquez, Narváez tried to seize and imprison Hernán Cortés and claim Mexico for Velasquez. When this dispute was adjudicated by the king in Spain, Charles V took the side of Cortés, although he granted Narváez land in southeastern North America in 1526.

In 1528, while sailing to the northern Gulf Coast to claim his grant, Narváez accidently landed on the western coast of Florida after a storm drove his fleet of five ships off the coast of Cuba. Narváez decided to land to replenish his water supply and take advantage of the unintended detour to explore. He set out north, believing that he was headed toward Bahía Honda (Tampa Bay). Not realizing he was already north of the location he intended to explore, Narváez marched his 300 men northward after he sent his ships ahead to meet them. He never saw the ships again. Narváez's men arrived at the Withlacoochee River, but not finding a bay at its mouth, they headed inland along the river. The party encountered several Timucua villages and from there they headed north in northwest Florida.

In territory settled by the Apalachees, Narváez found the natives more numerous and food resources more abundant, but there was no gold. On encountering the first Apalachee village, Narváez



Artist's depiction of Spaniard Pánfilo de Narváez (center), who led an expedition to the Gulf Coast in 1528 to establish a settlement that would end in disaster. Narváez himself was swept out to sea on a raft and drowned. (Bettmann/Corbis)

ordered an immediate attack. From that point forward, however, the Spanish remained under constant attack by the Apalachees.

Finally low on supplies, the expedition headed west to the coast in the hopes of meeting its ships. When the men reached the Gulf of Mexico, the ships were nowhere to be seen, so they built rafts, trying to reach Mexico by sailing along the coastline. During a sudden storm in November 1528, Narváez, who was offshore on a raft, was suddenly swept out to sea and lost. Only a handful of survivors of the expedition finally made it to Mexico after wandering for several years in what is today the southwest United States and northern Mexico. One of the survivors, Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, published a record of their travails, and this narrative later inspired Hernando de Soto to explore the Southeast and Francisco Coronado to explore the Southwest in attempts to locate the rich lands and cities of gold that Cabeza de Vaca claimed in his narrative to exist. Another survivor of the Narváez debacle, Juan Ortiz, was later found in Florida by the de Soto expedition and proved to be an invaluable guide and translator.

DIXIE RAY HAGGARD

See also

Apalachees; Coronado, Francisco Vásquez de; Florida; Soto, Hernando de

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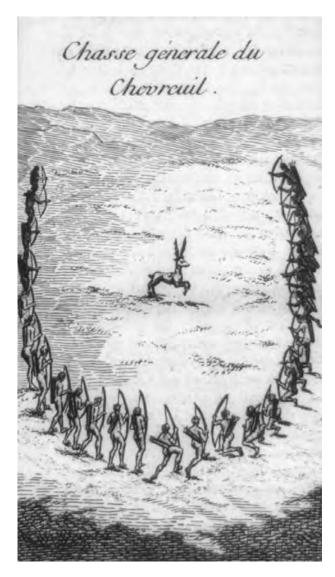
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Natchez

Native American group inhabiting the area now known as the southwestern part of the state of Mississippi. The center of their culture was present-day Natchez, Mississippi. Their language, related to the Muskogean language family, indicates that they were related to other Native American groups in the lower Mississippi River Valley. The word "Natchez" was the name of their principal settlement, and it was the Europeans who gave that name to all of them. The Natchez were successful farmers and grew corn, beans, and squash. They also hunted and fished.

The first European to encounter the tribe was Hernando de Soto in 1543. The nation was first designated Natchez in March 1682, when René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, descended the Mississippi River. In the Natchez, La Salle found the strongest Native American nation in the area. Of the American Indian groups to survive the wars and disease that came with de Soto's arrival, the Natchez retained much of their Mississippian mound-building culture, the monarchy, and their so-called Sun Caste.

Natchez society was organized as a chiefdom. It was highly stratified and organized into nobles and commoners; the highest level was known as the Sun Caste. Social standing was determined through the female line. The Natchez chief, known as the Great Sun, inherited his position from his mother's family. Natchez kings were



Depiction of Natchez Native Americans hunting deer by Antoine-Simon Le Page du Pratz, ca. 1758. (Library of Congress)

afforded every honor, such as being transported on a litter wherever they went. Indeed, no king's feet were allowed to touch the ground in travel. When a member of the Sun Caste died, many of his family and friends were buried with him in ritual sacrifice.

The Natchez were mound builders. This had to do with their tribal religion, and they erected sacred buildings on these flattopped ceremonial mounds. Periodically, the dispersed Natchez families gathered at the mounds for social and religious events.

As with other Native Americans, the Natchez fell prey to the consequences of contact with the Europeans and their diseases. Indeed, disease accounted for far more casualties than those lost to war. To replace their dwindling numbers, the Natchez turned to the custom of incorporating smaller groups into their nation.

Following the arrival of La Salle and Christian missionaries in the early 18th century, relations with the French remained relatively cordial. Indeed, a large number of Natchez had been baptized by the early 1700s. By 1713, the Natchez were involved in the lucrative task of capturing American Indian slaves for the colonial market. This human trade was a major factor in the eventual extinction of smaller, less-powerful tribes.

Relations with the French were not always peaceful, and in 1715 the First Natchez War began. Its basic cause was European encroachment on land the Natchez considered theirs. Following the murders of four Frenchmen, the French governor of Louisiana, Antoine de La Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac, ordered the commander of the Mississippi River, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, and 34 French troops to deal with some 800 Natchez warriors. Recruiting additional manpower, Bienville moved into Natchez territory and succeeded by ruse and the taking of a number of Natchez nobles hostage, to get the Natchez chiefs to execute the 6 murderers. Bienville then secured the assistance of the Natchez in the construction in 1716 of Fort Rosalie (present-day Natchez, Mississippi).

French settlers continued to settle on Natchez lands. English agents were also active trying to stir up the Natchez against the French. Finally, in November 1729, the commandant at Fort Rosalie provoked the Natchez into revolt. The Natchez killed or captured hundreds of French colonists before French reinforcements and superior weaponry turned the tide. The Natchez finally capitulated in January 1731. Four hundred natives surrendered and were deported to Santo Domingo as slaves.

At war's end in 1733, the remainder of the Natchez fled to the Chickasaw Nation in northern Mississippi, where they received refuge. The French subsequently fought two unsuccessful wars with the Chickasaws to have the refugee Natchez handed over to them.

Eventually, the Natchez who had fled to the Chickasaws split into three groups. One joined the Upper Creeks in what soon became Georgia, the second joined the Cherokees to the north, in what would become Tennessee, and the third group fled to South Carolina. Today, the Edisto Nation of South Carolina identify themselves as the Kusso-Natchez.

THOMAS J. BLUMER

See also

Chickasaws; Chickasaw Wars; Columbian Exchange; Creeks; Fort Rosalie (Mississippi); La Salle, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de; Le Moyne de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste; Mississippi River; Natchez Revolt; Natchez War; Native Warfare; Soto, Hernando de; South Carolina; Tunicas

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Natchez Revolt

Event Date: November 28, 1729

Uprising by the Natchez against the French in November 1729. In 1716, the French constructed Fort Rosalie, situated along the eastern bank of the Mississippi River and among the Natchez people. This activity was part of an effort to monopolize the fur trade in the Mississippi River Valley.

Natchez relations with the French were tenuous at best, with sporadic episodes of open warfare. In 1728, Sieur de Chepart, a notoriously brash individual, replaced a fairly popular French commander at the Natchez post. His relations with the Natchez were deplorable. Particularly distasteful had been his order for one Natchez village to relocate to make room for a French plantation. Word quickly spread to all Natchez villages of an impending revolt designed to rid the region of the French and prevent further encroachment.

During the fall of 1729, Natchez villages held celebrations and ceremonies in preparation for the attack. They displayed elaborate decorations and ornaments while Natchez warriors swore to fight to the death for their people. During these autumn months, French settlers began reporting rumors of an impending attack. Chepart dismissed them.

On November 28, 1729, the Natchez began to carry out their planned attack. Natchez warriors moved throughout the French community asking for arms and ammunition for a hunt, promising some of the meat in return—something that did not raise suspicions. With 2 or 3 warriors at each French house, the Natchez simultaneously fell on the French inhabitants at the sound of firing at the commandant's house. Within hours, 145 French men, including Chepart, 36 women, and 56 children, had been killed, nearly a tenth of the white population in Louisiana. Almost 300 black slaves and another 50 white women and children were carried off into captivity.

The Natchez Revolt shocked the colony of Louisiana, and it halted French settlement around the fort, but the resulting Natchez War (1729–1733) between the French and Natchez ultimately proved disastrous for the Natchez peoples.

IAN SPURGEON

See also

Fort Rosalie (Mississippi); Louisiana; Natchez; Natchez War

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Natchez War

Start Date: December 1729

End Date: 1733

The last of three conflicts between the French and the Natchez, who lived along the Mississippi River near present-day Natchez, Mississippi. The Natchez War escalated into a regional struggle to include the English as well as a sizable number of southern and northern tribes. Although the Natchez were decimated and ceased to function as an independent people after the conflict, the war nevertheless accelerated the erosion of French authority and influence in Louisiana as well as in North America as a whole.

The French and the Natchez had fought previously in 1716 and again in 1722 without reaching any substantial accommodation. Although the French routinely disregarded Natchez culture, other tensions added to this volatile political and military environment. Through their trading partners, the Chickasaws, the British relished antagonizing tribes within the French sphere of influence. The Chickasaws goaded the Natchez by insinuating that they were merely minions of the French. A flash point occurred in 1729, when the commandant of Fort Rosalie, Sieur de Chepart, demanded that the Natchez vacate a village containing a sacred burial mound to make room for his plantation.

On November 28, 1729, the Natchez rose up in a general revolt that targeted the entire French population within their reach. Roughly 550 French citizens and slaves were killed or captured, with the mutilation and torture of men not uncommon. Some slaves were freed and encouraged to join the fight.

The French assembled an army in Louisiana dominated by 1,500 Choctaw warriors and proceeded into the Natchez heartland. Ensconced within a fort strong enough to resist cannon, the Natchez taunted their attackers with promises that the Chickasaws and the English would soon come to the rescue. This move only heightened preexisting French suspicions that outside agitation had prompted the Natchez to rebel. While negotiations were being conducted for the release of women and children, the Natchez quietly left the fort and scattered. One group was captured by Choctaw and Chackchiuma warriors while trying to reach the Chickasaws in early 1730. Some 150 men were executed, whereas women, children, and slaves were freed. The main body of the Natchez was discovered later in 1730 on an island in the Mississippi. Following a French artillery bombardment, the defenders were largely decimated. Another sizable contingent was captured by the French and their Caddo allies near Natchitoches, Louisiana. The group was subjected to a wholesale massacre. Some Natchez escaped to live among the British, the Creeks, and the Cherokees. But the largest collection of escapees, about 1,000 to include 200 warriors, settled among the Chickasaws in 1731.

Believing the Chickasaw tribe responsible for the war, the French recruited aggressively among northern tribes for mercenaries to launch a retaliatory strike. The Hurons and the Illinois responded in the greatest numbers. The French did not officially declare war on the Chickasaws, as they hoped to deal with the remaining Natchez first. A raid in September 1730 by northern warriors killed or captured some 50 Chickasaw men, but the French feigned ignorance when queried on the motives for the attack. The Chickasaws had some success in using gifts and peace messages to dissuade these distant foes from attacking. Chickasaw counterattacks on northern villages enhanced their reputation as the fiercest of tribes east of the Mississippi.

Emboldened by their virtual genocide of the Fox in the Illinois Country in 1730, the French intensified their efforts to eradicate the Natchez by demanding that the Chickasaws turn over refugees and cease trade with the British. When the Chickasaws refused, French authorities arranged for the Choctaws to burn three Chickasaw prisoners at the stake. By February 1731, there was a clamor among the Choctaws for joining the war, in part because of a rumor that the British had poisoned some cloth acquired through trade. But Red Shoes, an ambitious chief cultivated by the French, objected as part of an effort to play off the European powers against one another. The existence of heavily fortified Chickasaw towns further discouraged the Choctaws. But the Chickasaws were plagued by internal divisions of their own concerning the utility of harboring the Natchez. As the pro-Natchez faction gradually prevailed, the Choctaws grew less reluctant to attack their traditional rivals. With Red Shoes settled on a course of war, Choctaws assaulted a Chickasaw hunting party in July 1731 to secure scalps and prisoners.

As the conflict widened, the Choctaws grew adept at using decoys to lure away major Chickasaw forces before raiding their camps. Suffering heavy casualties, the Chickasaws angled for peace with the Choctaws in order to isolate the French. But French officials were adamant that the surrender of the Natchez must accompany any settlement. By the end of 1732, the French-Choctaw alliance was deteriorating over the French refusal to provide troops for native offensives. On the outskirts of New France, Louisiana ranked low among priorities in asserting French authority.

By 1733, the Chickasaws were weakening in their resolve to stand by the Natchez in the face of this lengthy conflict. A Chickasaw chief known as Courcerai parleyed with the French that spring to secure peace in exchange for handing over all available Natchez. But the French governor of Louisiana, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, later incarcerated him in likely retaliation for the capture of two Frenchmen. Courcerai was never heard from again. Meanwhile, the French grew desperate for the Choctaws to demonstrate the sort of initiative lacking among themselves. French officials often assumed cowardice when faced with Choctaw timidity. But Choctaw warriors readied themselves for combat through a series of elaborate rituals deeply rooted in their culture. Expeditions hastily contrived by the French clashed with Choctaw norms and

ruined their fighting spirit. In 1733, the Chickasaws concluded a peace with the northern Choctaws that encouraged an abatement of hostilities. When the Chickasaws closed the Mississippi River to French commerce in 1734, the stage was set for another conflict. Only then would the French mount an expedition of their own against the Chickasaws that failed in 1736.

JEFFREY D. BASS

See also

Caddoes; Chickasaws; Chickasaw Wars; Choctaws; Fort Rosalie (Mississippi); Fox; Hurons; Illinois; Le Moyne de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste; Louisiana; Mississippi River; Natchez; Natchez Revolt; Red Shoe

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Native Americans

The term "Native Americans" refers to the first inhabitants or indigenous peoples of North America and their descendants. Most scholars, using anthropological, archaeological, and genetic evidence, now agree that the first Native Americans migrated to the Western Hemisphere between 11,000 and 35,000 years ago. This migration took place in four distinct episodes across a land bridge that connected Siberia with Alaska. The last ice age created the land bridge by lowering the sea level.

Although many native groups in North America maintained a nomadic lifestyle, other groups developed sedentary societies, especially in the Southwest and the eastern woodlands. Europeans first encountered American Indians in North America in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. They found some groups organized into relatively simple bands and others organized into complex chiefdoms and confederacies. There numbered more than 500 different native groups in North America speaking as many as 2,000 different languages and dialects. European contact and then settlement wrought havoc on American Indian societies. European diseases to which the natives had no natural immunity or resistance killed untold thousands. European settlement and constant land grabs disrupted the societal and political orders of virtually every nation or tribe. Land disputes with the Europeans also brought destruction to native societies, as many of them resulted in violence and war. By the end of the colonial period, most Native American populations had been decimated.

DIXIE RAY HAGGARD

See also

Abenakis; Algonquins (Algonkins); Apalachees; Appomattocks; Caddoes; Calusa; Catawbas; Cayugas; Cherokees; Chickahominys; Chickasaws; Choctaws; Columbian Exchange; Creeks; Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Esopus; Fox; Guales; Hurons; Iroquois; Karankawas; Kickapoos; Mahican; Micmacs; Mingos; Mohawks; Mohegans; Nansemonds; Narragansetts; Natchez; Nipmucks; Norteños; Nottoways; Ojibwas; Oneidas; Onondagas; Osages; Ottawas;

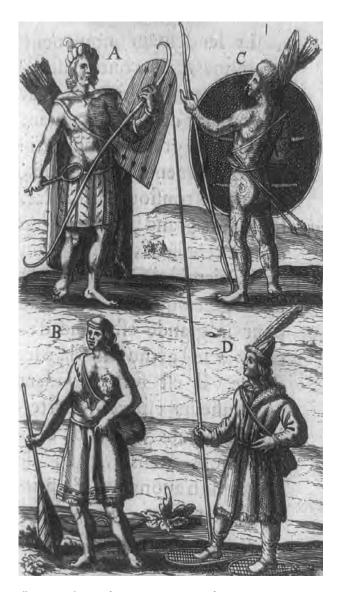


Illustration showing four Native Americans of New France: two men at top in war attire, with shields, bows, and arrows; a mother holding a paddle and nursing an infant; and a man in winter clothing, wearing snowshoes. (Library of Congress)

Pamunkeys; Powhatans; Pueblos; Quapaws; Rappahannocks; Sauks and Fox; Senecas; Shawnees; Sokokis; Susquehannock; Tequestas; Tunicas; Tuscaroras; Waccamaws; Wappingers; Westo; Yamasees

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Important Native American Tribes during the Colonial Era

Tribe	Location	Major alliances/Interactions
Abenakis	Northern New England and Quebec	French
Algonquins	Ottawa River Valley	French
Apalachees	Florida panhandle	Spanish
Appomattocks	Eastern Virginia	Powhatan Confederacy
Calusas	Southwestern Florida	Spanish
Catawbas	Western Carolinas	British
Cayugas	Finger Lakes region of New York	Iroquois Confederacy
Cherokees	Southern Appalachian Mountains	British
Chickasaws	Northern Mississippi and Alabama	British
Choctaws	East-central Mississippi and Alabama	French and British
Creeks	Florida, Georgia, and Alabama	Spanish, French, and British
Delawares	Delaware, New Jersey, southeastern New York, and southeastern Pennsylvania	British
Esopus	Hudson and Delaware River Valleys	Dutch
Hurons	Southern Ontario and southeast Michigan	French
Illinois	Upper Mississippi River Valley	French
Kickapoos	Green Bay and Fox River regions	French
Mahicans	Upper Hudson River Valley	Dutch and French
Mingos	New York	British
Mohawks	Upstate New York	Iroquois Confederacy
Mohegans	Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island	British
Narragansetts	Southeastern New England	British
Natchez	Southwestern Mississippi	French
Nipmucks	East-central Massachusetts	British
Nottoways	Southeastern Virginia and northeastern North Carolina	British
Ojibwas	Upper Great Lakes	French
Oneidas	Central New York	Iroquois Confederacy
Onondagas	Upstate New York	Iroquois Confederacy
Osages	Upper Mississippi and lower Missouri River Valleys	French
Ottawas	Manitoulin Island and northern Lake Huron	French
Pamunkeys	Tidewater Virginia	Powhatan Confederacy
Pennacooks	New Hampshire	British
	Southeastern Connecticut	British
Pequots Pueblos	Upper Rio Grande River Valley	
		Spanish French
Quapaws	Lower Mississippi River Valley	
Rappahannocks Senecas	Tidewater Virginia Western New York	Powhatan Confederacy
Shawnees	South Carolina, Tennessee Cumberland River Basin, and southern Illinois	Iroquois Confederacy French and British
Tequestas	Miami River and coastal islands of southeastern Florida	Spanish Franch
Tunicas	Louisiana region	French
Tuscaroras	Eastern North Carolina	Iroquois Confederacy
Wampanoags	Narragansett Bay to Cape Cod	British
Yamasees	Central Georgia and North Carolina	Spanish

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Native Americans, Alliances with Europeans

Diplomatic, trade, or military alliances existed between Native Americans and the colonists from the beginning of European settlement. Native Americans and Europeans created numerous alliances in the colonial period, most of which collapsed soon after agreement. Common in these compacts was the desire on the part of native tribes to secure allies against neighboring tribes and other

Europeans and to acquire trade goods, specifically weapons. For the Europeans, the chief motivations were the desire to secure provisions in times of need (especially in the early period of colonization), allies against hostile natives and competing European powers, and access to native land.

Colonists of all the major colonial powers present in America sought such alliances. Although alliances were dynamic and changed often, tribes in alliance with the Spanish included the Timucuas, the Apalachees, the Guales, and the Pueblos. Among tribes in alliance with the English at various times were the Powhatans, the Pequots, the Wampanoags, the Cherokees, the Yamasees, the Chickasaws, the Narragansetts, and the Iroquois Confederation. The French were by far the most successful in securing native alliances. Locked in a struggle for North American mastery with the far more numerous English,

the French spent considerable sums on the "king's presents" to the native peoples in order to secure their loyalty and manpower in time of war. The French were also much more tolerant in their attitudes toward the native peoples and were more likely to marry and live among the natives. Tribes in alliance with the French included the Algonquins, the Illinois, the Hurons, and the Choctaws.

In the first contacts between the colonists and natives, the alliances were simple and direct, involving only local representatives of both sides and usually an exchange of goods. With continued contact, the demands on both sides became greater and the alliances involved entire colonies and native nations. The natives were particularly anxious to secure firearms and trade goods, and the colonists took advantage of this to cement alliances against another colonial power or hostile native group and to secure pelts. Alliances between Europeans and natives on occasion involved exchanges of captives.

As with other alliances, these arrangements were hardly ever static. Intertribal confederations often presented a problem. As tribes shifted locations, new alliances and confederations developed. Sometimes these confederations uniformly bound all villages of the confederation into alliances undertaken with colonists. More often than not, however, elements of these confederations split their allegiances between neighboring European powers. Examples of such instances include the Upper and Lower Creeks, who divided their loyalties between the Spanish and the English. The Chickasaws also experienced divided loyalties between the English and the French. To the north, the French and the English competed for the allegiance of the Huron and the Iroquois peoples.

No matter which native tribe or European power was involved in the process, each party sought security for its own people and a means of prosperity through the compacts. The ability of the Europeans to tap into considerable weaponry and other military and population resources often gave them diplomatic advantage. However, Native American knowledge of the land and its resources, and competing European powers allowed larger tribes to exert considerable influence.

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See also

Firearms Trade; Native American Trade; Native Warfare; Slave Trade and the American Colonies

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Native American Trade

Europeans and Native Americans regularly exchanged Europeanmade items for furs. Both groups often used trade to create and cement offensive and defensive alliances. In general, the Native American trade network consisted of the exchange of Europeanproduced items such as metal weapons and utensils, cloth and clothing, alcohol, and trinkets for furs that had been trapped and dressed by Native Americans, as well as deerskins and foodstuffs, and occasionally native slaves.

Although it carried distinct economic connotations for American Indians, this trade also contained spiritual and diplomatic elements that required trading partners to become allies in warfare. The European colonial powers of England, France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Sweden fought for control in North America and continually attempted to co-opt this indigenous process to achieve their imperial agendas in North America. The inclusion of the European powers in these indigenous trade and alliance systems and European attempts to manipulate them often increased the level of hostilities among the native peoples of North America. Additionally, the new weapons introduced by Europeans, such as knives, hatchets, and muskets made native warfare more dangerous.

The nature of Native American trade varied according to the region. In the northern English colonies, French Canada, the Great



Depiction of a colonist trading goods with Native Americans. (Frank Grizzard)

Lakes, and the Ohio Valley, the trade centered on the exchange of beaver pelts for European goods. At first, the Hurons in Canada and the powerful Iroquois Confederation in present-day New York controlled the flow of trade to the interior tribes in the North. By the late 17th century, the Five Nations had defeated the other tribes of the region in a series of bloody wars known as the Beaver Wars. From that point forward, the Five (later Six) Nations controlled trade until the end of the French and Indian War in 1763.

On the European side, the French vied first with the Dutch for the northern Native American trade. That remained the case until the English replaced the Dutch in the second half of the 17th century. Although a majority of the northern native peoples ultimately allied and traded with the French, the English held the upper hand because of their alliance with the Iroquois Confederation (Five Nations).

In the Southeast, English and French traders competed with each other and the long-established Spanish mission system for Native American trade in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. In this region, American Indians traded war captives (or Native American slaves) and deerskins to the English primarily for guns and ammunition. The French and the Spanish did not participate in the slave trade, but did accept deerskins for a variety of trade items. The inability of the French to provide sufficient numbers of muskets to their native allies and the reluctance of the Spanish to provide firearms for their missionized natives led to the victimization of these groups by armed, slave raiders. Thus, the native slave trade led to a dramatic increase in native warfare in the region.

The increased presence of disease brought by the European settlers to North America, combined with the establishment of the native slave trade, devastated the Mississippian chiefdoms that had dominated the region prior to the arrival of Europeans. This caused a radical realignment of indigenous peoples in the late 17th and 18th centuries. This realignment created the historic Catawba, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Miccosukee Seminole societies.

Throughout North America, the Native American trade eventually forced American Indians into a relationship of dependency on Europeans. This dependency eventually eroded native sovereignty as the colonial period drew to a close. Furthermore, the increased use of alcohol as a trade item by Europeans sped up the process of dependency and the disruption of native societies in the 18th century. Overall, Europeans used native trade to gain control over American Indians. The British, more so than other Europeans, specifically manipulated trade to drive the natives into debt in order to acquire large amounts of land from them during the colonial period.

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See also

Beaver Wars; Catawbas; Cherokees; Chickasaws; Choctaws; Creeks; Hurons; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation

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Native American Warfare

Combat techniques of Native American warriors in the colonial period evolved with in response to influences introduced by Europeans, including firearms technology. In fact, native capacity to adopt and employ European weaponry and adjust to European tactics were highly varied and innovative. Moreover, native warfare with Europeans and adoption of the latter's technology occurred on the basis of native perspectives and perceptions that reflected and affected native approaches to conflict.

The most common fighting tactic used by Native Americans was the so-called skulking way of war, which was marked by a reliance on stealth, surprise, taking advantage of terrain, and individual initiative. Contrary to the contemporary European practice of deploying soldiers in close-order formations firing group volleys under strict command, natives moved, aimed, fired, and used cover individually and rarely engaged in sustained fighting when finding themselves at a disadvantage.

Historians disagree over whether the natives' skulking tactics were in widespread use before contact with Europeans or whether they represented an adaptation to the Europeans' introduction of firearms. Some evidence, including early accounts by Samuel de Champlain of New France and Gov. Cadwallader Colden of New York, indicate that natives may have fought large-scale battles between massed forces in open terrain until the availability of firearms made such tactics too costly. Other accounts, however, demonstrate that at least some native tribes employed skulking methods before European contact because these tactics conformed to the native practice of minimizing casualties in warfare and the desire to obtain captives for adoption into the tribe.

Skulking techniques could not have been used in every form of combat, since natives, particularly the Iroquois, sometimes assaulted the palisaded towns of their enemies, which required the attackers to fire on the fortified town with arrows (and later, muskets), providing



The palisaded Native American village of Pomeioc, North Carolina, as painted by John White in 1585. Palisades were often used for the defense of native settlements. (National Archives)

cover while small assaulting parties hacked their way through the wooden palisade. These tactics also required modification, as the defenders adapted by constructing flanking positions to defend their fortifications against such attacks.

Palisades around settlements were used as a means of defense by many native groups, including the Hurons, the Iroquois, and the Susquehannocks. Such fortifications remained in use until the mid-18th century and provided effective protection against native enemies. However, they proved to be of limited use against European attackers and could even make the occupants of fortified towns more vulnerable to colonial attacks, as shown during the Pequot War (1636–1638) and King Philip's War (1675–1676). In both conflicts, English colonists surrounded and set fire to native forts, trapping the natives inside and slaughtering them when they attempted to escape the flames. Natives thus tried to improve their fortifica-

tions, observing and adopting European defensive techniques such as adding ditches outside the palisade to obstruct an attackers' approach.

Natives faced with the difficulty of attacking colonial forts, garrison houses, and vessels used a variety of innovations to ease their tasks. In August 1675, during King Philip's War, Nipmucks assaulting Brookfield, Massachusetts, constructed siege engines to try to set fire to a fortified garrison house, as did natives who attacked a garrison house in Saco, Maine (then part of Massachusetts), a month later. Abenakis in 1724 and Ottawas and Pottawatomis in 1763 used fire ships in efforts to destroy British and colonial vessels on rivers. The latter incident took place during the siege of Detroit at the height of Pontiac's Rebellion; the native besiegers also constructed field fortifications to protect their positions around Fort Detroit. In June 1763, Senecas who attacked and captured Fort

Presque Isle used approach trenches and tunnels to come safely within attacking distance of their objective.

Skulking tactics, the use and continuing development of fortifications, and the employment of siege engines and fireships demonstrate the wide variety of techniques used in warfare by Native Americans, as well as their ability to adapt and innovate to meet new military challenges. Yet although native tactics are well documented, how they formulated strategy and what those strategies were remain largely unknown.

The lack of information regarding native strategy is the result of the almost complete absence of native sources that could provide insight into their larger military goals and how native leaders planned to achieve them. Nearly all contemporary accounts of native strategy were recorded by Europeans or colonists, whose efforts to explain the rationale and decisions behind native military operations more accurately reflect the views of the writers rather than those of native leaders. All that can be said with certainty is that native leaders often worked to form intertribal alliances to counter the numerical superiority of the colonists, that they often sought (as in the Second Anglo-Powhatan War, King Philip's War, and Pontiac's Rebellion) to launch a coordinated series of surprise attacks to catch their enemies off guard and inflict maximum damage at the least possible cost to themselves, and that their ability to conduct sustained operations was impeded by the need to raise crops, hunt, and otherwise provide subsistence for their people, although if a European ally provided food supplies, native forces could remain in the field longer. The subsistence aspect of native warfare proved to be the natives' greatest vulnerability, and colonists quickly learned that they could force their native enemies to sue for peace by attacking and destroying towns, cornfields, and stored food supplies at less cost in casualties than it would have taken to seek out and engage native warriors in combat.

Another element of native strategy, employed most fully during Pontiac's Rebellion, was to lay siege to posts that could not be carried by assault and then focus on interdicting supplies and reinforcements. Pontiac used this method unsuccessfully during the five-month siege of Detroit in 1763, and his allies used the same strategy in an effort to force the surrender of Fort Pitt. In both cases, however, British relief forces were able to fight their way through to the beleaguered garrisons.

Although native strategy and tactics proved insufficient to protect their territory from the European colonists, native fighting methods did prove remarkable successful. King Philip's War checked the expansion of New England for several decades, the Iroquois managed to maintain their hold on their core territory in New York until the American Revolution, and Pontiac's Rebellion caused the British to halt expansion beyond the Appalachian Ridge. The greatest factors that enabled the colonists to overcome native resistance were not the strategic or tactical failures of the natives but the epidemic diseases that decimated the native population of North America and internecine warfare among native groups that prevented unified opposition to the European newcomers.

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See also

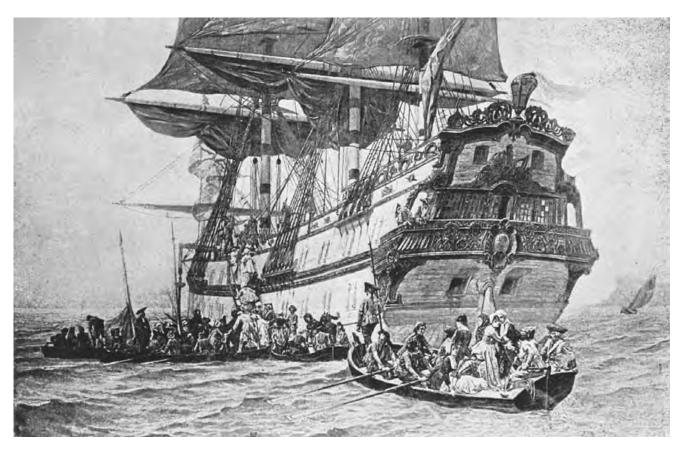
Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Bow and Arrow; Brookfield, Siege of; Detroit; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Garrison Houses; King Philip's War; Mourning War; Muskets; Pequot War; Pontiac's Rebellion; Raiding Party; Skulking Way of War; Tomahawk

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Naval Warfare

Naval warfare changed little in the course of the colonial period. With the introduction of cannon aboard ship in the 14th century, larger warships evolved into little more than floating artillery platforms. The introduction of gun ports cut into the sides of the ships led to a change in the way guns were carried in them. The many small, light, man-killer guns above decks gave way to fewer and heavier guns set broadside and fired through the gun ports, with the heaviest guns on the lowest deck.



New England troops under Sir William Pepperell climb aboard one of the warships bound for Louisbourg, Nova Scotia. The expedition captured Louisbourg from the French in 1745. (Library of Congress)

Warship operation was complex and intricate, and success in battle, let alone survival at sea, required crews to engage in a long training period. Although chance always played a role, well-trained crews had a great advantage. This held true both in being able to maneuver the vessel quickly and in producing rapid and well-aimed fire against an opponent.

Individual ship actions were fought as circumstances dictated. With virtually all the heavy guns set along the length of the two sides of the ship and with effective ranges relatively short, most engagements took place at dueling-pistol range, sometimes even gun port to gun port, with the ships grappled together.

If possible, a captain positioned his vessel to enable him to rake his opponent. This meant maneuvering his own ship so that it was broadside to an opponent vessel's bow or stern, enabling him to bring all his own port or starboard broadside guns to bear. The opposing vessel, then, could respond with only its few bow or stern guns. In addition, the bow and stern were much weaker than the ship's sides. This was especially true of the stern, which had at least one row of windows. Raking also meant more opportunity to damage a vessel and inflict personnel casualties because the length of the target vessel was exposed. For all these reasons, raking was the preferred way to engage another vessel.

A well-placed shot, or concentration of shots, could create havoc inside the opposing vessel, dismounting the guns and causing horrible personnel casualties. A chance shot also could damage the base of a mast. Aiming high was another useful tactic. Here a lucky shot could bring down a mast, yards, and sail, obscuring vision and disabling a vessel, at which point it could be raked.

If two ships grappled, one crew might try to board and take the other ship by storm. Edged weapons, such as swords, cutlasses, and poleaxes, as well as pistols then came into play. Well above the fray, marine sharpshooters, placed in the fighting tops, endeavored to pick off exposed members of the opposing crew, especially the officers.

Naval engagements could be exceedingly bloody, as loose cannonballs and showers of wooden splinters produced frightful wounds. Indeed, traditionally, gun carriages aboard ship were painted a blood-red color so as to partially mask the effects of battle. Generally, when captains surrendered, it was because of heavy crew casualties.

Ships were seldom sunk in actual battle, unless it was by fire or the chance explosion of a magazine. Stoutly constructed ships of the line in particular could absorb tremendous punishment. On March 30, 1800, the British 80-gun *Foudroyant* fired 200 12-pounder, 100 18-pounder, 1,240 24-pounder, and 1,200 32-pounder shot—2,740

shot in all—at close range at the 80-gun French warship *Guillaume Tell* before the latter surrendered, or "struck" (and two other British ships were also firing at the French ship at the same time). The *Guillaume Tell* not only survived but was soon incorporated into the Royal Navy.

At the beginning of a war, when a nation had to take its warships out of ordinary (reserve) and new ships had to be constructed, many seamen and officers were untrained. Admirals thus found it impossible to carry out complicated squadron and fleet maneuvers. It was only toward the end of a conflict, when experience among crews was high, that this could be accomplished.

Squadron and fleet tactics were notoriously difficult to execute properly, and admirals faced a considerable challenge in carrying out the highly standardized squadron tactics laid down in fighting instructions that had changed little over the centuries. Sailing vessels relied on the wind for their motive power. Even if the wind as blowing, and often it was not, at no time could the admiral make use of more than five-eighths of the sea because his vessels could not sail directly into the wind. Progress into the wind could be made only by tacking across from one side to the other, and never closer than six points of the compass.

In squadron and fleet engagements, frigates scouted ahead to locate the enemy. A chief failing of admirals in this period was in not maintaining adequate reconnaissance to provide warning of the approach of an opposing fleet. Once enemy vessels were located, the frigates signaled with flags, often in relay over the horizon. When two opposing fleets came within direct sight of each other, one was usually to windward and thus held what was termed the weather gage. This was a considerable advantage in that it allowed that side to choose whether, when, and how to attack. Thus both sides usually tried to secure the weather gage, although on occasion French commanders sought the lee gage to be able to escape if necessary. All this was complicated by the fact that wind and weather were subject to frequent, sometimes dramatic change, and if the fleets were near land the admiral had to take into consideration tides and currents. If the wind dropped altogether, the two sides were left immobile and unable to change position or close, let alone form in battle order. And if the warships on one side failed to maintain position, it could lead to defeat.

Fighting instructions specified linear tactics. These brought the greatest number of guns to bear and had the advantage of being prearranged and easy to enforce. Battles were tightly choreographed according to near-rigid rules. Admiral Sir John Byng, loser of the May 20, 1756, Battle of Minorca, was court-martialed *pour encourager les autres*, or as Byng put it, "They make a precedent of me such as admirals hereafter may feel the effects of." But the excuse for his conviction and execution was not that he had lost the battle. Byng was acquitted of disaffection and cowardice. Instead, he was found guilty of "neglect of duty in battle," that is, violation of the fighting instructions.

In a major action, two opposing fleets arrayed themselves similarly in three divisions: van, center, and rear. Communication by

signal flag, however, meant that captains along the line were unable to see a flag hoisted in the center and so signaling was sequential rather than immediate. The larger the fleet, the more difficult it was to control and the longer it took to maneuver it into position. Tacking into the wind and wearing or gybing (changing course with the wind astern) were difficult maneuvers and taxing for officers and crews. Each ship hoisted the flag shown by the ship ahead. Captains had to be able to hold their precise place in the battle line for their ship on the course set by the admiral and at a set distance from the ship in front. Keeping exact station in the battle line was essential, and in close order, collisions were a constant danger. As a consequence, night engagements were rare.

With each ship following the other and turning at the same place as its predecessor, the vans engaged before the centers, and the centers engaged before the rears. This enabled a fleet downwind, if hard pressed, to break off the engagement. The result was a slow-to-develop battle with each ship following the one ahead of it in two long, stately lines.

When one fleet attacked another already in line, the customary procedure was to make a slow and deliberate approach, maintaining alignment. This might mean an advance speed, even with a stiff breeze, of as little as four knots. Hours and even days might be spent getting in position, or trying to do so.

In 1697, Father Paul Hoste, a Jesuit who had been French vice admiral Anne-Hilarion de Contentin, Comte de Tourville's, chaplain, published *L'Art des armées navales*. The first great study of naval tactics under sail, it laid out three possibilities for fleet battles. The first of these was "massing," in which the attacker concentrated the bulk of his ships against a segment of the enemy line. This was accomplished by reducing the interval between the ships in order to achieve a decisive mastery at one particular point in the line. The remainder of the ships either ahead or astern would be stretched thin in an effort to contain the remainder of the enemy line.

The second major tactic was "doubling," whereby the attacker passed ships, moving in the same direction, on both sides of one end of an enemy line in order to take the enemy vessels under fire from both sides concurrently. This would force the enemy crews to work both the port and starboard batteries at once. Tourville had doubled the allied van in the 1690 Battle of Beachy Head. Doubling presumed a larger attacking force, however.

The third tactic was "breaking," in which case the attacking fleet might be in line-ahead formation coming from the enemy rear. Sailing parallel, it would then force its way through the enemy line at some point, doubling the enemy line by passing back on its opposite side and forcing the enemy crews to fight both sides of their vessels simultaneously.

As the opposing fleets closed, crews were called to battle stations and ran out the guns. When the ships were in position, the two opposing fleets blasted away at each other until individual vessels sustained sufficient casualties or, less likely, were damaged, usually in their rigging, to the point that their captains struck. Captured

ships were usually taken into the victor's navy. Such tactics remained essentially unchanged until the end of the 18th century.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Artillery, Naval; France, Navy; Great Britain, Navy; Spain, Navy

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Navigation Acts

Event Date: 1651 onward

Series of restrictions, duties, and taxes enacted by the English Parliament and designed to regulate trade and raise revenue. English navigation and trade regulations were rooted in the economic doctrine of mercantilism, the objective of which was the creation of a self-sufficient imperial structure that ultimately kept control of gold and silver reserves, protected English industries and jobs from foreign competition, and protected the flow of colonial raw materials. Ultimately, this reduced production costs. Mercantilism placed the good of the British Empire above colonial interests.

Parliament passed the initial Navigation Act in 1651 in response to growing Dutch trade with English North America. The act sparked the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654). Parliament's legislation forbade foreign ships from trading with the colonies and required that goods destined for England, Ireland, and the colonies be shipped only on English ships, which were defined as having an English captain and a majority of English sailors in the crew. Foreigners were prohibited from importing fish in the coastal trade in England. These rules, however, were difficult to enforce, as Parliament relied on colonial governors, who had little interest in enforcing the laws.

In spite of the lack of cooperation from colonial governors, King Charles II and the Restoration Parliament saw the value in continuing the Navigation Acts. On July 27, 1660, Parliament passed the Restoration version of the Navigation Act. This legislation provided that no goods could be imported to or exported from English colonies on anything except English-built or English-bound ships. For the first time, Parliament created a list of enumerated goods, which had to be unloaded within the realm. At that time, the list included the important colonial commodities of tobacco, sugar, and indigo.

Over the next three decades, Parliament passed three more Navigation Acts. In 1663, Parliament demanded that all imports to English North America be shipped from England in English ships. The 1673 act demanded that duties be paid on enumerated goods that were shipped from one colony to another before crossing the Atlantic to Europe. Most importantly, however, this measure provided for the appointments of customs commissioners to collect the duties on enumerated goods. Finally, in 1696 Parliament under King William III confined all colonial trade to transportation in English ships. It also granted customs officials in the provinces the same power as officials in England, which included the authority of forcible entry. Further, it required bonds to be posted on enumerated goods and voided all colonial-made laws contrary to the Navigation Acts.

By the beginning of the 18th century, the Navigation Acts changed from creating a more integrated imperial system to a more regulatory system over colonial commodities. By 1705, Parliament restricted the production and exportation of wool and expanded the list of enumerated articles to include rice, molasses, and naval items. Over the next 50 years, Parliament continued these policies of protecting English industries from colonial manufacturing while expanding the list of enumerated goods.

In 1721, Parliament added beaver skins, furs, and copper to the list of enumerated goods. In the next decade, London stepped in to regulate the colonial hat industry and protect London felt makers and then to protect British West Indian planters in the production of molasses. These laws, however, proved to be nearly unenforceable. Lack of British enforcement resulted in what historians have called "salutary neglect" in that the colonies enjoyed the benefits of trade within the empire without the restrictions.

In the decades immediately preceding the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War, Parliament regulated the production of iron in the colonies with the Iron Acts of 1750 and 1757. The Sugar Act became the first act passed by Parliament for the purpose of raising revenue for the Crown, and its enforcement signaled an end to what had become known as the period of salutary neglect.

CHRISTOPHER FRITSCH

See also

Mercantilism; Molasses Act; Smuggling; Sugar Act; Writs of Assistance

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Neolin

Born: Unknown Died: Unknown

Native American prophet. Neolin (meaning "four") was also known as the Delaware Prophet and the Enlightened One. Although the specifics of Neolin's birth and death are unknown, he first attracted the attention of colonists as a young man preaching his beliefs on the Old Northwest frontier in 1762.

Neolin proclaimed his new "nativist" religion from his home in a Delaware village on the Cuyahoga River in present-day Ohio. His new religion exhibited Christian overtones, undoubtedly influenced by contact with Protestant Christian missionaries who lived and preached among the Delawares. Neolin's descriptions of the universe featured a graphic Christian hell, complete with horned devils and pitchforks, and purgatory. But his central teaching held that contact with whites, principally the British, was the cause of the Native Americans' declining fortunes. The only way to achieve salvation was by breaking off relations with Europeans and returning to the ways of their forefathers.

Neolin was especially vehement about prohibitions against alcohol, polygamy, and witchcraft, and he advocated a return to precontact native rituals and beliefs. He prepared religious charts, his "Indian Bible" for his followers, on deerskins, which outlined separate paths for Native Americans and white men to enter heaven.

According to tradition, Neolin received his first vision and instructions in 1760 from the Delaware Great Being, Keesh-she'-lamil'-lang-up, after earlier smallpox epidemics in 1756 and 1758. Neolin informed his listeners that after sitting at the feet of the Great Being, he had been told to return to Earth with the message that the Master of Life was angry with his Native American children because they had adopted white ways. Hence, he had punished them by removing fur-bearing and other animals deep into the forests. Once natives had severed ties with whites, the animals would be restored to them. Neolin preached a nativist return to precontact traditions and a rejection of social, moral, religious, and commercial dependence on Europeans.

Significantly, Neolin allegedly reported that the Master of Life had told him that not all Europeans had to be banished from native communities. The French reportedly would be spared because they did not covet native lands and always gave gifts to their Native American friends. The land-hungry English, meanwhile, would have to go to the place set aside for them by the Master of Life. Some evidence indicates that the Ottawa leader Pontiac altered Neolin's teachings to favor the French while Pontiac organized native tribes to drive the British from native lands; Pontiac hoped that native success would induce the French to return. Other research, however, suggests that Pontiac accurately related Neolin's ideas to tribal audiences. Certainly, Neolin's message reached outside of the Delaware refugee communities of the Ohio Valley and influenced the western nations of the Ottawas, the Potawatomis, the Ojibwas,

and the Wyandots in the 1760s. Pontiac capitalized on Neolin's ideas to assemble his alliance and launch his uprising in 1763.

Uncertainty shrouds Neolin's activities during the years after 1764. There is some indication that, having predicted British defeat, the suppression of Pontiac's Rebellion undermined his influence. There is also evidence that in his last years the prophet took a renewed interest in conventional Christianity.

R. J. GILMOUR AND BRUCE VANDERVORT

See also

Delaware; Pontiac (Obwandiyng), Chief; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Netherlands

The arrival of the Dutch in North America and the establishment of New Netherland took place in the context of the Netherlands' massive expansion and the creation of an extensive commercial empire between 1588 and 1700. The growth of the Dutch Empire was the direct consequence of new opportunities generated by political, strategic, and economic restructuring that occurred in the years around 1590. Most significant among these changes were the decline of Spanish domination in the Low Countries after years of land and naval warfare and the creation of the Dutch Republic (or United Provinces) following the negotiation of the Union of Utrecht in 1579.

The Dutch Republic took its institutional form between 1572, when it overthrew the Spanish Habsburg monarchy, and 1609. It evolved from the Union of Utrecht, which had envisioned a league of seven sovereign provinces that would give up their rights in a few limited areas—principally defense, taxation for defense, and foreign policy—within a confederation. Originally, the decisions, made through the principal governing body, the States-General, were supposed to be unanimous. In practice, however, unanimity was rare. The States-General took its decisions by majority vote. In addition, the States-General's decisions went beyond the limited spheres provided for in the Union of Utrecht. The provinces of Holland and Zeeland asserted their hegemony over the other provinces. Nevertheless, the structure of the Dutch Republican state fostered a unity between the public and private sectors that would profoundly influence the republic's development and that of its overseas colonies.



The flag of the Dutch East India Company and English explorer Henry Hudson's ship *Half Moon*. Hudson made his third voyage to North America under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company. (Library of Congress)

Many elements combined to make possible a vigorous and enduring extension of Dutch influence in Southeast Asia, Africa, and North America. Notably, this was at a time when the Dutch Republic was still embroiled in an all-out land and sea war with Spain that was to last until the Twelve Year Truce beginning in 1609. This extension included a secure home base with a political system that supported an alliance of the civic and private sectors (and that provided a secure base for long-term investments); political support for commercial activity; favorable conditions for breaking into the intensively competitive European pepper, spice, and sugar markets; detailed knowledge of trade routes and conditions in the producing areas of Southeast Asia; and ample military and naval power. The focus of this expansion and the source of the trade in spices so vital to Dutch commercial primacy were the East Indies, where Dutch influence had been growing since the late 16th century, and increasingly toward the 1630s, the sugar-producing islands of the Caribbean.

The emergence of Dutch dominance in these so-called rich trades from Southeast Asia and the Caribbean was the central factor in the rise of the Dutch Republic and its world commercial empire. The trend became apparent in the early and middle 1590s. The first step in the establishment of the Dutch trade empire was the founding of the Long Distance Company (Compagnie van Verre) in Amsterdam in March 1594 by a group of nine wealthy merchants with close connections to both government and com-

mercial circles. The company gathered initial funding of 290,000 guilders and outfitted a fleet of four ships manned by 249 men and armed with 100 cannon (supplied by Holland along with all of the other necessary military supplies). The states also granted the company an exemption from the generality customs on its imports from the East Indies. The fleet sailed for Asia in April 1595. Three of the ships returned safely in 1597, albeit with only 89 men.

With this expedition, the Dutch established the pattern that would characterize their approach to expansion and colonization over the next 60 years—the use of private trading companies supported by the Dutch Republic through direct means such as the provisioning of military supplies and personnel and indirect subsidies such as tariff exemptions. The Dutch Empire was indeed profit-driven. The unique federal structure of the Dutch state and the powerful influence of civic autonomy within the republic made possible a new type of commercial organization. That organization was a chartered joint-stock, state-supported monopoly. At the time, it was federated into chambers and kept its commercial and capital operations separate while observing general guidelines and policies set by a federal board of directors.

This new type of company came into existence in 1601. The states of Holland and Zeeland negotiated the arrangements with the merchant elite for the new United East India Company (VOC). However, it was the States-General of the Dutch Republic that granted the company its charter. This charter, in turn, granted the company sovereign rights to maintain troops and garrisons overseas, fit out warships, impose governors on Asian populations, and conduct diplomacy with local rulers.

From the outset, the new organization was heavily armed and intent on carving out a dominant position in a commercial empire that stretched from the Cape of Good Hope to the shores of the Philippines and Japan. The anchor of this empire was the East Indies. The Dutch presence in this chain of islands, in turn, rested on a network of settlements built around factories (trading stations) on the various islands that the company established and developed on the various islands. It did so through a combination of negotiations with local rulers and the use of force when talks failed. The principal agent in establishing and administering these settlements was the governor-general, appointed by the company's directors in Amsterdam. The governor-general's authority rested mainly on the support of his council, known as the Raad, which was comprised of his principal military, naval, and commercial subordinates. Although there were frequent clashes between the governor-general and the Raad, the system of collective responsibility worked well.

A succession of strong governors-general with support from the Raad expanded and consolidated Dutch dominance in the East Indies. In 1619, the Dutch seized Jakarta on the island of Java and transferred the company's headquarters there. Renamed Batavia, it developed into the largest European military, naval, and commercial establishment in East Asia and would remain so until the close of the 18th century.

By comparison with the Dutch factories and bases in Asia, Dutch settlements in West Africa and America in the early decades of the 17th century were modest. Although they were gradually supplanting the Portuguese and Spanish, the private Dutch companies trading in gold, ivory, salt, sugar, and other goods between Africa and the Americas increasingly felt the need for a state-supported joint stock monopoly modeled on the United East Asia Company to manage Atlantic commerce. The directors of these companies pointed to the opportunities to break into the eroding Spanish and Portuguese influence in the Caribbean and South America to bolster their recommendations.

Reluctance by the States-General to antagonize Spain in the wake of the 1609 truce delayed approval of the Dutch West India Company's charter until 1621. The company's initial endeavors to establish settlements in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies failed. It was not until the capture of Recife in northern Brazil in 1630 and the seizure of Curaçao in the Caribbean in 1634 that the Dutch established a permanent base in Ibero-America. Until the mid-1630s, the West India Company's revenues from privateering against Spanish and Portuguese shipping, the West African gold and ivory trade, and the fur trade in New Netherland were not enough to finance its substantial war fleet and organization. Up until then, it had to depend on States-General subsidies and assistance more than its eastern counterpart. Even after it began to show a profit, it was never as strong as the East India Company.

Around 1640, the Dutch appeared on the verge of establishing a vast and profitable colonial empire in the Western as well as the Eastern Hemisphere. Control of Netherlands Brazil (or New Holland) covered most of northwestern Brazil with a major base at Recife and gave the Dutch almost complete control of the European sugar market. The West India Company also dominated the Atlantic slave trade and was the dominant European presence in West Africa. Finally, the North American Dutch colony of New Netherland, based at the growing port of New Amsterdam and at Fort Orange farther up the Hudson River, provided the base from which the West India Company controlled the North American fur trade.

But this vast transatlantic empire was to disappear within 25 years. The West India Company soon found itself badly over-extended. Continuing tensions in Europe between the Dutch Republic and the European powers, constant warfare with Spain and Portugal, as well as deteriorating relations with England (which would culminate in the Anglo-Dutch Wars of 1652–1654, 1664–1667, and 1672–1674) forced the States-General to keep ground and naval forces closer to home. Furthermore, overbearing and incompetent company officials in New Holland and New Netherland fostered popular discontent. As well, wars with Native Americans endangered the colonies. In 1645, Catholic Portuguese sugar growers, resentful of Protestant Dutch rule and of Dutch favoritism toward Dutch-controlled plantations, revolted and forced the Dutch back into enclaves at Recife and other coastal cities. An expeditionary force of 6,000 Dutch troops dispatched from the Netherlands

in 1648 could not defeat the Portuguese rebels. As a result, the West India Company lost support for its Brazilian colony at home. The Dutch withdrew from Brazil in 1654. Likewise, a continuing series of wars with natives around their New Amsterdam base badly weakened New Netherland. Furthermore, the colony's population and economic growth could not keep up with that of the neighboring English colonies. Because of that, the West India Company did not have the resources to prevent the seizure of New Amsterdam by the English in 1664.

These reverses forced the West India Company and the States-General to scale back their aspirations in the Americas. The Dutch retained their bases in Curaçao in the Caribbean and their forts along the West African coast. This enabled them to maintain their position as a major participant in the Atlantic trade routes. Furthermore, the VOC continued to expand the Dutch commercial, military, and political presence in East Asia. During the mid-17th century, the VOC's naval and military forces virtually eliminated the Portuguese presence in India, Ceylon, and the East Indies. From 1660 until the 1720s, the Netherlands would remain the leading European power in Asia.

Thus, despite the loss of major colonies in the Western Hemisphere, the Dutch colonial empire reached its zenith between 1650 and 1725. During this period, Dutch commerce and shipping expanded in both Asia and the Americas. Under the leadership of the VOC, Dutch political and economic power grew for the rest of the 17th century. Indeed, the alliance between the public and private sectors that dominated the political, social, and economic life of the Dutch Republic served the Dutch well in the development of their commercial empire.

Walter F. Bell

See also

Anglo-Dutch War, First; Anglo-Dutch War, Second; Anglo-Dutch War, Third; Fort Orange (New York); France; Great Britain; New Netherland; Spain

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New England Confederation

Start Date: September 7, 1643

End Date: 1691

Union of four New England colonies first chartered on September 7, 1643, that lasted, despite several periods of stagnation, until 1691. The New England Confederation, or the United Colonies of New England, was a union of the colonies of Connecticut (Hartford), Massachusetts Bay (Boston), Plymouth, and New Haven. This marked the first attempt at a European-style federation in North America.

Colonial officials founded the confederation chiefly to provide protection from the threat presented by Native Americans and other European colonizing powers. It was also intended to mediate boundary disputes between the confederated colonies. Maine (nominally under Massachusetts' control), New Hampshire, and Rhode Island did not take part in the union.

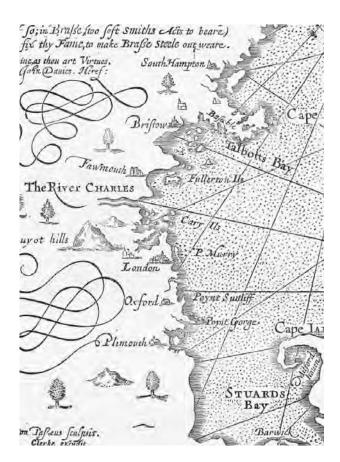
Massachusetts hoped to annex both Maine and New Hampshire, so those two colonies were barred membership because the confederation's charter guaranteed colonial borders. As such, Massachusetts would not be able to take control over them. The confederation refused to allow Rhode Island to join because of its religious tolerance, which was at great odds with Puritan thinking. Leaders of the other colonies hoped to be able to annex Rhode Island.

The articles of confederation contained provisos for joint military actions, defensive steps, and the raising and financing of troops in proportion to the colonies' ability to pay and the number of available men. Each colony selected two commissioners to coordinate the actions of the confederation. These commissioners held both regular and extraordinary meetings. However, the internal affairs of the member colonies were beyond the purview of the alliance.

The New England Confederation had no means to compel members to act. Commissioners simply had the power to ask for cooperation among members. The confederation's primary role was to deal with local Native Americans. That included mediating disputes between tribes or keeping peace between colonists and the natives.

The confederation was born out of several concerns, chief among them the Pequot War (1636–1638). In that conflict, New England colonists and their Native American allies vanquished the hated Pequots. Following the war, colonists and natives streamed into the vacated Pequot lands. In order to ensure an orderly settlement of Pequot territory, the interested parties entered into the 1638 Treaty of Hartford. Additionally, unrest caused by the English Civil War (1640–1660) had created concerns.

Religion was a strong motivation behind the New England Confederation. The four colonies that made up the union were all stoutly Puritan. The Puritans saw themselves as God's agents in the New World, in direct competition with the "forces of darkness" for control of New England. Accordingly, the colonists saw the need to band



Seventeenth-century map of New England. (William Stevens Perry. *The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587–1883.* Boston: James R. Osgood & Company, 1885.)

together for protection from the heathen natives, the Catholic French, the overly secular Dutch, and the heterodoxy of Rhode Island.

From 1643 to 1652, the confederation indeed preserved peace in the area. In 1653, however, tensions between the Dutch and the New England colonies reached a climax during the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654). When Massachusetts Bay refused to join the other colonies in a proposed offensive against the Dutch, the confederation all but collapsed. The union, though still in existence after the Anglo-Dutch crisis, ceased to be a legitimate political entity for a number of years. Nevertheless, the threat from Native Americans continued unabated.

The confederation was revived in 1672, now including the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, and Connecticut. New Haven Colony had been annexed by the larger Connecticut Colony in 1655. This new New England Confederation's primary goal was to provide protection from restive Native Americans. Tensions between Native Americans and the colonists erupted into the bloody King Philip's War (1675–1676), a conflict that forever destroyed Native American power in New England. The New England Confederation witnessed a brief resurgence between 1689 and 1691. The union helped deal with an Abenaki uprising in northern New England and assisted in negotiations for a friendship treaty

with the Mohawks. The confederation dissolved for good in 1691, when Massachusetts lost its charter and became a Crown colony.

RICK DYSON

See also

Abenakis; Anglo-Dutch War, First; Connecticut; English Civil War, Impact in America; Hartford, Treaty of (1638); Intercolonial Relations; King Philip's War; Maine; Massachusetts; Mohawks; New Hampshire; Pequot War; Pequots; Puritans; Rhode Island

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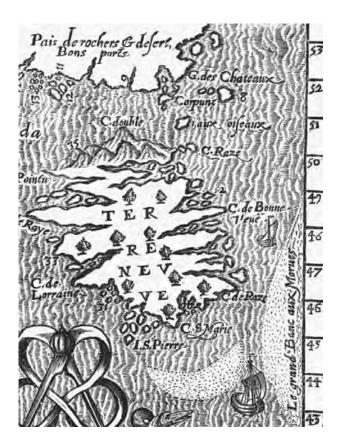
Newfoundland

Island located off the coast of modern-day Quebec, north of the Canadian Maritimes, encompassing 152,734 square miles. As early as the 1480s, European vessels fishing for cod on the Grand Banks may have begun visiting Newfoundland. By the early 1500s, the spring voyage to the Grand Banks became an annual event for English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese fishermen. These fishermen treated Newfoundland's coast as neutral ground for common use by all. They established stations onshore to process the catch and worked out a system for allocating space.

In August 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert formally claimed Newfoundland for England. Newfoundland's first English colonists arrived in August 1610 but were unprepared for the long, harsh winter and short growing season. The settlement's population peaked at 100 people, then rapidly declined because of scurvy and hunger. George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore, founded a settlement in 1621 on the peninsula he named Avalon. Calvert himself arrived to govern his colony in 1628. Attacks by French pirates and a cruel winter convinced Calvert to desert Avalon for Chesapeake Bay, however. Thereafter, the English made no other organized attempts to establish colonies on Newfoundland.

Among the English, an informal government exercised what authority existed on the island. A so-called fishing admiral—the commander of the first fishing vessel to arrive each spring—administered justice in season. Year-round settlers were left to their own devices in winter. On the French side, a governor presided at Placentia, on the Avalon Peninsula, beginning about 1660. By the beginning of King William's War (1689–1697), about 1,000 French settlers and more than 1,600 English and Irish lived on Newfoundland.

During the Second Anglo-Dutch War, in June 1665, a Dutch fleet pillaged several English settlements and fishing vessels. Their depredations made the settlers' already precarious existence virtu-



Woodcut map of Newfoundland, 1609. (North Wind Picture Archives)

ally untenable. Simultaneously, the growing French presence further alarmed the English settlers, who then pleaded for a government presence and fortifications. Nevertheless, London officially frowned on permanent settlement of Newfoundland and offered no protection. During the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672–1674), the Dutch again looted English settlements.

The first few years of King William's War saw a series of French and English raids on the Newfoundland settlements of the other. France then sent Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville with orders to destroy all English settlements on Newfoundland. His French and Native American force mounted a winter campaign and marched overland to capture St. John's in November 1696. They burned much of the town and some 80 fishing boats, killed nearly 100 people, and sent nearly 500 captives to Europe. D'Iberville then swept through the English settlements, burning and pillaging. The so-called Winter War did not end until spring brought the threat of English warships. An English fleet arrived, too late, in June 1697, and deposited a small garrison to build fortifications at St. John's. At war's end, most of the captured settlers returned and rebuilt their homes. The English and Irish population grew to nearly 3,000 people.

From the beginning of Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), the French raided English Newfoundland by sea and overland. In 1703 and on several other occasions, British ships assembled offshore to move against the French but repeatedly shrank from carrying out the missions. In early 1705, the French launched an overland winter

campaign as brutal and as devastating as that of 1696–1697. Unanswered by the Royal Navy, the French again laid waste to St. John's in 1709. In 1713, however, under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, France ceded Newfoundland to Great Britain, although France retained the valuable seasonal right to fish the waters and use portions of the shore.

Now master of Newfoundland, London placed a small garrison at Placentia and continued in its refusal to send a resident governor. Instead, politicians weighed wholesale deportation of Newfoundland's settlers to Nova Scotia. Finally in 1729, King George II appointed Captain Henry Osborne governor. Osborne in turn established a system of off-season, winter government.

During the 18th century, salmon fishing and seal hunting drew British settlers northward and into conflict with the native peoples. A growing Irish population outnumbered the English by midcentury. Recruited as servants, most were locked in mutual loathing with their English masters.

Britain fortified Newfoundland during King George's War, but no attacks occurred there. However, near the end of the French and Indian War in May 1762, a French fleet landed French and Irish infantry on Newfoundland. The soldiers, assisted by Irish servants who turned on their masters, pillaged a number of coastal communities. A British force arrived in September and ejected the French. As provided by the 1763 Treaty of Paris, France retained access to the fisheries off Newfoundland along with possession of the two offshore islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Anglo-Dutch War, Second; Anglo-Dutch War, Third; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Le Moyne d'Iberville et d'Ardillières, Pierre; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Paris, Treaty of; Utrecht, Treaty of

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New France

Nouvelle France, or New France, was the North American territory claimed and colonized by France from an initial tentative exploration in 1524 to its ultimate cession to Great Britain in 1763. At its peak in the early 18th century, this territory extended from Newfoundland to Lake Superior and from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico along the Mississippi River Valley. Commerce and religion

drove French colonial expansion and settlement, but the emerging societies felt the defining impact of the military establishment. War was the norm in New France. In some respects, it became the colony's primary industry.

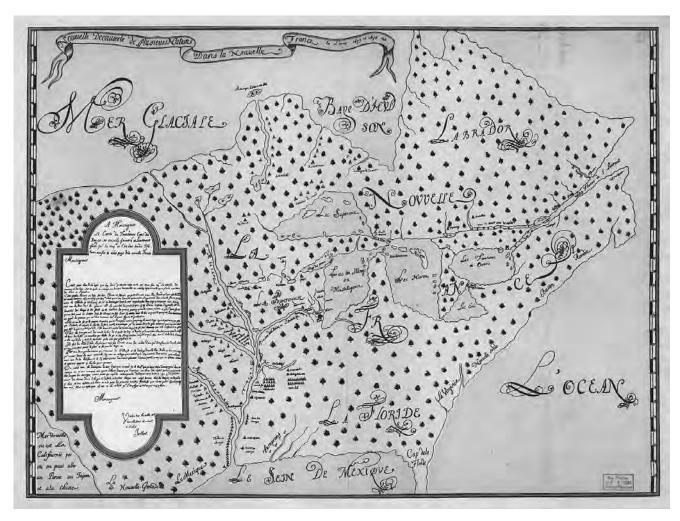
The French colonization of North America began in earnest during the first decade of the 17th century. As early as 1524, France claimed a vast territory under the names of Francesca and Nova Gallia. Attempts to establish a permanent settlement failed, however, and fishing fleets ensured only a seasonal presence along the Atlantic shoreline. Around the turn of the century, the Crown enlisted private money and energy to exploit the increasingly lucrative fur trade, farming out the responsibility for commerce and colonization to chartered companies and merchant associations. Entrepreneurs soon established permanent trading posts, the most important of which were Port Royal (1604) in Acadia and Quebec (1608) in Canada.

Initially, there was little incentive to expand, as American Indians brought their pelts to these stations. Yet the depletion of game, the hostility of the Iroquois toward France's Huron and Algonquin trading partners, and increasing commercial competition from other colonial powers soon compelled the French to push up the St. Lawrence River. They set up posts at Trois-Rivières (1634) and Montreal (1642). The Roman Catholic Church established itself in the colony and provided an additional impetus to the colonial effort. In Canada, an agricultural support base took on importance as peasants, known as *habitants*, settled the countryside to work lands granted to French notables under the seigneurial system.

In 1663, King Louis XIV and his chief minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, took over colonial administration from the Compagnie des Cent-Associés, which had overseen it since 1627. The king and his minister thereby established direct royal control over New France and proceeded to reorganize its government, giving it an essentially military framework that would be maintained for a century. Though the king had ultimate authority in colonial matters, the minister of marine and his staff at Versailles were responsible for all but the most important affairs.

In the colony, authority was shared between two officeholders, who followed and informed the content of royal decrees and ministerial instructions. As the representative of the king, the governorgeneral was the highest ranking official in New France. A career military officer, he was mainly responsible for colonial defense and diplomacy. The intendant oversaw justice, interior administration, and finances. As such, he supervised military expenditures. Both officials were based at Ouebec.

New France was subdivided into a number of distinct administrative units, or *gouvernements particuliers*. In the 17th century, these were Quebec, Trois-Rivières, Montreal (the three of which comprised Canada), Acadia, and Placentia. In the 18th century, Louisiana was founded, and Île Royale was established to compensate for the loss of Acadia and Placentia to the British. With the notable exception of Louisiana between 1712 and 1731, when it was controlled by three successive companies, all of French North Amer-



Map by Louis Jolliet showing the territories of New France in the 1670s. (Library of Congress)

ica came under the formal civil jurisdiction of the governor-general and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of Quebec. In practice, however, the distances involved meant that the administrators of Île Royale and Louisiana corresponded directly with Versailles. As a result, they generally acted independently of the governor-general's and bishop's authority.

Within the vast territory claimed as New France, French colonists always remained a minority. Native American societies constituted a dynamic majority on which they had to rely and with which they had to contend. From the very beginning, the nature of the fur trade along the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes axis dictated a lasting commercial partnership with the Algonquins and the Hurons. This in turn led to a century-long confrontation with the Iroquois. Furthermore, beyond economic and strategic considerations, religious conversion was a chief aim of France in America.

The missionary ventures of the Jesuits, and to a lesser extent of the Recollets, strengthened relations between natives and newcomers but brought disappointments as well. After the Iroquois destroyed Huronia in 1649, the fur trade was devastated and the colony lay exposed to renewed attacks.

Settlers became fighters during this early period, as chartered companies that sought to minimize overhead costs provided few soldiers. In 1665, within two years of the royal takeover, the Régiment de Carignan-Salières was dispatched to Canada. The impact of this on colonial society was considerable. The Iroquois finally sued for peace. Moreover, the funds put aside by the Crown for the subsistence of the troops, and the settlement of some 450 men and officers, brought a degree of economic and demographic prosperity.

Following the regiment's disbandment, and according to a royal request, the colonists formed a militia. Unlike similar organizations eventually established in Acadia, Île Royale, and Louisiana, the Canadian militia grew into a significant social and military institution. Yet although it became the primary military force of the colony numerically, its effectiveness should not be overemphasized. In fact, arms shortages and agricultural needs meant that only a fraction of the male population could ever be mobilized. Unlike his counterpart of the previous century, the average *habitant* of the 18th century rarely became a seasoned veteran of woodlands warfare.

Beginning in 1683, the burden of colonial defense shifted from the colonists to colonial regulars, the troupes de la marine. The

military establishment continued to grow as the Crown placed permanent garrisons throughout urban centers and key outposts of New France. Soldiers were recruited in France for service overseas. Few men born in the colonies ever enlisted among the rank and file. Yet in the 18th century, members of the Canadian commercial and seigneurial gentry increasingly dominated the commissioned ranks of the troupes de la marine. In a society that clung to aristocratic pretensions and to the military ethos, the profession of arms provided the nascent local elite a way of climbing the social ladder. This was not the case, however, in Louisiana and Île Royale, where troops continued to be officered by metropolitans who promptly returned to France on the completion of their terms of service.

The economic, political, and military sphere of influence of New France expanded dramatically during the last third of the 17th century. In 1662, the French established a permanent colony at the fishing base of Placentia, Newfoundland. A decade later, Denys de Saint-Simon and the Jesuit missionary Charles Albanel reached Hudson Bay. Louis Jolliet and the Jesuit priest Jacques Marquette extended French influence to the Mississippi River in 1674.

René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, pursued their exploration southward to the Gulf of Mexico. Claiming the entire Mississippi basin for France in 1682, La Salle named it Louisiana in honor of the king. Although the official policy was to restrict settlement to a compact colony along the shores of the St. Lawrence, illicit and licensed fur traders, the former known as *coureurs de bois*, followed suit.

A drawback of colonial expansion became apparent when, by the end of the 17th century, there was a glut in the market for beaver pelts. Despite a gradual recovery, and though the exploitation of wheat and lumber gained some importance, the strategic significance of New France began to outweigh its economic value. The colony became, in the eyes of the Crown and colonial administrators, a strategic barrier to British imperialism. In lower Louisiana, colonial authorities established forts and settlements, including New Orleans (1718), to guard the mouth of the Mississippi River and to provide flank protection to France's island colonies in the Caribbean. Slowly the colony developed a plantation economy similar to that existing in the islands.

The loss of Acadia and Placentia to the British in 1713 similarly prompted the establishment of the colony of Île Royale, comprising current-day Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, to guard the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The town of Louisbourg (1713) quickly became an imposing fortified naval base, commercial depot, and fishing center.

In the interior of the continent, the French established a vast network of forts that fulfilled military, diplomatic, and commercial roles to sustain native alliances and to contain the British colonies. The hinterland became a middle ground, as natives and newcomers established relations on the basis of mutual dependency and cultural innovation. The Crown adopted a policy of grand alliance, negotiating the Great Peace of Montreal in 1701 with the representatives of 39 nations from the Great Lakes area, including those of the Iroquois Confederacy. A lasting, if tenuous, peace was thus achieved, and

France gained considerable credit among its indigenous allies by posing as its architect and guarantor. When nations such as the Fox, the Natchez, and the Chickasaws blatantly resisted French influence, however, the Crown's policy of accommodation and appearant turned into one of military annihilation.

France spent considerable sums of money on the distribution of presents to friendly Native American nations. The Crown increasingly subsidized the fur trade directly and indirectly to prevent commercial partners from turning to the British. The trade conducted in hinterland forts was farmed out to the commanding officers of the troupes de la marine, who combined their personal pecuniary interests with the political aims of the Crown. Some natives settled around these forts. Others were attracted to the colonial heartland, settling for a variety of personal, economic, and political reasons on missionary-administered *réductions* (now reserves) in the St. Lawrence River Valley. In wartime, France could depend on the military aid or benevolent neutrality of a great many native warriors. In light of the growing threat posed by Great Britain, it increasingly found this an absolute necessity.

Demographically, New France lagged behind its colonial rivals. By the mid-18th century, it numbered an estimated 70,000 colonists, most of whom were concentrated along the Quebec-Montreal axis. This amounted to less than 10 percent of the population in English North America.

In times of uneasy truce there existed a sort of colonial symbiosis, for commerce (generally illicit) was conducted between Acadia and New England by sea and between Canada and New York along the Richelieu River and the Hudson River. Yet economic, political, and military competition often led to open conflict. As early as 1613, and again in 1629, English adventurers had sacked Port Royal. The latter year, Quebec too became a target.

Toward the end of the 17th century, the conflict intensified. The first true intercolonial war, King William's War (1689–1697), was followed by Queen Anne's War (1702–1713). During these conflicts, as during King George's War (1744–1748), colonial authorities adopted an aggressive defense. They directed raids against frontier towns, trading posts, and fishing stations. Native allies played a prominent role in this *petite guerre*, and militiamen and colonial regulars in turn quickly adopted their guerrilla tactics. In the short term, the defense of New France proved broadly successful. Although Port Royal fell in 1690 and 1710, and Louisbourg in 1745, and Britain took possession of Newfoundland and Acadia, neither Canada nor Louisiana suffered any serious losses.

The Crown came to view New France as a small garrison that could tie down a much larger enemy force, preventing it from interfering with more important operations in Europe. This was never more true than during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Great Britain was compelled to commit one-seventh of its army, some 20,000 men, along with thousands of provincial troops of the British North American colonies, to face a few thousand French colonial and metropolitan regulars supported by militiamen and native allies. French strategists combined guerrilla warfare with

traditional European campaign tactics, which yielded initial successes. Nevertheless, the French effort eventually collapsed in the face of overwhelming British naval and ground forces.

In September 1760, the governor-general of Canada capitulated. Three years later, the Treaty of Paris confirmed the cession of French North America to Great Britain, save for Louisiana, which had secretly been transferred to Spain. New France ceased to exist. This important shift, however, should not mask profound historical continuities. Although there were tragic stories such as those of the Acadians forcibly deported in 1755, the regime change made little immediate difference in the lives of the bulk of the French-speaking population that remained in Canada and Louisiana. They retained their language and many of their institutions. The military establishment, now maintained by Britain and Spain, continued for some time to play a fundamental role in the economy and society of France's former colonies.

Jean-François Lozier

See also

Acadia; Algonquins (Algonkins); Beaver Wars; Black Robes; France; France, Army; France, Navy; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Great Britain; Hurons; Illinois; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Louisbourg (Nova Scotia); Louisbourg Expedition; Louisiana; Newfoundland; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Seigneurial System; St. Lawrence River; Troupes de la Marine

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New Hampshire

British colony that separated major English settlements in Massachusetts from French Canada and its Native American allies. As with all the New England colonies, the province of New Hampshire witnessed a series of American Indian raids throughout its early history, particularly after the Anglo-French wars erupted on the North American continent in the late 17th century. During that period, the French actively encouraged their Native American allies to attack English settlements.



Eighteenth-century view of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, from the Piscataqua River. New Hampshire was founded in 1623 with the establishment of English settlements along the Piscataqua River. (Library of Congress)

New Hampshire was founded in 1623 with the establishment of English settlements along the Piscataqua River. The English quickly spread westward, establishing four major towns—Dover, Portsmouth, Exeter, and Hampton—in quick succession. By 1640, just over 1,000 colonists lived in the region, amid roughly 4,000 Native Americans. For much of this early period, the settlers and natives lived at peace with one another. This détente was accomplished mostly through the force of personality of the dominant Native American chief, Passaconaway of the Penacooks, the largest of the 12 tribes in New Hampshire. Although suspicious of English settlers, Passaconaway maintained correct relations with the colonists through much of the mid-17th century.

By the outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675, however, Passaconaway had been succeeded by native leaders less tolerant of spreading English settlements. Two of the three biggest tribes in New Hampshire—the Ossipees and the Pequawketts—answered King Philip's call for a full-scale native uprising and began conducting raids on settlements all over the colony. Between September and November 1675, roughly 50 English and 90 Native Americans died in the fighting. In December, the tribes successfully negotiated a peace with Major Richard Waldron of the New Hampshire Militia.

When King Philip's uprising collapsed in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, many of his supporters fled to New Hampshire, hoping to hide among the area's native population. In August 1676, however, two Massachusetts Militia captains went to a Native American gathering sponsored by Waldron to seek out the fugitives. Those they recognized were sent to Boston, where they were either executed or sold into slavery. The New Hampshire natives never forgave

Waldron for his part in the proceeding. Anglo-American Indian relations remained tense over the next several decades.

Open warfare did not erupt between the two groups until the outbreak of King William's War in 1689, however. For years, the French had been expanding their exploration of the North American continent, carefully cultivating Native American alliances. Among the New Hampshire natives, a French emissary named Baron de Castine encouraged the anti-English sentiment that was already strong among them. He even convinced the Penacooks to join with other tribes in taking up arms against the English. When war began between England and France in 1689, these longstanding tensions led to a series of native raids and English counterraids.

Most of the English settlements in New Hampshire suffered from Native American attacks, and both Dover and Durham were burned. In fact, the attack on Dover in 1689 saw the torture and death of Waldron. The decade of the 1690s saw the most intense English-native fighting of New Hampshire's history, with the colony losing roughly one-tenth of its population, some to captivity. Among the most famous captives was Hannah Duston, seized by natives from her home in Massachusetts. While a prisoner, she killed several of her captors and escaped back to Massachusetts.

Subsequent colonial wars saw a continuation of this pattern of hostility between colonists and Native Americans, although the bloodshed never reached the level of that during King William's War. More and more, New Hampshire's commitment to the British war effort consisted of sending men to participate in various expeditions elsewhere in New England or in Canada. This commitment also included manning defensive positions along the Connecticut River, such as the Fort at Number Four, the northernmost British defensive works when it was constructed in 1740.

During King George's War, New Hampshire contributed a contingent of 450 men under the command of Colonel John Goffe to participate in the successful expedition in 1745 against the French stronghold at Louisbourg. Thirty men garrisoned at the Fort at Number Four repulsed an attack by more than 300 French and allied native warriors.

In the French and Indian War, New Hampshire boasted two colonial leaders who gained fame throughout the colonies—Robert Rogers and General John Stark. Both men led New Hampshire militiamen into battle, although none of the fighting occurred within the colony. New Hampshire men took a leading role in the Battle of Lake George in 1755 and by 1759 some 1,000 New Hampshire militiamen were serving outside the province. The province's most important contribution was the group of rangers trained for wilderness warfare by Rogers.

ELIZABETH DUBRULLE

See also

Captivity of Europeans by Indians; Dover, New Hampshire, Attack on; Duston, Hannah; Fort at Number 4 (New Hampshire); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Goffe, John; King Philip's War; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Massachusetts; Pennacooks; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Rogers, Robert

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New Jersey

New Jersey passed from Dutch to English control in 1664. It remained under British control thereafter, except for the brief Dutch reconquest of 1673. Under the English, New Jersey came to have 85 proprietors, who tried to collect rent from colonists rather than confer land ownership. In addition, the government was subordinate to the governor of New York. As a result, legal and political contention periodically erupted into civil disorder. This dynamic dominated New Jersey civic life for much of its colonial history. New Jersey remained virtually untouched by warfare until the American Revolution.

In 1624, Captain Cornelis May of the Dutch West India Company established Fort Nassau as a small trading post on the eastern bank of the Delaware River, near present-day Gloucester, New Jersey. For many years the fort lay vacant, with just a single vessel anchored nearby to represent Dutch trading interests. A handful of settlers lived nearby. As the Swedes settled the Delaware Valley, Gov. Petrus Stuyvesant of New Netherland grew dissatisfied with Fort Nassau's location. In 1651, he mounted an expedition of 11 ships and 120 soldiers and transferred Fort Nassau's garrison to Fort Casimer in present-day Delaware.

Dutch settlers returned to New Jersey in 1660 and established the town of Bergen (present-day Jersey City). On the Dutch surrender of New Netherland to the English in 1664, King Charles II gave the territory to his brother James, Duke of York. The duke then transferred ownership of New Jersey to John, Lord Berkeley, and Sir George Carteret. The name "New Jersey" commemorated Carteret's service as governor of the island of Jersey in the English Channel. Carteret sent about 30 colonists to New Jersey under command of his cousin, Captain Philip Carteret.

Except for a few hundred scattered Dutch and Swedish settlers along the Delaware River and the Hudson River, New Jersey in 1664 was Lenni Lenape, or Delaware, country. The Delawares were an Algonquin-speaking people and consisted of several subgroups. The Delaware population was about 8,000 people when the first Europeans arrived, but in a series of epidemics during the 1600s the



Newly appointed royal governor Philip Carteret arrives at Elizabethtowne, New Jersey, in 1665. (Library of Congress)

Delawares died by the thousands. Hundreds more perished in Kieft's War during the 1640s, and by 1700 only about 3,000 Delawares remained. As the European population grew, the surviving Delaware people moved north and west into neighboring colonies. In 1758, the few hundred Delawares remaining in New Jersey gave up the last of their land. Most moved to a 3,000-acre reservation in the New Jersey Pine Barrens.

From the outset, the New Jersey proprietors tolerated religious diversity. During the first two years of English control, Quakers from Long Island, Puritans from Connecticut, and Baptists from Rhode Island all purchased land and founded towns in New Jersey. Over time, the colony attracted Scottish Presbyterians along with Irish, Dutch, Swedish, French, and German settlers of various Protestant denominations.

New Jersey's division into a multitude of proprietorships began when Lord Berkeley sold his half interest in New Jersey in 1674. Thus, a deed divided the province into East Jersey and West Jersey. Carteret retained ownership of East Jersey, and Berkeley sold West Jersey to two Quakers. They in turn sold much of West Jersey to William Penn and several other Quakers. In 1681, after Carteret's death, Penn's group purchased East Jersey as well. Many of the shareholders then sold off tracts until, by the mid-1680s, New Jersey had 85 proprietors.

Control of the New Jersey government passed from the proprietors to the royal governor of New York, and back again, except for a brief period under the Dominion of New England. In 1702, East and West Jersey were reunited as a royal colony under the governor of New York. The New Jersey Assembly fought the New York governors over almost every issue and kept the government in a state of deadlock. New Jersey received its own governor in 1738. Through it all, the proprietors retained and exercised their

right to charge rent for land, a considerable thorn in the side of the citizenry.

Beginning with the ouster of Carteret in 1672, New Jersey's settlers often broke out into open rebellion over land rents. The assembly refused to pass or enforce laws, and at times mobs attacked judges and broke up court proceedings. Even after New Jersey received its own governor, the colony's government ground to a halt as riots again erupted over old land controversies. Land riots continued to occur periodically for another decade. Residents refused to pay rent on their land. The proprietors then ordered them evicted and jailed, and rioters freed the prisoners, wrecking the jails in the process.

New Jersey faced little danger of attack during the various wars with France. Nevertheless, like all the colonies, it was expected to contribute money, men, and supplies. Despite the governor's requests, the assembly allocated only minimal support. During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), however, attacks by Native Americans along the upper Delaware River—during which about 40 settlers were killed—raised citizens' fears in western New Jersey. Answering their pleas, the assembly sent some 150 militiamen to protect the frontier. About 1,000 New Jersey troops, most notably the "Jersey Blues" regiment, saw action in New York, at Oswego, at Lake George, and at Fort Ticonderoga.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Delaware; Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Fort Casimer (Delaware); Fort Nassau (New Jersey); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Kieft's War; New Netherland; New York; Stuyvesant, Petrus

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New Mexico

The northern frontier region controlled by New Spain. In the early 16th century, survivors from the 1527 Pánfilo de Narváez expedition to Florida, having been shipwrecked on the coast of present-day Texas, journeyed across northern Mexico in hopes of making their way home. Following his eventual rescue, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, the leader of the group, reported rumors of cities to the north that contained an abundance of wealth.

These stories appeared to validate Aztec mythology, so the viceroy of New Spain authorized exploratory expeditions into the northern frontier of Mexico in search of cities of gold and silver. Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, governor of the province of New Galicia in northern Mexico, led the largest of these expeditions from 1540 to 1542. Coronado, with approximately 300 Spanish cavalry and infantry and more than 1,000 Tlaxcalan natives, journeyed up the Rio Grande River Valley into the land of the pueblos only to find none of the anticipated opulent cities. Instead, the Spanish conquistadors discovered desert towns of stone and mud-plastered dwellings containing not riches but stores of maize and beans.

Coronado's accounts of his unprofitable expedition dissuaded further official forays into the northern Mexican frontier for some 50 years. There were, however, occasional unsanctioned ventures northward during this period by Franciscan priests and civilian opportunists. One such expedition was led by Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, who in January 1590 led 170 settlers up the Rio Grande to the Pecos River in hopes of finding productive silver mines. Pursued by the viceregal agent, Captain Juan Morlete, Sosa was arrested and sent back to Mexico in chains.

In 1595, however, the Spanish court commissioned Juan de Oñate, the son of a wealthy silver mine owner, with leading an expedition up the Rio Grande to spread the Catholic faith, pacify the natives, and establish a permanent colony in the northern provinces of New Spain. In 1598, Oñate and 500 men, women, and children entered New Mexico near present-day El Paso, Texas, and claimed possession of the land and its people. Oñate arrived at the confluence of the Chama River and the Rio Grande in July and established his headquarters at Ohke Pueblo, which he renamed San Juan, the capital of the new colony.

From San Juan, Oñate personally conducted a reconnaissance of the province. Native hospitality turned to resistance at Acoma Pueblo in January 1599, leaving 11 Spanish soldiers dead. In retaliation, Oñate sent a punitive expedition against the town, killing 800 men, women, and children and taking another 580 captive. In 1601, Oñate moved the capital across the Rio Grande to Yunque Ouinge

Pueblo and renamed it San Gabriel. Nine years later, the capital moved again, this time to its permanent location in Santa Fe.

Throughout much of the 17th century, New Mexico existed mainly as an outpost on the fringes of the Spanish empire. There was no Spanish military garrison in the colony and the settlers were expected to serve as soldiers if necessary. With only one urban center (Santa Fe) in the province, most of New Mexico's 3,000 colonists lived in scattered settlements near the pueblos along the Rio Grande and profited from the exploitation of native labor. The realization that there were few riches to be found among the pueblos persuaded many colonists to return to Mexico and offered little incentive for new colonists to venture northward. Life challenged those who remained, and support from Mexico was rarely forthcoming. Warding off Apache, Ute, and Navajo raiders proved especially problematic. Church and civil authorities seldom got along, and corruption and abuse of power were commonplace.

The repressive policies of the Spaniards toward the Native Americans, particularly in the realm of religion, reached a boiling point in 1680. Popé, a spiritual leader from San Juan Pueblo, preached the maintenance of traditional religious practices and railed against all things Spanish and Christian. As Popé's message spread throughout the pueblos, Gov. Juan Francisco Treviño ordered the arrest of native spiritual leaders in the province. Because of the loss of their religious leaders, the Rio Grande pueblos threatened to rebel against the Spanish and prompted a worried Treviño to free his captives. On his release, Popé devised plans for a widespread revolt. Popé unified the majority of pueblos in a coordinated uprising against their oppressors in early August 1680.

The success of the Pueblo Revolt kept the upper reaches of the Rio Grande free from Spanish control for 12 years. When the Spanish returned to New Mexico in 1692 under Diego de Vargas, the pueblos responded with minimal resistance. Spanish officials quickly repressed any opposition they did encounter.

Effective Spanish control of the province resumed in 1696 but with a decidedly different approach toward the pueblos. Natives were allowed to retain their religious icons and ceremonies. Labor and food requisitions were moderated. Spanish officials went so far as to arm the pueblos to help them ward off raiding tribes. Throughout the remainder of the colonial period, the pueblos were spared the repressive policies of the pre-1680s as Spain grew more concerned about encroachments along the fringes of its provinces than it was about the conversion of natives to Catholicism.

As French traders along the Gulf of Mexico and the upper reaches of the Mississippi River Valley began seeking trading partners among the inhabitants of New Mexico and Comanche raiding parties began threatening New Mexican settlements, the viceroy of New Spain responded by increasing the Spanish military presence in the province. The construction of presidios at El Paso del Norte in 1681 and at Santa Fe in 1693 were followed by punitive campaigns against nomadic natives and unwanted Frenchmen.

After the War of the Quadruple Alliance (Britain, France, Holland, and Austria against Spain, 1718–1720) erupted in Europe, New Mex-

ican governor Antonio Valverde y Cosío dispatched his lieutenant governor, Lieutenant General Pedro de Villasur, to seize French fur traders who had entered New Mexico illegally and to gather information about French activities along the northern frontier.

Villasur and his force of 45 soldiers, 60 Pueblo Indian allies, some Apache scouts, and Father Juan Minguez marched to the confluence of the Platte River and the Loup River in present-day Nebraska, before Pawnee and Oto warriors (possibly aided by a few French fur traders) attacked them at dawn on August 14, 1720. The lieutenant general, 31 soldiers, Pueblo Indians, and the priest were killed. The defeat, which the survivors blamed on the French fur traders, demoralized Spanish forces in New Mexico and spawned fears of a French invasion.

The conclusion of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), and the subsequent Treaty of Paris in September 1763, removed the French threat from New Spain's frontier only to replace it with worries about roving natives and Anglo-Americans. In 1779, the governor of New Mexico, Juan Bautista de Anza, led 800 soldiers on a punitive expedition against the western Comanches who had been systematically raiding New Mexican settlements for years. Anza decisively defeated the Comanches north of present-day Pueblo, Colorado, and established long-term peaceful relations with their leaders.

With the exception of a brief foray in 1807 by a party of U.S. explorers under Lieutenant Zebulon Pike (who was detained by Spanish officials in Santa Fe), Anglo-American interest in New Mexico did not really materialize until the 1820s with the establishment of the Santa Fe Trail. For the remainder of the colonial period, until Mexican independence in 1821, New Mexico existed as part of the Comandancia General de las Provincias Internas (General Command of Inland Provinces), a semi-autonomous administrative entity designed by the Spanish court to boost morale among the presidios, coordinate military campaigns across the northern frontier, promote immigration, and foster economic development in the region.

ALAN C. DOWNS

See also

Acoma Pueblo, Fight at; Coronado, Francisco Vásquez de; Franciscan Order; Jesuits; Narváez, Pánfilo de; Oñate, Juan de; Popé (El Popé); Presidio; Pueblo Revolt; Pueblos; Spain; Spanish Mission System, Southwest; Villasur, Pedro de

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New Netherland

New Netherland was the North American portion of the Dutch 17th-century overseas colonial empire. The Dutch presence in North America spanned 55 years. It began with Henry Hudson's discov-

ery of the river that bears his name in 1609 and ended with the English seizure of New Amsterdam in 1664. The commercial elite of the Dutch Republic viewed their North American foothold as a business enterprise rather than as a colonial settlement. This outlook helped to shape the colony's economic, social, political, and military development.

Dutch expansion into North America began at the height of the republic's military and economic power in the first half of the 17th century. Unfortunately, the Dutch sought to expand their global trading empire by violence, triggering a growing rivalry with England and France and spreading themselves perilously thin. The Dutch solved the latter problem by making their overseas holdings as self-sufficient and profitable as possible. The early Dutch settlements on Manhattan Island and elsewhere in the Hudson River Valley were trading posts. Even as the colony gained more settlers, it remained essentially a business enterprise that lacked permanence and social cohesion.

The trading elite who dominated the settlements were often at odds with each other, and although the Dutch extended their toleration of religious and ethnic minorities to their colony, its government was hardly democratic. The Dutch West India Company appointed the colonial governor and an advisory council of leading colonists. It did not, however, permit any elected assembly. The governors tended to be autocratic, arbitrary, and, save for Petrus Stuyvesant, appallingly incompetent.

Dutch relations with Native American tribes were ambivalent at best. Dutch authorities sought good relations with the larger, more powerful tribes because of their political and economic power. But their dealings were heavy-handed with those tribes that were smaller and weaker.

This bullying attitude also extended to their weaker European rivals, the Swedes. In 1655, Stuyvesant seized a string of Swedish forts along the coast of present-day Delaware. He did so without notifying either the company or the home government of his intentions. Such actions did not endear the Dutch to either the other European states or their Native American neighbors. Eventually, greed and arrogance on the part of the Dutch leadership in New Amsterdam led to a series of wars with Native Americans between 1640 and 1664. These conflicts ruined Dutch trading settlements economically and left them vulnerable to seizure by the English.

The profit-driven nature of the Dutch enterprise is reflected in its origins. Hudson, an English entrepreneur and ship captain, made his 1608–1609 voyage to the New World under contract to Dutch merchants. Beginning with Hudson, these merchants annually sent ships across the Atlantic and up the Hudson River to trade with the natives for furs. From the upper reaches of the river, traders could contact distant northern tribes. To use these trade routes, however, the Dutch needed the good will of the powerful Iroquois Confederation.

In 1614, the Dutch established a semipermanent presence on the upper Hudson by establishing Fort Nassau (later relocated and renamed Fort Orange, near present-day Albany, New York). Until



The Fall of New Amsterdam, by J. L. G. Ferris, shows Petrus Stuyvesant in 1664, standing among residents of New Amsterdam who are pleading with him not to open fire on British warships in the harbor. (Library of Congress)

the late 1620s, this small outpost contained only about 50 Dutchmen. Most of them were fur traders and soldiers employed by the Dutch West India Company. They remained neutral in the quarrels among the Native American tribes in the area, delivering trade goods (especially muskets, powder, and ammunition) to whichever groups provided the beaver pelts prized in Europe.

The need for good relations with the Iroquois was emphasized in 1626, when the fort's commander, acting against company instructions, sided with the Mahicans in their war against the Mohawks, a member of the Iroquois Confederation. The commander was killed along with three of his men. Unlike the Spanish and French and, to a lesser extent, the New England Puritans, the Dutch made no effort to perform missionary work among the Native Americans. Eschewing such endeavors, New Netherland missed a chance to solidify its ties to the Iroquois through religious conversion.

The directors of the Dutch West India Company recognized the need for immigrants and large settlements to protect their outposts on the Hudson. Without strength in numbers to guard the colony's entrance, the rich Dutch trade in furs flowing from Fort Orange would be vulnerable to seizure by French or English ships. Farms worked by colonists could, moreover, help the colony become self-

sustaining in food by producing grain, meat, and lumber to supply Fort Orange. Home-produced products could also be shipped to the Dutch West Indies to supply the slave-worked sugar plantations that formed the cornerstone of Dutch trade between the New World and Europe. With a large and diverse population in the home country drawn by the Dutch Republic's religious and ethnic tolerance, company promoters had a seemingly ample pool of potential immigrants to North America from which to draw.

In 1625, the Dutch founded New Amsterdam, a fortified town on Manhattan Island at the Hudson's mouth. With one of the finest harbors on the Atlantic Coast, New Amsterdam served as New Netherland's largest town, major seaport, and governmental and company headquarters. The strategic presence of a large, fortified town encouraged the growth of farms and villages not only on Manhattan Island but also on Long Island to the east and in present-day New Jersey to the west.

In spite of the attractions of rich farmland and the fine seaport, however, government and company officials never attracted sufficient settlers to North America to keep up with the growing English population to the east and south. With no religious persecution to endure and enjoying the highest living standard in Europe, most of

the Netherlands' citizens preferred to remain at home or else venture to the richer East Indies. New Netherland thus never was able to develop a strong political community. Instead, it became increasingly divided between the small trading post upriver at Fort Orange and the burgeoning settlements on the lower Hudson River.

The defense of the colony lay with the Dutch West India Company. Unlike the English colonies, Dutch company and government officials in the home country and New Netherland did not rely on local militias. In their haste to induce settlers to immigrate, the Dutch did not bind the new arrivals to any military service obligation. Instead, they promised the immigrants military protection and underwrote the shipping and payment of Dutch soldiers (many of whom had joined the Dutch Army as mercenaries in the first place) to protect the settlement.

In addition, Dutch tolerance of ethnic and religious diversity gave New Netherland a social heterogeneity that undermined the development of a community identity and subverted militia organization. Indeed, Dutch officials vacillated between forming militias and discouraging their growth. They feared that such organizations might turn against the autocratic government in New Amsterdam. This atmosphere of dependence and distrust of their own people forced local authorities to rely on the home country's military and naval resources, the goodwill of the Iroquois, and their ability to hire mercenaries. With only these limited resources, they were unable to match the growing power in the New World of England and France.

The dualism in Dutch relations with the local tribes reflected this growing strategic and political vulnerability. The contrast between the isolated trading posts on the upper Hudson and the growing cosmopolitan settlements on the Atlantic was manifest in behavior toward the natives in the two halves of the colony. Upriver at Fort Orange, the small number of Dutch soldiers and traders were too few and too dependent on the fur trade to threaten the formidable Iroquois Five Nations (particularly the Mohawks). With their reliance on Iroquois goodwill for their survival and prosperity, the Dutch at Fort Orange were as much an asset to the natives as they were to their superiors in New Amsterdam and the home country.

This respect for Iroquois primacy in the upper Hudson contrasted sharply with Dutch treatment of Native Americans living around New Amsterdam. A disunited grouping of Algonquian-speaking bands, these natives contributed little to the fur trade and they had fewer and less-well-armed warriors. Furthermore, the downriver Dutch had come in substantial numbers to develop farms and regarded the Algonquins as competitors for land and food, competition that was best removed as soon as possible.

Dutch arrogance, greed, and brutality toward the lower river natives eventually resulted in war. The Algonquins particularly resented the Europeans' disregard for their agriculture. Colonists' livestock invaded Algonquin cornfields, trampling and eating their produce and provoking the natives to kill the offending animals. Ultimately, the natives killed some of the cattle's owners, in turn outraging the settlers.



Dutch colonists trading with Native Americans in New Netherland. (Library of Congress)

This cycle of Dutch encroachment and native reprisal culminated in 1641. That year, the overbearing Dutch governor, Willem Kieft, offered a bounty for members of the Raritan and Wappinger bands who had killed several Dutch farmers in a livestock dispute. Matters worsened in 1643, when the Mohawks moved downriver to exact tribute from the Wappingers. The Dutch permitted the Mohawks to attack a Wappinger village at Pavonia (near present-day Jersey City) where they killed most of the adult males. When the Mohawks finished, Kieft ordered Dutch soldiers to kill the survivors, many of whom were women and children. This incident, which became known as the "Slaughter of the Innocents," precipitated an all-out war between the Dutch and 11 local Algonquin tribes, who killed large numbers of rural white inhabitants and laid siege to New Amsterdam.

Kieft's War, as the conflict came to be known, proved ruinous to New Netherland. Indeed, it revealed that neither the colony, nor the Dutch West India Company, nor the home government had the resources to impose terms on their Native American adversaries. In the end, company officials hired Captain John Underhill, an English mercenary who had gained a reputation for ruthlessness during the Pequot War. Underhill brought an end to the war by attacking native villages and burning them to the ground. These tactics compelled the natives to divert manpower from besieged New Amsterdam and, ultimately, to agree to peace in 1644.

The Dutch pattern of maintaining friendship with the stronger, richer tribes while bullying those that were weaker and poorer led to other major wars, particularly the Peach War (1655–1657) and a continuing conflict with the Esopus tribe that ran from 1659 to 1664. In these conflicts, New Netherland authorities frequently relied on native allies, such as the Susquehannocks and the Mohawks, who valued their access to Dutch trade and wanted to reduce the territory held by the Esopus. In 1664, Governor Stuyvesant persuaded the Mohawks to mediate an end to the Esopus Wars. The conclusion of this turmoil ended more than 20 years of war between the indigenous peoples and Dutch traders, a conflict that drained the Dutch colony financially.

These native wars, disastrous as they were, weakened the Dutch strategic and political position in the New World vis-à-vis the English and the French. The decline of Dutch power and influence in the New World was accelerated by growing English control of the seas. That dominance enabled them to enforce a series of Navigation Acts that excluded Dutch trade goods from English ports. The Dutch failure to break England's control of the seas in the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654) ultimately had an impact on colonial developments.

The weakness of the Dutch colony came to a head in 1664. That year, England's King Charles II instigated another war by sending an expedition to bring an end to New Netherland, thereby ending Dutch competition in trade but also intimidating the Puritan colonists in New England. Without a declaration of war, the English sent three warships supported by 300 soldiers under the command of Colonel Richard Nichols to seize New Amsterdam. Unaware of any hostile English intent until this force appeared off Manhattan, Dutch officials had no time to rally support in their community. Fearing the destruction of their town, homes, and property and alienated from Stuyvesant's tyrannical rule, the people of New Amsterdam refused to fight. Stuyvesant thus had no choice but to surrender. The English had seized New Amsterdam without firing a shot.

The Second Anglo-Dutch War (1664–1667) ended in the Dutch cession of all of their holdings in North America. In the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672–1674), the Dutch briefly recaptured New Netherland in 1673, but they surrendered it permanently the following year.

Firmly under English control, New Netherland became New York, named after the Duke of York. New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island became New York City.

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See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Anglo-Dutch War, First; Anglo-Dutch War, Second; Anglo-Dutch War, Third; Beaver Wars; Dutch-Indian Wars; Dutch-Mohawk Treaty; Esopus; Esopus Wars; Fort Amsterdam (New York); Fort Orange (New York); Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Kieft, Willem; Kieft's War; Mahican; Mohawk-Mahican War; Mohawks; Netherlands; Pequot War; Slaughter of the Innocents; Stuyvesant, Petrus; Swedes in America; Underhill, John; Wappingers

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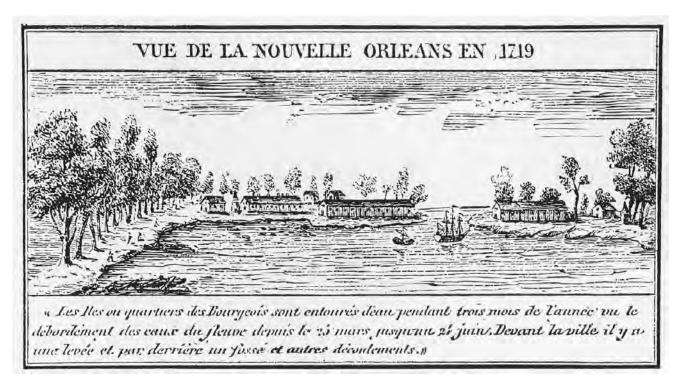
New Orleans (Louisiana)

French settlement founded in 1718 by Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville on the lower Mississippi River and named Nouvelle Orléans in honor of the French regent, the Duc d'Orléans. The site chosen lay at a relatively high elevation between Lake Pontchartrain to the north and the Mississippi River to the south. A series of forts and trading posts that ran from the interior to New Orleans and Mobile allowed the French to control trade in the lower Mississippi River Valley.

The founding of New Orleans advanced a profitable trade network already in place. However, over time its commercial and strategic importance for the French empire in North America as the outlet to the Mississippi increased. Indeed, control of New Orleans and its approaches via the river and its portages from Lake Pontchartrain and Mobile Bay meant effective French control over the whole of the southern half of the Mississippi River. In 1722, New Orleans replaced Mobile as the capital of the colony of Louisiana.

Louisiana's settlement differed substantially from French Canada. A gender imbalance retarded the development of family farming among French settlers, and the colony failed to develop the sort of military tradition that occurred within Canada. John Law's Company of the Indies, which undertook the development of the interior of the Mississippi Valley, turned to slaves to solve the colony's labor shortages on its sugar plantations. Rather than having an effective militia, the colony depended for its security on French regulars, but also on native allies, particularly the Choctaws, to combat other tribes. In 1729, the Natchez tribe went to war against the French settlers in the area, which led to the development of the first earthwork defenses around New Orleans. The Natchez War would last until 1733. Meanwhile, in 1731, Louisiana became a Crown colony.

In 1736, a war began that pitted the French and their native allies against the Chickasaws. Later, intertribal disputes among the Choctaw would endanger French settlers. Nevertheless, New Orleans was never subject to attack by a European power over the course of the colonial period, although governors certainly feared such an attack in times of war.



View of New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1719. (Corbis)

In 1763, at the end of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the city of New Orleans was ceded to Spain. In 1766, French settlers within the city rebelled on the arrival of the new Spanish governor, Antonio de Ulloa. The Irish-born Spanish general Alexander O'Reilly arrived in 1769 to govern the territory and with 2,000 troops quickly put down the insurrection and had the leading figures hanged. During the American Revolutionary War, Gov. Bernardo de Gálvez, on learning of the declaration of war between England and Spain, moved with a force from New Orleans in 1779 to take British West Florida, completing the conquest of that province in 1781. In 1788, a massive fire swept through the city, destroying most of the older wooden structures built in the French style. Municipal ordinances henceforth required buildings of a certain size to be built with brick, which gave the city a more Spanish style of architecture. Spain ceded Louisiana back to France in 1800, and France soon thereafter sold it to the United States, which formally took possession of the territory in a ceremony in New Orleans on December 20, 1803.

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See also

Le Moyne de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste; Louisiana; Mississippi River; Natchez Revolt; Natchez War

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New Richmond (Louisiana)

British settlement established in 1763 on the eastern bank of the Mississippi River, located northwest of New Orleans and near present-day downtown Baton Rouge. A French concession established at the site in 1718 had failed by 1727, leaving the area largely devoid of a French presence. In the 1763 Treaty of Paris that ended the French and Indian War (1754–1763), France ceded to Britain its possessions in North America east of the Mississippi, with the exception of New Orleans. The Spanish also ceded Florida to the British. Simultaneously, in the Treaty of San Ildefonso, France ceded Spain its possessions in North America west of the Mississippi as well as New Orleans.

To secure their southwestern boundary in North America, on October 7, 1763, the British divided the territory gained along the Gulf Coast into East and West Florida. Pensacola became the capital of West Florida, with naval captain George Johnstone serving as the first governor. New Richmond lay within Johnstone's jurisdiction. The governor then made a series of land grants to British veterans from the recent war. New Richmond was largely a cluster of plantations established by these grants. To protect the colony from the Spanish, the British constructed Fort Bute at the juncture of Bayou Manchac and the Mississippi River, which was countered by the Spanish-held Fort San Gabriel on the opposite bank. Within months, Johnstone erected Fort New Richmond along the Mississippi River to serve as a defensive bulwark against Spanish encroachment.

In the early 1770s, Sir Wesley Dunbar, a fantastically wealthy planter, took control of a massive plantation near New Richmond by way of a land grant. Most plantation owners in the area did quite well owing to the fertile soil, long growing season, and illegal trade with Spanish-held Louisiana. By 1775, New Richmond was more of a trade and defensive center than a settlement in the strict sense of the word.

In 1778, American revolutionary James Willing began raiding British settlements along the lower Mississippi River. The Spanish governor of Louisiana, Bernardo de Gálvez, received word of the declaration of war between Britain and Spain in 1779, well before the British in West Florida. Thus, he promptly moved against Fort Bute. The British under Colonel Alexander Dickson withdrew from Fort Bute to New Richmond, where they constructed more fortifications. On September 21, 1779, British forces at New Richmond surrendered after a short Spanish bombardment. The inhabitants were given six days to declare their allegiance to Spain or lose their land and homes. The Spanish then strengthened the site into a more formidable structure known as Fort San Carlos, essentially expelling the British from the region.

The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 did not include Baton Rouge or West Florida, but by 1810 Spain's hold over the region had become untenable. That September rebels at St. Francisville declared the Spanish governor deposed and decreed establishment of the Republic of West Florida, ordering militiamen to seize Baton Rouge and Fort San Carlos. At a cost of only two Spaniards dead, the militia seized Baton Rouge. Then, on October 27, 1810, President James Madison authorized the governor of the Orleans Territory, William C. C. Claiborne, to take possession of West Florida, and on December 10, 1810, Baton Rouge became part of the United States.

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See also

Florida; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Louisiana; New Orleans (Louisiana); Paris, Treaty of

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New Sweden

Swedish colony established in 1638 in the Delaware River Valley that competed with other colonies for territory and trade. New Sweden officials encouraged Swedes to participate in colonial trade and agricultural ventures. Approximately 800 colonists immigrated to New Sweden aboard 12 ships during the colony's 17-year existence. Its governors often alienated colonists, natives, and trade rivals, however. Sweden did not support the colony as officials had hoped it would. Although few Swedes settled in the colony, many of those who did chose to stay after Dutch forces defeated New Sweden.

In the 1620s, Sweden's King Gustavus Adolphus considered establishing a colony in the New World, but the Thirty Years' War



Map of New Sweden, ca. 1638-1655. (North Wind Picture Archives)

(1618–1648) rendered this impossible. In the mid-1630s, Count Axel Oxenstierna, serving as regent to the young Queen Christina of Sweden, revived the plan and approved the establishment of the New Sweden Company, led by Peter Minuit. In December 1637, Minuit led 50 colonists transported in two Swedish ships into Delaware Bay. He then held discussions with Delaware (Lenni Lenape) chiefs and purchased land on both sides of the bay in present-day Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. New Sweden encompassed the entire Jersey shore from Cape May in the south to a point opposite Chester, Pennsylvania. On the western shore, it extended from Cape Henlopen to present-day Philadelphia. The Swedish settlement, however, caused friction with the Dutch, who claimed that territory was theirs.

Few Swedes were interested in settling New Sweden because the colonial venture offered few incentives. Indeed, only an average of about 100 colonists arrived annually. New Sweden's governors repeatedly asked Swedish officials to encourage immigration, even suggesting that Sweden deport criminals, debtors, poachers, and military deserters to the colony. Crop failures in Sweden in 1650 and

1651 boosted the number of immigrants who left Sweden for the colony. In 1653, however, New Sweden counted only 200 people.

A number of Finns who lived in Sweden immigrated to New Sweden beginning in 1640. The Finns thrived by clearing agricultural fields and land for communities and forts. They also skillfully adapted plants and other indigenous materials to make such needed products as shoes and clothes. Finns benefited New Sweden's agricultural communities and peaceably coexisted with natives. Gov. Johan Björnsson Printz, who served from 1643 to 1653, disliked the Finns, however. He ordered the execution of a Finn for trading with the Dutch and Native Americans against company rules, for instance, and he jailed Finns he claimed were witches. Unhappy colonists protested until Printz left New Sweden.

New Sweden's leaders built forts to defend the colony and intimidate trade rivals. The first structure, Fort Christina, was erected near the site of modern-day Wilmington, Delaware, soon after the first colonists arrived. Other fortifications, including Fort Elfsborg and Fort New Korsholm, guarded strategic river trade routes for New Sweden. Fort Christina served as New Sweden's capital from 1638 to 1643 and from 1654 to 1655. Tinicum Island, near modernday Philadelphia, was the colony's capital from 1643 to 1653.

Swedish officials were interested in earning a profit for the company, and they saw tobacco as a viable cash crop. Efforts to grow tobacco proved unsuccessful, however. The colonists then raised grain and corn.

Swedish, English, and Dutch officials disputed land claims adjacent to the Delaware River. The Dutch proved New Sweden's chief adversary. They resented New Sweden competing with them for the fur trade and earning money they believed they deserved. The colonies waged war when the Dutch disputed Swedish claims to specific land tracts. In 1654, New Sweden's governor, Johan Classon Rising, sent forces to seize Dutch Fort Casimer. When the Dutch responded with the capture of a Swedish supply ship, Rising refused to return the captured fort. Petrus Stuyvesant then outfitted seven ships with 600 troops, retook the Fort Casimer, and defeated New Sweden in 1655.

The collapse of New Sweden resulted in Governor Rising and 37 colonists returning to Sweden. Most of the remaining colonists willingly vowed loyalty to the Dutch, who agreed that the Swedes could continue their agricultural, religious, and government practices. They were also permitted to retain their cultural traditions. Both Dutch and English communities accepted former New Sweden colonists, hoping that they would help maintain peaceful alliances with natives.

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See also

Delaware; Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Fort Casimer (Delaware); Fort Christina (Delaware); Fort Elfsborg (New Jersey); Fort New Korsholm (Pennsylvania); Indian Presents; Minuit, Peter; Netherlands; New Netherland; Printz, Johan Björnsson; Rising, Johan Classon; Stuyvesant, Petrus; Sweden; Swedes in America

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New York

A colony controlled first by the Dutch then by the English with the important Hudson River close to its eastern boundary. New York also borders Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and Canada. New York was originally founded by the Dutch as New Netherland, a colonial presence dedicated almost entirely to the fur trade and maritime commerce. In 1609, the Dutch East India Company, founded in 1602, hired Captain Henry Hudson to explore the region, seeking a northern route to China. In 1614, the Dutch established trading posts on Manhattan Island and on the Hudson River at Fort Orange (near modern-day Albany). In 1626, the Dutch purchased Manhattan from the natives and founded their colonial capital, New Amsterdam, at the southwestern end of the island.

Dutch settlements expanded rapidly, aided by generous land grants provided by the West India Company. However, attempts to transplant feudal society to the New World were unsuccessful, and the government had only limited control over the colony. In the mid-17th century, the Dutch and the English competed for mercantile domination of the seas. New Netherland separated the English settlements in New England and the Chesapeake region and was a source of irritation for the English Crown, particularly because Dutch colonists smuggled goods into and out of the English colonies in North America, costing the Crown valuable tax income.

In 1664, English king Charles II granted a charter to his brother James, Duke of York, for the entire region from Connecticut to Delaware, regardless of Dutch claims or earlier English charters. James sent a small fleet, supported by colonial militias and regular infantry, to enforce the claim. The Dutch, busy with a native conflict near Fort Orange, were caught unawares by the English. Although Petrus Stuyvesant, governor of New Netherland, called for volunteers to defend the colony, he was ignored by the citizens, who preferred surrender over support for a repressive Dutch government. The entire Dutch claim transferred to English control without a shot being fired and was renamed New York. At the time, the entire population of New Netherland was only 10,000. This number included 1,500 residents of New Amsterdam. The Dutch recaptured New York for a brief time in 1673 but returned it in that same year during peace negotiations.

Both the Dutch and the English in New York maintained an important relationship with the Iroquois Confederation, a powerful union of five Native American tribes in the region. Early Dutch settlers in the region, massively outnumbered by the Iroquois, sought to maintain harmonious relations with that nation. Indeed,



Contemporary illustration of City Hall and Great Dock in New York City in 1679. (North Wind Picture Archives)

the Dutch showed little interest in conquest and quickly established trading relationships revolving around skins and furs, particularly prized beaver fur. In establishing the regional fur trade, Dutch merchants inadvertently manipulated the power relationships of tribes in the northeastern woodlands. As tribes abandoned subsistence hunting in favor of continual hunting and trapping, stocks of game animals of the region quickly became exhausted. If a tribe could no longer supply the furs desired, the Dutch cultivated relationships with different tribes. In this way, members of the Iroquois Confederation, especially the Mohawks, became the dominant traders because the lands they controlled stretched from New York to the Great Lakes.

An influx of European goods and weapons provided a competitive advantage to the tribes that traded with the Dutch. When Iroquois lands became depleted of fur animals, the Dutch supplied weapons for an Iroquois assault on the Hurons, who controlled territory north of the Great Lakes. The Hurons were virtually annihilated by the war, and furs continued to arrive in Dutch trading posts

in New Amsterdam. When the fur supply dwindled and no replacement supply appeared, the Iroquois and other regional tribes became a hindrance to Dutch agricultural expansion. By 1664, the Dutch colonists had adapted practices similar to New Englanders in regard to natives. This resulted in constant tension.

With the English conquest of New Netherland in 1664 and the foundation of the middle Atlantic colonies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, British control of the North American seaboard was consolidated. Although the colonies rarely cooperated with each other, and in fact often feuded over territory or resource rights, they shared a common language, heritage, and dislike of the French and Spanish colonies in North America. New York included a massive frontier region bordering French possessions, and thus any conflict with French colonial forces represented a direct threat to the citizens of New York.

In King William's War (1689–1697), English and French colonists took advantage of a war between the mother countries to launch a series of attacks on one another. One logical avenue of

advance for each population was through New York, using the Hudson River and the St. Lawrence River and Lake George and Lake Champlain. Any fortifications along this route were of paramount importance to both sides, thus New York became the site of brutal fighting throughout the war.

Although English colonists outnumbered French colonists by a margin of 20 to 1, the combined population of New York and New England was only five times that of French Canada, and the English colonies proved virtually incapable of any significant cooperation. In 1690, New York and New England planned a joint, two-pronged invasion of Canada. One army began in Albany, planning to attack Montreal via Lake George and Lake Champlain. After the force from Albany failed to make sufficient progress, the New England advance on Quebec faced all of the forces New France could muster to resist the invasion. The New England forces also retreated, but they blamed their failure on the New Yorkers, minimizing the prospect of cooperation in the future. After the disastrous 1690 campaign, neither New York nor New England had the resolve for a renewed attempt, and thus the war after 1690 consisted of a series of brutal frontier raids. The brunt of the war was borne by local militia units, native allies, and the noncombatant frontier population.

When Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) commenced, New York and the Iroquois Confederation, still smarting from the previous conflict, declared their neutrality. This refusal to participate greatly eased pressure on New France, as any British invasion would need a different route than the rivers and lakes used in 1690. Some Massachusetts accounts of the war accused New Yorkers of trading in items taken in French raids on New England. New York and the Iroquois remained neutral until 1709, when the promise of British regular forces lured both to provide volunteers for an assault on Quebec. The assault was not ready until 1711 and collapsed before setting foot on Canadian soil. The provincials recruited in New York proved undisciplined and poorly trained, because most were recruited from outside the ranks of the state militia.

In King George's War (1744–1748), New Yorkers generally remained aloof from combat along the northern frontier thanks to the Iroquois' neutrality. New England enthusiastically supported the war, providing troops and supplies for attacks on French fortifications, including the successful siege of Louisbourg. New York, by comparison, remained content to secure its own borders against French and allied native incursions. The French, hesitant to make an enemy out of a colony behaving in a neutral fashion, largely respected New York's territory and concentrated on defending themselves from New England attacks. When British negotiators returned Louisbourg to French control in 1748 after its capture by New Englanders in 1745, New York colonists felt vindicated in their decision to avoid active participation.

The French and Indian War (1754–1763) drew New York into conflict with French Canada on a scale greater than all previous colonial wars. In June 1754, delegates from seven English colonies met at Albany to discuss a cooperative system of defense and native diplomacy. The Albany Plan of Union called for a unified defense

structure within the colonies to eliminate the self-centered behavior of previous wars and to streamline the supply and communications systems of provincial forces. Although signed by the colonial delegates, the plan proved unacceptable to each colonial assembly, as well as to the British government, and none of the participants ratified the agreement.

Unlike previous wars, New York proved very supportive of the British efforts in the French and Indian War. It was the only colony to satisfy the requests of the British commander in chief for recruits, supplies, and transportation in 1756 and 1757. This may have been prompted by increased French and allied native activity in the Great Lakes region of western New York. By 1756, the French had constructed a series of fortifications from Lake Erie to the Allegheny River and defeated a British expedition against Fort Duquesne.

As British regular officers and colonial assemblies quarreled over troops and supplies, French forces advanced into New York. Many provincial leaders wished colonial forces to remain independent of British regular commanders. The argument delayed efforts to resist French offensives. In the summer of 1756, the French captured Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario and its garrison of 1,500 provincials. Simultaneously, with their native allies they raided largely undefended frontier settlements across western New York. Even a threat to Fort William Henry on Lake George did nothing to spur colonial efforts at cooperation. On August 9, 1757, French forces compelled the surrender of the fort, exposing the entire Hudson Valley to attack.

Early French successes in the war could do little to offset the British numerical superiority. British sea power prevented any significant French reinforcements from reaching North America, even if France had not concentrated its primary military efforts in Europe. The reverses in New York, although troublesome, were not enough to cause England to abandon any territorial claims or to cancel an invasion of Canada.

In 1758, New York was the point of departure for an invasion commanded by Major General James Abercromby headed for Montreal. He intended to follow the traditional route along rivers and lakes, but began his operations with an ill-conceived assault on Fort Ticonderoga at the southern end of Lake Champlain. Abercromby's force of more than 20,000 heavily outnumbered the Ticonderoga defenders, but his poorly coordinated assaults and failure to properly use siege artillery allowed a French counterattack to devastate his army. Major General Jeffery Amherst was forced to abandon an assault on Quebec to rescue Abercromby from total defeat. By the time of Amherst's arrival at Lake George, it was too late in the campaign season to contemplate another attempt on Fort Ticonderoga. Abercromby was relieved of his command and the invasion of Canada was delayed another year. Amherst resorted to simple raids near the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Bay of Fundy while awaiting the 1759 campaign.

In 1759, Amherst remained in New York, determined to personally lead an invasion across either Lake Champlain or Lake Ontario to capture Montreal. To ensure colonial support, Prime Minister

William Pitt offered to equip and supply provincial troops for the offensive and to reimburse colonial assemblies for their wartime expenditures. The colonial governments responded enthusiastically, voting to raise almost as many troops as Pitt requested. Recruitment proved more difficult; the colonies raised only 75 percent of the promised troops, and the recruits were uniformly untrained and undisciplined. Amherst pressed on in spite of the difficulties, assembling 13,000 troops at Albany. His progress was delayed by small French garrisons along the route as he made parallel advances across Lake Ontario and Lake Champlain. This ensured that both bodies of water would need to be swept of French vessels before troop transports and supply vessels could safely embark.

Although Amherst greatly benefited from the French decision to abandon Fort Ticonderoga (July 26) and Crown Point (July 31), he simply moved too slowly to allow an assault on Montreal in 1759. He decided in October to establish winter quarters at Crown Point, New York, delaying the invasion for yet another year. In 1760, two armies converged in New York for a final assault on Montreal. The first, a party of 11,000 provincials and regulars, departed Albany in June and crossed Lake Ontario en route to the St. Lawrence River. The second and much smaller force mustered at Lake Champlain. A third force departed Quebec for the final assault, and in a rare display of regular and colonial cooperation, all three forces arrived almost simultaneously. On September 8, Montreal surrendered, ending the conquest of Canada and securing the New York frontier. At the Treaty of Paris (1763), France agreed to evacuate all of its North American possessions.

In the American Revolutionary War, New York played a pivotal role in the strategy of each side. Loyalties were divided there, and it was a major source of recruits for the two belligerents. In fact, New York City served as the base of British operations for much of the war. The state was also the site of some of the most important battles of the conflict, including those at Long Island and Saratoga.

PAUL J. SPRINGER

See also

Albany Conference; Beaver Wars; Crown Point (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Fort Orange (New York); Fort Oswego (New York); Fort Ticonderoga (New York); Fort William Henry (New York); Frontier, Northern; Hudson River; Hurons; Iroquois Confederation; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Mohawks; New Netherland; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Stuyvesant, Petrus

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New York, Dutch Capture of

Event Date: August 9, 1673

Dutch operation against New York on August 9, 1673, during the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672–1674). The war was fought for much the same reason as the previous two Anglo-Dutch conflicts. The three conflicts were chiefly for commercial dominance and were waged mostly between the two nations' fleets. This war, however, saw the Dutch fighting for their survival against both England and France.

In November 1672, the Dutch Republic sent to sea a small squadron under Admiral Cornelis Evertsen. His force consisted of six small ships mounting a total of 115 guns. Evertsen's flagship, the *Swaenenburgh*, was a captured English frigate.

Evertsen sailed from the Dutch port of Vlissingen on November 30. His plan was to capture the English island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic. It lay astride the shipping lanes to the Far East, and in Dutch hands St. Helena could serve as a base to disrupt English trade. An encounter with an English squadron off the Cape Verde Islands, however, forced Evertsen to change his plan in favor of a raid against English possessions in the New World, with the goal of inflicting as much damage as possible on English and French shipping.

Crossing the Atlantic, the squadron sailed to the east coast of South America and the Dutch colony of Cape Orange in modern-day Brazil. It was joined there by a smaller squadron under Jacob Benckes. The ships then sailed north to raid French and English possessions in the West Indies, including the islands of Montserrat, Guadeloupe, Nevis, St. Christopher, and St. Eustatius. The Dutch then sailed north to Chesapeake Bay, where Evertsen surprised the Virginia tobacco fleet, then preparing to sail to England.

The Dutch took 11 of the English ships; some were kept as prizes and others were burned. Evertsen's little fleet now numbered 19 ships. Departing Virginia waters, Evertsen sailed for the port of New York. The Dutch ships arrived off New York Harbor on July 28, 1673, and anchored off Sandy Hook on the New Jersey shore. The English had captured the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam in the course of the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1654–1667), but its inhabitants had been allowed to remain providing they took an oath of loyalty to the English Crown. Many of the Dutch were unhappy about living under English rule, however, and several of them made their way to the squadron to inform Evertsen of their desire to see Dutch rule restored. They also reported that the English defenses were weak and that Gov. Francis Lovelace was absent.

Evertsen then decided to expand his mission and take New York. In 1673, the city had more than 2,500 citizens, most of them Dutch. New York's principal defense against seaborne attack was Fort James (formerly Fort Amsterdam). Located on the southernmost part of Manhattan Island, it commanded New York Harbor.

Evertsen's first step was to ensure that the Dutch population ashore would not side with the English. He sent a letter informing them of his impending attack. The letter stated that if they remained neutral, they would not be bothered.

Although Lovelace had been warned six months before of a possible Dutch descent on New York, little had been done to improve the city's defenses. Most of the city's cannon faced inland, and their carriages were in such poor repair that only a half dozen guns could be relied on to repel the Dutch. Troop reinforcements had been sent to New York from Albany earlier, but when the Dutch had failed to appear, these men went home. When the Dutch arrived, there were perhaps only 50 to 60 men stationed at the fort. Lovelace had left town several days before the Dutch fleet arrived, leaving Captain John Manning in charge.

On August 9, 1673, the 19 Dutch ships sailed into New York Harbor, and Evertsen sent ashore a demand for surrender. Manning sent three officers to the Dutch flagship in an attempt at delay in hopes that Lovelace would be able to send reinforcements. Evertsen refused to grant a 24-hour truce as Manning wished, and he informed the emissaries that New York would have only a half hour to surrender. When no satisfactory reply was received, Evertsen brought his ships into position and opened fire on Fort James.

As the battle began, the Dutch landed marines and sailors from the squadron. Commanded by Anthony Colve, they received an enthusiastic reception from the Dutch inhabitants. Realizing the hopelessness of the situation, after little more than an hour of cannonading, most of it by the Dutch guns, Manning ordered a white flag raised over the fort. Assisted by Dutch inhabitants, the landing force then took control of Fort James.

Evertsen installed Colve as governor of the now restored colony of New Amsterdam. New York became New Orange. Evertsen left 60 men from the squadron to hold the now renamed Fort Wilhelm Hendick and then set sail north to raid the French Newfoundland fishing industry.

Much to the dismay of New York's Dutch inhabitants, the change of control was brief. The Treaty of Westminster on February 19, 1674, which ended the Third Anglo-Dutch War, restored the colony to English control. On November 10, 1674, Colve handed over New Orange to English governor Edmund Andros.

WESLEY MOODY AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Anglo-Dutch War, First; Anglo-Dutch War, Second; Anglo-Dutch War, Third; Fort Amsterdam (New York); New York

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New York Slave Revolt

Event Date: April 6, 1712

Slave uprising on Manhattan Island (New York City) on April 6, 1712, involving two dozen slaves, leading to the murder of 9

white New Yorkers. At the beginning of the 18th century, African American slaves constituted about one-fifth of New York City's population of 5,000 people. Though often treated better than those in southern plantation colonies, these slaves still resented their oppression and resisted it as best they could.

Usually, slave resistance took nonviolent forms. However, on January 25, 1708, slave owner William Hallett Jr., along with his pregnant wife and five children, were found murdered in their New York home. After the arrest of several slaves, two of them—a man and a woman—confessed to the killings. Two other men were implicated as accessories. To spread terror among the slave population, all four were executed in tortuous fashion.

Yet the fear of future slave revolts remained high among the white population. Responding to the Halletts' murder later that year, the provincial assembly passed "An Act for preventing the Conspiracy of Slaves." The law stipulated that slaves who had allegedly murdered or attempted to murder anyone except another slave, African American, or mulatto, were to be tried before a quickly commissioned court. It set the penalty for guilt at death, to be administered as the justices saw fit. Undeterred by the promise of harsh penalty, a number of slaves hailing from the African states of Koromanti and Popo, along with some Native American slaves, began plotting a violent uprising in the spring of 1712.

The slaves planned to start a fire and then attack those who responded to the resulting alarm. On the night of April 6, 1712, two slaves, Cuffee and John, who belonged to the baker Peter Vantilborough, laid a torch to their master's property. Meanwhile, about two dozen men armed with whatever guns, blades, or clubs they could procure waited in the streets for townspeople to rush to the scene. When the first contingent of New Yorkers arrived, the slaves killed nine and wounded seven others.

When word of the revolt reached Gov. Robert Hunter, he issued a general alarm and sent troops in pursuit of the slaves. As the slaves retreated, Hunter posted guards along the routes out of Manhattan and militiamen patrolled the island. Most, if not all, of the slaves involved in the insurrection were eventually apprehended, some posthumously after they committed suicide.

On April 9, a preliminary jury probing the deaths of the 9 New Yorkers cast suspicion on at least 38 slaves. Drawing on the 1708 law to prevent slave revolts, a court of quarter sessions of the peace convened on April 11. It met intermittently until June 3 to try slaves as they were arraigned. After June 3, the regularly scheduled supreme court took over the trials, which lasted into October. None of the suspected slaves had the means to mount a vigorous defense, and they were tried before juries drawn from a paranoid population.

When the trials were over, 25 slaves had been condemned and 18 acquitted. Eighteen among the condemned had been hastily executed, and a pregnant woman had her death postponed until after she delivered her child. Of those killed, 14 were hanged, 3 were burned alive, 1 was broken on the wheel, and 1 was suspended in chains without food or water. Governor Hunter eventually intervened to grant reprieves to 6 of the condemned individuals, believing that the

attorney general had been overzealous in his prosecution. The proceedings against one slave in particular drew the governor's ire. This defendant belonged to one of the attorney general's political rivals, and he had to face three different trials because the jury handed down acquittals in the first two.

Given the haste of the trials, the vigor of the prosecution, and the mood of the town, it seems likely that some of the condemned were innocent. The injustice of the trials would have been worse had the governor not intervened. Yet the convicted slaves were not the only ones who suffered. The city council and provincial assembly reacted to the revolt by passing even more repressive laws in order to control New York's slave population. And the memory of the slave revolt of 1712 probably led New Yorkers to overreact to a feared uprising in 1741.

JAMES D. DRAKE

See also

New York Slave Revolt of 1741; Slavery

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New York Slave Revolt

Start Date: March 18, 1741 End Date: April 1741

Slave rebellion in New York City during March–April 1741. The winter of 1741 had been a difficult one for New Yorkers. The North (later the Hudson) River remained frozen into the spring. The unusual cold and heavy snow had killed livestock, and many New Yorkers were going hungry. Compounding their miseries, Britain had been at war with Spain for two years (Anglo-Spanish War, 1739–1744). Many feared that the time was ripe for a Spanish naval assault on the city. A Spanish attack seemed logical because earlier in the winter part of the crew of a captured Spanish ship had been brought to New York. When the black men among them could not prove that they were freemen, the court of admiralty allowed their sale as slaves. With the Spanish promising to retaliate, many New Yorkers also began to fear that these slaves in particular might foment a revolt.

With New York's African Americans comprising about 2,000 of the city's 11,000 people, the overwhelming majority of whom were enslaved, New Yorkers had good reason to fear a slave rebellion. Indeed, the New York slave revolt of 1712 was still part of the community's memory. That uprising had resulted in the deaths of 9 whites and the executions of 19 slaves.

Fire broke out on March 18, 1741, at Fort George, the heart of the colonial government in New York. When the flames died down, the royal governor's house and numerous other government buildings lay in ashes. One soldier had been killed. Although the cause of the fire was unknown, more fires broke out a week later, prompt-



Two slaves being burned at the stake for their participation in a slave revolt in New York in 1741. Colonial officials hanged 4 whites and 18 slaves. Another 13 other slaves were burned at the stake. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

ing New Yorkers to suspect arson and abandon their homes. With officials desperate to find the cause of the fires, a woman stepped forward on April 5 to report that she had overheard a slave make a cryptic comment about fire to a companion. When two more fires broke out on April 6, rumors began circulating that the slaves acquired from the Spanish ship were part of a larger slave plot.

The testimony of Mary Burton, a 16-year-old white indentured servant who had been arrested for robbery in February 1741, gave authorities evidence that supported popular rumors. Burton had already accused her master, John Hughson, of criminal activity. Before a grand jury convened in mid-April, she charged him with overseeing the conspiracy. In further questioning she gave enough information to implicate a number of slaves and whites in the plot. The implicated whites tended to belong to disaffected groups—criminals, Irish conscripts, and Roman Catholics. In further proceedings, accused individuals named more alleged conspirators, and the grand jury testimony stretched until August 1742.

The only surviving record of the proceedings comes from the journal of Daniel Horsmanden, who was the city recorder and a

judge at the trial. Historians debate the potential biases of this document, but certain facts from the proceedings are clear. The laws of conspiracy made suspect even those who might have passively overheard rebellious plans. Thus, it is not surprising that a sizable number of people faced trial.

Most of the 20 whites and approximately 150 African Americans arrested were denied legal counsel. At the same time, the prosecution had the services of the city's best legal minds. Equally problematic for the enslaved defendants was the fact that they were tried in groups, rather than as individuals. On the other hand, the slaves were at least allowed hearings in the same court as whites, a rather unusual occurrence in colonial America. Many defendants confessed to crimes with the hope that it would save their lives. Usually it did not.

The mostly forgotten proceedings of 1741 resulted in more deaths than the Salem Witch Trials of the late 17th century. In the end, based solely on questionable and flimsy evidence, colonial officials hanged 4 whites and 18 slaves. Thirteen other slaves were burned at the stake, and 70 were sold and shipped away, mostly to the West Indies.

JAMES D. DRAKE

See also

Fort James (New York); New York Slave Revolt of 1712; Slavery

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Niagara, Treaty of Event Date: August 1764

Agreement between some 44 Native American nations and the British signed at Fort Niagara (New York) in August 1764. The British undertook the negotiations in an attempt to end hostilities with Native Americans that had begun the previous year with Pontiac's Rebellion. The treaty also affirmed the Proclamation of 1763 and recognized the nation-to-nation relationship between the American Indians and the British. In a significant way, the negotiations attempted to deal with the postwar order after the long and destructive French and Indian War (1754–1763).

In late 1763, Sir William Johnson, Britain's superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern colonies, called for a peace conference to take place in the summer of 1764. He sent messengers carrying strings of wampum and copies of the Proclamation of 1763 to the natives. The message reached as far away as Nova Scotia in the east, Hudson Bay in the north, the Gulf of Mexico in the south, and the Mississippi River in the west. As a result, approximately 2,000 indigenous people representing roughly 44 nations attended the

peace conference. Chief Pontiac, one of the key leaders of the anti-British faction, however, was not present. He would sign a separate peace in 1765.

The Niagara Congress convened and met in July 1764. During the negotiations, Johnson attempted to use a "divide and conquer" technique to ensure a swift agreement. The chiefs, though they met with Johnson independently, kept each other abreast of their discussions. The final agreement was reached in August. A hybrid of two worlds, the accord was symbolized in wampum, with the two-row wampum belt used to symbolize native understanding of the agreement. The treaty was also written out for British officials.

The terms of the treaty included an exchange of prisoners, reestablishment of British gift giving, promises to prosecute whites who committed crimes against natives, compensation for white traders' losses, a schedule of value for trade goods, and promises of open and free trade. It also stipulated that there must be protection against mutual enemies, no settler encroachments on native territory, free passage across the frontier for natives and traders alike, and a native promise to cease contact with British enemies.

Details of the Niagara Treaty continued to influence native-Canadian/British treaty negotiations into the 19th century. For example, in 1836, when negotiating a treaty on Manitoulin Island, Chief Assickinack reminded the lieutenant governor of Upper Canada, Sir Francis Bond Head, of the terms of Niagara. In Canada, the 1764 Treaty of Niagara and the Proclamation of 1763 represented a charter for the Native Americans' relationship with the Crown.

KARL S. HELE

See also

Fort Niagara (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Johnson, Sir William; Pontiac (Obwandiyng), Chief; Pontiac's Rebellion; Proclamation of 1763; Wampum

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Nicholson, Sir Francis

Born: November 12, 1655 Died: March 28, 1728

British Army officer and colonial governor. Born on November 12, 1655, at Downholme Park in Yorkshire, England, Francis Nicholson entered the King's Holland Regiment in 1678 as an ensign and saw service in Flanders toward the end of the Third Anglo-Dutch War. From July 1680 to February 1684, Nicholson served under Colonel Percy Kirke in the Tangier Regiment, when Tangier was

garrisoned by the English. On his return to England, he served in Kirke's command during the suppression of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion against James II in 1685. Although Nicholson may not have fought at the Battle of Sedgemoor, he was involved in the ruthless suppression that followed that battle.

Following Monmouth's rebellion, Nicholson was rewarded for his service to James II, who promoted him to captain and dispatched him to the newly created Dominion of New England in 1686. On his arrival in the dominion, Gov. Sir Edmond Andros appointed Nicholson to the Governor's Council. Two years later Andros named Nicholson lieutenant governor and assigned him to New York. When news of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 reached the colonies in the spring of 1689, Nicholson hesitated to acknowledge William III and Mary II until he received formal instructions. Consequently, Nicholson was toppled by Leisler's Rebellion.

Although Nicholson had been part of James II's administration, he succeeded in winning the support of William III and Mary II after the Glorious Revolution. In May 1690, Nicholson was appointed lieutenant governor of Virginia and would spend the next 15 years in the Chesapeake serving as lieutenant governor of Virginia, governor of Maryland, and governor of Virginia. He returned to England in April 1705.

An ardent advocate of aggressive action against the French in North America, Nicholson was dispatched to the colonies with the rank of colonel in 1708 during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) and instructed to organize an invasion of New France. With approximately 3,000 troops under his command, Nicholson established a chain of stockades from Albany to Lake Champlain in anticipation of an advance on Montreal. In late summer 1708, however, Nicholson received news that London had cancelled the naval component of Nicholson's planned two-pronged attack. Nicholson returned to London and vigorously encouraged the cabinet to reconsider his plans to invade Canada. Revealing a capability for showmanship, Nicholson took 4 Mohawk warriors with him and they quickly became a popular sensation in London and contributed to the ministry's decision to approve Nicholson's plans.

Returning to New England in May 1709 with the rank of brigadier general, Nicholson organized the highly successful invasion of Nova Scotia. Moving swiftly to publicize his victory, Nicholson returned to London and received a hero's welcome. Promoted to lieutenant general in 1711, Nicholson was sent back to the colonies to command a planned assault on Quebec. As Nicholson advanced up the Lake Champlain corridor, however, the Royal Navy lost half of its force while sailing up the St. Lawrence River, ruining any chance for success.

Although Nicholson's 1711 campaign against Quebec would mark his last field command, he continued to serve in the colonial administration. From 1713 to 1715, he served as governor of Nova Scotia, and from 1720 to 1725 he served as governor of South Carolina. Nicholson died in London on March 28, 1728.

A. ZAMBONE AND JUSTIN D. MURPHY

See also

Andros, Edmund; Canada, British Expedition against (1709); Canada, British Expedition against (1711); Dominion of New England; Glorious Revolution in America; Iroquois Confederation; Leisler's Rebellion; Mohawks; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns

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Nipmucks

Native American people belonging to the Algonquian linguistic group who lived primarily in east-central Massachusetts. Several small bands of Nipmucks lived in northeastern Connecticut and northern Rhode Island as well. Nipmuck means "Fresh Water People" and refers to their living inland, away from the coast. The Nipmucks were relatively small in number, perhaps about 5,000 people in 1620. They were very loosely organized and militarily weak. As such, they frequently saw their territory dominated by neighboring tribes—particularly the Wampanoags, the Pequots, the Narragansetts, the Massachusetts, and the Pennacooks. The Iroquois people and the Mohegans also viewed the Nipmucks as their enemy.

Like other New England Algonquian speakers, the Nipmucks lived in local bands of a few hundred. Each band settled in a village for part of the year and traveled over its territory to hunt and gather food the rest of the year. A head sachem (chief) and a council of lesser sachems led each band, making such decisions as whether to go to war. Limited warfare among rival bands occurred frequently. But slaughter with the goal of total annihilation did not take place until English colonists introduced their own brand of take-no-prisoners warfare.

Most of the Nipmuck bands had bowed to the authority of Massachusetts Bay Colony by the mid-1600s. With their population depleted by European diseases and intertribal warfare, a number of the remaining Nipmucks turned to Christianity. Under the influence of such Puritan preachers as John Eliot, they viewed their plight as a sign of the English god's supremacy over their own. During the early 1670s, the Christianized Nipmucks began living in the so-called praying towns of Massachusetts.

English offenses against the Nipmucks soon outweighed Christian influences, however. Matoonas, once a loyal Nipmuck convert, became a leading adversary when the English executed his son on

a false charge. On August 1, 1675, a Nipmuck force led by former converts Matoonas and Muttawump ambushed a group of English troops that had come to open peace negotiations. When the surviving English took refuge in Brookfield, some 200 Nipmucks laid siege to the town until English reinforcements arrived three days later. By the autumn of 1675, most of the recently converted Nipmucks deserted the praying towns to join Metacom and the Wampanoags in prosecuting King Philip's War against the English. Only a few remained loyal to the Puritans and relocated to another tribe's praying town. During the war, bands of Nipmucks joined other combatant bands in raiding Massachusetts frontier towns, including Deerfield, Hadley, Northampton, and Springfield. At peak strength, Muttawump commanded a mixed force of some 700 warriors from Nipmuck and allied bands.

Probably fewer than 1,000 Nipmucks survived the war. The English sold some survivors into slavery in the West Indies and consigned others to reservations or praying villages. A few escaped to take refuge with other native bands and joined in attacks on English frontier towns during later uprisings.

The presence of Nipmuck refugees among the Pennacooks of New Hampshire brought about another episode of betrayal and revenge in New England–native relations. In 1676, New Hampshire Militia commander Richard Waldron invited a party of Pennacooks and Nipmucks to visit him then seized the Nipmucks and shipped them off for punishment, execution, or slavery. His betrayal enraged and humiliated the Pennacooks. They waited 13 years for the opportunity to take revenge, torturing Waldron to death.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Brookfield, Siege of; King Philip's War; Massachusetts; Metacom; New Hampshire; Pennacooks; Praying Towns and Praying Indians; Waldron, Richard

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Norridgewock, Battle of Event Date: August 12, 1724

New England raid against the Eastern Abenakis' main village at Norridgewock, Maine (then part of Massachusetts), during Dummer's War (1722–1727) on August 12, 1724. The objective of the raid was to capture or kill Father Sébastien Râle, a French Jesuit missionary believed by New Englanders to have fomented the conflict. After years of increasing tensions, Gov. Samuel Shute of Massachusetts declared war on the Abenakis in July 1722, beginning

Dummer's War. New Englanders blamed Abenaki resistance on French machinations, rather than their own land hunger and duplications trade and diplomacy.

To English thinking, the French mission at Norridgewock, some 75 miles up the Kennebec River, was the heart of the rebellion. The New England colonists portrayed Râle as a religious fanatic who had encouraged the Abenakis to purge English Protestant heretics from North America. The reality was far more complex. For over two decades, the Jesuits had lived among the Abenakis and championed their interests, often forcefully, against English demands.

After two years of a frustrating guerrilla war, the New Englanders targeted Norridgewock. They did so to arrest Râle but in reality to break the rebellion. On August 8, 1724, Captain Johnson Harmon and a force of some 200 militiamen and a few native scouts left Fort Richmond, a small post 25 miles up the Kennebec. The group traveled by whaleboat upstream to a point just south of Norridgewock. Leaving 40 men to guard the boats, Harmon's force marched overland.

The attackers were undetected and reached the village's outskirts by midday on August 12. Harmon took half the force to scour surrounding cornfields, leaving the actual attack on the village to his second-in-command, Captain Jeremiah Moulton.

Moulton's men approached Norridgewock from the west and soon cordoned off the northern and southern approaches. This left the only avenue of escape eastward by means of the Kennebec River. Achieving near total surprise, the attackers fired into the village while Abenaki warriors scrambled from their dwellings, trying to purchase time for their families to escape. The New Englanders, however, quickly overran the village and pursued their escaping foes, shooting many as they sought to cross the river.

In the fighting roughly 30 Abenakis were killed, among them many prominent warriors. Some historians have suggested that the death toll may have been higher, however. Moulton's force lost 1 New Englander and 1 native scout. As many as 150 Abenakis escaped to other French missions. Râle was among the dead. English and Abenaki accounts offer several versions of his death. The English portrayed the Jesuit as either actively leading the Abenakis, or firing on the militia from a dwelling. Abenaki accounts, relayed by French missionaries, depicted the unarmed missionary confronting his attackers and dying at the foot of a cross. Allegedly, his body lay amid several of his converts, who died shielding him with their own bodies.

With dusk approaching, the English spent the night in Abenaki dwellings. After pillaging and burning the town the following morning, Harmon's force returned to English territory. Harmon arrived in Boston to a hero's welcome, complete with a number of Abenaki scalps and that of Râle in order to collect a £100 reward.

The attack on Norridgewock eliminated a major obstacle to further English expansion in the Kennebec River Valley. Râle had openly challenged New England's aggressive policies, and his death and the destruction of the Eastern Abenaki village at Norridgewock

weakened that nation, although the war continued for three more years.

STANLEY J. ADAMIAK

See also

Abenakis; Dummer's War; Fort Richmond (Maine); Harmon, Johnson; Jesuits; Moulton, Jeremiah; Râle, Sébastien

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Norteños

A term used by the Spanish in reference to certain Native American tribes, mostly in the interior regions of what is present-day Texas. Norteños translates as "nations of the North," in reference to the natives living north of Spain's colonial Mexican holdings. In the early 1700s, Spain had limited its settlements in Texas chiefly to the area northwest of San Antonio and Natchitoches. It did so because of French incursions from Louisiana beginning in 1699, with the establishment of Baton Rouge. To blunt this, the Spanish launched the large-scale Aguayo Expedition (1720–1722), which helped them check French expansion, reassert control over the region, and spread Catholicism.

Eventually, Spanish authorities established 10 missions and 4 presidios to cement Spanish influence in northern and western Texas. At the same time, Native American refugees from other parts of the continent were reforming as "refugee tribes" on the southern plains of Spain's northern frontier. These tribes became the Norteños when they had acquired horses from Spain and firearms from the French. Indeed, in the 1700s the Comanches, the Kitsais, the Tonkawas, and the Wichitas proved to be some of the most formidable light cavalry soldiers in the world. An excellent example of this was the Norteño raid on the mission and presidio established at San Sabá in northwest Texas in April 1757. The mission had been established several miles downstream of the presidio to Christianize the Lipán Apaches in the area. Almost immediately, the Norteños began raids against their old enemies the Apaches, and the presumed allies of the Apaches, the Spanish. On March 16, 1758, a large force of Norteños attacked, looted, and burned Mission San Sabá, killing 8 Spaniards and several Apaches there. In December, a Comanche band killed 21 Apaches near the presidio, and in March 1759, 19 Apaches died trying to protect the presidio's herd of horses.

On September 1, 1759, a large Spanish force commanded by dragoon colonel and San Sabá commandant Diego Ortiz Parrilla left San Antonio for San Sabá to punish the Norteños. The force of 576 included 176 mission native warriors, 1,500 horses, several hun-

dred mules, several cannon, and provisions of dry beef, flour, corn, and beans. On October 1, they surprised and routed a Norteño ranching outpost, killing 55 Tonkawas, capturing 150 others, and taking 100 horses.

The Spanish force pressed on to the Red River on October 7, where they were lured into a Norteño trap. Following fleeing Norteños, the expedition came on a fortified Wichita village near present-day Spanish Fort on the Red River. Surrounded by quick-sand, the settlement was being watched by 11 different bands of well-armed Norteños hidden along the river banks. The Norteños then struck when the Spanish least expected. Spanish horses became bogged down, and 11 cannon rounds proved ineffective. The four-hour battle ended at dark with a rout of the Spanish. Their losses were 19 men killed, 14 wounded, 19 others lost by desertion, and all the cannon lost. Presumably the Norteños also captured many horses and provisions.

Norteño warfare proved so troublesome for Spain that imperial officials called for redesigned presidios and other strongholds and the adoption of tactics that would allow Spanish soldiers greater flexibility to pursue attackers. By the 1770s and 1780s, New Spain had engaged many of the Norteños in peace talks. Peace generally held after that, although Spanish settlements were never completely free from the Norteño threat. Small bands of Norteños, unwilling to negotiate peace with the Spanish, continued to hound settlements and missions into the early 19th century.

CHRISTOPHER HOWELL

See also

Aguayo Expedition; Native Warfare; Spanish Mission System, Southwest; Texas

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North Carolina

Southern colony first settled by the English in 1587 and part of the Carolina colony until the region was split into North and South Carolina in 1712. The area had first been explored by Giovanni da Verrazzano in 1523–1524 on behalf of the French, and the Spanish further explored the coastal regions of North Carolina in the 1540s. In 1526, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón tried unsuccessfully to found a settlement near modern-day Myrtle Beach, South Carolina. During the 1560s, several other Spaniards scouted the area, but no serious efforts were undertaken to establish settlements there.

In 1585, Sir Walter Raleigh, at the behest of Queen Elizabeth I, sent a contingent of 100 people to settle at Chesapeake Bay, but the expedition instead landed at Roanoke Island. The settlement was

quickly abandoned, however. In July 1587, another contingent of would-be colonists went ashore at Roanoke Island. In 1590, when an English supply ship finally made its way back to the island, there was not a trace of the colonists. One of the great mysteries of North American colonization, the disappearance of the settlers has been attributed to hostile natives, food shortages made worse by drought, and diseases such as yellow fever. The eastern region of the colony was later populated by English settlers moving south from the Virginia settlements.

In 1663, King Charles II established a proprietary government in Carolina under the governance of eight lords proprietors. The colony loosely encompassed an area from the mouth of the Savannah River in the far southeast, to the Virginia border in the north, and to Chesapeake Bay in the far northeast. From 1663 to 1729, the proprietary government suffered from internal rebellions, mismanagement, and problems with the native population. The major Native American groups inhabiting the region were the Cherokees, the Tuscaroras, the Catawbas, and the Saponis. Some Creeks were also present. There were numerous smaller tribes, and the region was home to a diverse set of American Indians that represented three distinct language groups: Iroquoian, Algonquian, and Siouan. Between the 1660s and 1680s, settlements began to emerge in the eastern quarter of North Carolina. In 1691, Carolina was further consolidated with a governor residing in Charles Town (presentday Charleston, South Carolina). The colony was separated into North and South Carolina in 1712, although North Carolina was still within the control of the South Carolina governor (North Carolina had a governor who reported to Charles Town). In 1729, the remaining lords proprietors sold their claims back to the British Crown, and North Carolina was established as a royal colony.

By the early 1600s, the northeastern region of the colony had become an area of conflict between the incoming settlers and Native Americans like the Tuscaroras. During the period of the proprietary government, the English settlers were unable to defend or even mount counterraids against natives because of the inefficient colonial government. North Carolina invariably had to rely on either Virginia or South Carolina to come to its assistance with troops and supplies.

The best example of this problem was the Tuscarora War of 1711–1713. Initially, the Tuscaroras, under the leadership of Chief Hancock, attacked a number of white plantations around the area of Bath and New Bern, North Carolina. The colony requested assistance from South Carolina, and a force of soldiers and native allies under the command of Captain John "Tuscarora Jack" Barnwell arrived in the area in January 1712. By April, Barnwell had arranged a truce with the Tuscaroras.

Unsatisfied with the result of the campaign, however, North Carolina appealed to Virginia, but refused to supply the expected troops. Virginia withdrew its offer, whereupon another South Carolina expedition under the command of Colonel James Moore Jr. returned to the region in March 1713. His force of 900 warriors and 30 whites captured the Tuscaroras' Fort Nohoroco and effectively

destroyed the power base of the tribe. After the Tuscarora War and Yamasee War (1715–1717), settlers began streaming into North Carolina, which now seemed relatively safe from large-scale native attacks. Between 1730 and 1765, it is estimated that the colony's population jumped from some 30,000 European inhabitants to as many as 200,000. During the various wars of imperial conquest, North Carolina was not altogether immune from depredations. Both the Spanish and the French raided the coast during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), and such activities were repeated during King George's War (1744–1748). Indeed, during 1747–1748, Spanish privateers ravaged ports from Brunswick to Beaufort.

During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the North Carolina frontier became a battleground that pitted French-allied native tribes against the North Carolina settlers. This fighting was centered in the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains. The possibility of native raids forced the North Carolina General Assembly to construct Fort Dobbs, named after the royal governor, Arthur Dobbs, in the Carolina Piedmont.

Native attacks increased in 1759 when French agents sent from Fort Toulouse took advantage of colonists' murders of several Ckerokees to incite that nation, formerly a British ally, to war. During March and April 1759, Cherokee raiding parties struck in the area in and around the Catawba River Valley and Yadkin River Valley. Fort Dobbs was then reinforced with colonial troops pulled from the coastal fortifications and ranger companies raised by the colonial government. This was the opening salvo of the Cherokee War (1759–1761).

With increased violence on its frontier, South Carolina appealed for assistance from both North Carolina and Virginia. Governor Dobbs dispatched a company of militia to assist South Carolina. In 1760, two British expeditions advanced into the South Carolina frontier to bring an end to the Cherokee attacks. The first campaign, under the command of Colonel Archibald Montgomery, resulted in an indecisive engagement at the town of Echoe, where the advantage of the British advance was negated by the failure of North Carolina and Virginia to move against the Overhill settlements. In 1761, British lieutenant general James Grant employed a combined force consisting of British soldiers, colonials, and native allies to defeat the Cherokees. Several months later, the Cherokees sued for peace with both North and South Carolina. In 1763, King George III established a "proclamation line" of 40 miles to separate the Cherokee towns and the English settlements in western North Carolina. This resulted in a briefera of relative calm before colonial-native clashes resumed late in the decade.

WILLIAM H. BROWN

See also

Barnwell, John; Cherokees; Cherokee War; Creeks; Fort Dobbs
(North Carolina); Fort Toulouse (Alabama); French and Indian
War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns;
Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Raleigh, Sir Walter; Roanoke
Island (North Carolina); South Carolina; Tuscaroras; Tuscarora War;
Yamasee War

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Northfield Fortifications (Massachusetts)

The Northfield Fortifications were a succession, as well as a collection, of defensive British outposts. These works were situated at the American Indian village of Squakeag, just west of the Connecticut River in what was then northwestern Massachusetts. The English settled Northfield in 1670, and until 1724 it served as the northernmost outpost in the Connecticut River Valley. Like many in its day, this town was a center for both trade with, and defense against, the native tribes of the region.

The Northfield forts first served against autonomous American Indian tribes, but over time also helped to protect Massachusetts against French and allied native incursions.

The first of the Northfield forts was constructed in 1673, a log garrison surrounded by a palisade. Two years later, the fort played a minor role in the skirmish at Beers Plain during King Philip's War (1675–1676). Metacom (King Philip) used the fort as a temporary base of operations in 1675. The following year, 1676, the colonists retook, rebuilt, and improved the fortifications. The colonists added additional outworks and redoubts in 1685, 1686, and 1688. Nevertheless, the fort was again destroyed during King William's War (1689–1697) in 1690, this time by American Indians supported by the French.

For the remainder of King William's War and throughout Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), Northfield remained unfortified. After the fighting ceased, the area was again resettled. The English erected two separate forts in 1722, and several garrison houses in 1724. These fortifications helped to protect western Massachusetts from the threat posed by French forces based at Crown Point during King George's War (1744–1748).

Peacetime retrenchments brought a temporary end to the Northfield forts in 1753. But French hostilities prompted their rebuilding in 1754. There were then four Northfield forts defending the Massachusetts frontier, but the British by this time had more advanced posts opposed to Crown Point. The new fortifications were therefore probably never tested by the French and their American Indian allies and were, in any case, rendered obsolete by the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

MATT SCHUMANN

See also

Crown Point (New York); Deerfield (Massachusetts); Fort Darby (Massachusetts); Fort Massachusetts (Massachusetts); Hatfield Fort (Massachusetts); King George's War, Land Campaigns; King Philip's War; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Litchfield Forts (Connecticut); Paris, Treaty of

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Nottoways

Native American tribe that lived along the modern-day Nottoway River in southeastern Virginia and in northeastern North Carolina. When the English founded Jamestown in 1607, the Nottoway population was estimated at some 1,500 people. They were of Iroquoin background, which sometimes led to tensions between them and their Algonquian neighbors. Nottoway is an Algonquian term meaning "snake" or "adder." The name stuck when Europeans began using it.

Initially, the 40-mile distance between Nottoway villages and Jamestown limited their interaction with white colonists. Their relative proximity to the coasts of Virginia and North Carolina, however, placed the Nottoways directly in the path of future English colonial expansion. During his infamous rebellion in 1676, for example, Nathaniel Bacon attacked the Nottoways and surrounding tribes, leading the natives to sign a 1677 treaty promising friendship to Virginia.

The outbreak of the Tuscarora War in North Carolina in 1711 divided the Nottoways. Gov. Alexander Spotswood of Virginia marched a militia force to the main Nottoway town to prevent its inhabitants from joining the uprising. The action had some success, and in 1712 the Nottoways pledged peace in return for the right to trade for muskets and ammunition. Not all of the Nottoways apparently agreed, however, as some joined their Iroquoin neighbors, the Tuscaroras. When the Tuscaroras lost, they and some of the Nottoways fled to New York, where they became the sixth nation in the Iroquois Confederation. The Nottoways who remained behind in Virginia thereafter enjoyed relatively good relations with their white neighbors. They supported the British colonists in the French and Indian War and then the American side during the American Revolutionary War.

A possible exception to this friendly pattern was a burst of violence along the South Carolina frontier during the late 1740s and early 1750s. Two white Charles Town (present-day Charleston) traders, George Haig and Thomas Brown, were killed by a mixed group of "Notowega" natives. Contemporaries identified some of them as Conestogas or Senecas. But the clear Iroquoin identification of the group has led to speculation that at least some of them were Nottoways. After several years of clashes with South Carolina settlers, the Nottoways retreated to Cherokee territory and disappeared.

After the Tuscarora War, the Nottoways in Virginia declined in numbers. In 1728 William Byrd estimated their population at just 300. A 1764 report described the Nottoways and their lesser neighbors as collectively having 60 warriors. The pattern continued so that, by the end of the American Revolutionary War, Thomas Jefferson exaggeratedly reported that not a single male Nottoway still lived. A census in 1825 counted only 47 Virginia Nottoways. Although the name Nottoway is still used by some northern Iroquois tribes, descendants of the Virginia band today call themselves the Cheroenhakas.

Andrew C. Lannen

See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Bacon's Rebellion; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Iroquois Confederation; Spotswood, Alexander; Tuscaroras; Tuscarora War; Virginia

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Nutimus

Born: ca. 1680 Died: 1763

Delaware (Lenni Lenape) sachem chief who became the principal spokesperson for the tribe, particularly in regard to relations with English settlers. Nutimus (meaning "one who spears fishes") was born around 1680, most likely in modern-day New Jersey in the region of the upper Delaware River Valley. His tribe occupied territory in present-day Northampton County in eastern Pennsylvania near the Lehigh River and the Delaware River. Thanks to the beneficence of its founder, William Penn, the colony dealt fairly with Native Americans. But rising debt among Penn's heirs to the proprietorship, sons John and Thomas, set the stage for a betrayal.

In 1735, Thomas Penn produced a dubious contract purportedly negotiated in 1686 that ceded to the proprietors as much native-held territory as could be traversed in a day and a half of walking. Nutimus objected and threatened to press his case through the Iroquois Confederation. The Penns, however, forestalled the move through separate negotiations with the Onondagas, who were members of the confederation. Iroquois leaders ignored the fraud because they saw an opportunity to establish themselves as the sole agents for the British in handling questions of land rights.

In 1737, Nutimus officially acquiesced and subjected his people to the so-called Walking Purchase. He cried foul as the whites hired as "walkers" took few breaks and ran for portions of their trek. The Penns ultimately claimed 1.2 million acres based on a 65-mile journey. By 1740, Nutimus had resumed efforts to enlist the support of other tribes in redressing his grievance. But in 1742, the Onondaga chief, Canasatego, with prompting from Gov. George Thomas of Pennsylvania, admonished Nutimus. Referring to the Delawares as "women," Canasatego evicted them from their land without allowing them any right to sell it.

The Delawares relocated to Pennsylvania's Wyoming Valley by the northern branch of the Susquehanna River. Their ongoing lobbying for the abrogation of the bogus treaty lasted 19 years, but came to no avail. One of Nutimus's followers and a subsequent chief, Teedyuscung, secured a royal investigation into the matter. Quakers disenchanted with the Penn family had by then taken up the cause of the Delaware tribe. Teedyuscung withdrew his claim before a hearing could be held, however. Nutimus lived out his remaining years in relative solitude, although he did engage in diplomacy with Superintendent of Indian Affairs Sir William Johnson in 1756 to earn his tribe recognition as an independent nation.

Nutimus died in 1763 during Pontiac's Rebellion. Although neither he nor his village were involved in the hostilities, the settlement was nonetheless raided and destroyed by colonial forces. It is believed that Nutimus died during the attack.

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See also

Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Iroquois Confederation; Johnson, Sir William; Pennsylvania; Teedyuscung; Walking Purchase

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Oconostota

Born: ca. 1712 Died: 1783

Great warrior (primary war leader) of the Cherokee Nation in the third quarter of the 18th century and later a revered leader of the Cherokees during some of the most violent and turbulent events in Cherokee history. Born about 1712, by 1753 Oconostota had become the great warrior for the Overhill town of Chota, which had gained preeminence over all the Cherokee towns. This in effect made Oconostota the great warrior for the entire Cherokee Nation.

During the years leading up to the Seven Years' War, Oconostota favored an alliance with the French over the existing Cherokee alliance with the British. Another great Cherokee chief, Attakullakulla, opposed him on these matters as a staunch leader of the more popular British faction. In any case, the French were unable to maintain the supply of weapons, ammunition, and other European trade goods that the British were able to furnish, and this left Oconostota and others favoring the French a minority of the Cherokees.

Despite his desire to ally with the French, Oconostota led numerous war parties against French-allied natives during the 1750s as the Cherokees' alliance with the British strengthened. In 1753, he led some 400 warriors against the Choctaws to provide assistance to the Chickasaws at the behest of Gov. James Glen of South Carolina. Oconostota and his Cherokees administered a decisive defeat on the Creeks in the Battle of Taliwa, forcing the Creeks to leave northern Georgia. Then in 1755, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Oconostota led numerous war parties against the French-allied natives in Illinois. Finally, in 1757, he led raids against French trading boats and canoes on the Mississippi River and the Ohio River.

Unfortunately for the Cherokees and the colony of South Carolina, relations between the Cherokees and the British soured in

1759 as some unscrupulous Virginia Rangers attacked a Cherokee war party returning home after fighting for the British in the Ohio Valley. This incident led to an outbreak of hostilities along the Cherokee-Carolina frontier known as the Cherokee War (1759–1761). Oconostotaled a Cherokee peace delegation to Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) to resolve the situation, but Gov. William Lyttelton took the Cherokee delegates hostage and then accompanied them and South Carolina forces to Fort Prince George among the Cherokee Lower Towns. There Governor Lyttelton demanded that in exchange for the release of the chiefs, the Cherokees surrender those responsible for the killing of two dozen settlers. Lyttelton had hoped to use his military force to chastise the Cherokees, but an outbreak of smallpox dispersed his men.

Eventually Attakullakulla secured the release of some of the chiefs, including Oconostota. He immediately led a Cherokee attack on Fort Prince George, which brought the immediate execution of the remaining Native American hostages. The attack also brought a South Carolina punitive expedition. Archibald Montgomery and James Grant led a mixed force of regular British troops (most of them Highlanders) and militiamen against the Cherokees. The troops destroyed many of the Lower Cherokee towns. On June 1, Oconostota and the Cherokees repulsed Montgomery at Etchoe, about six miles south of present Franklin, North Carolina, whereupon Montgomery retired to Charles Town.

Oconostota then led a Cherokee siege of Fort Loudoun in present-day Tennessee. The garrison surrendered in August, marking the worst defeat of a British force at the hands of Native Americans until Pontiac's Rebellion of 1763. Although the garrison had been promised safe conduct, the Cherokees attacked the troops as they withdrew, killing a number exactly equal to the Cherokee hostages killed at Fort Prince George.

In 1761, Oconostota traveled to New Orleans to seek French assistance, but he was unable to secure any meaningful military aid. In the spring of 1761, Colonel James Grant led some 2,400 South Carolinians against the Cherokees. He avoided an ambush near the site where Montgomery had been defeated and was victorious over the Cherokees. Grant and his men then attacked the middle Cherokee settlements, destroying some 15 towns and a great many crops. The Cherokee War was concluded that same year.

Although the war had been a serious setback for the Cherokee Nation, Oconostota remained an important leader. Indeed, from 1764 he was effectively leader of all the Cherokees. In 1768, Oconostota led delegations to meet with both the Iroquois and representatives of Virginia to draw a new boundary line between Cherokee lands and that colony. The Virginians almost immediately broke the agreement.

Preferring peace to war, in 1775 Oconostota signed an agreement with North Carolina lawyer Richard Henderson that ceded more than 20 million acres of Cherokee land in middle Tennessee and Kentucky. In 1776, some Cherokees attacked colonial settlements along the frontier from Virginia to Georgia, leading to savage settler reprisals against Cherokee towns. The Cherokees agreed to peace in the spring of 1777, with Oconostota playing a key role in the talks. Some Cherokees fought on the British side in the American Revolutionary War, but Oconostota opposed this. Oconostota remained the revered leader of the Cherokee Nation until his death in the spring of 1783.

DIXIE RAY HAGGARD

See also

Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter); Cherokees; Cherokee War; Chickasaws; Choctaw-Chickasaw War; Choctaws; Creek-Cherokee Wars; Fort Loudoun (Tennessee); Fort Prince George-Keowee (South Carolina); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Glen, James; Lyttelton, William Henry; Native American Trade; Pontiac's Rebellion

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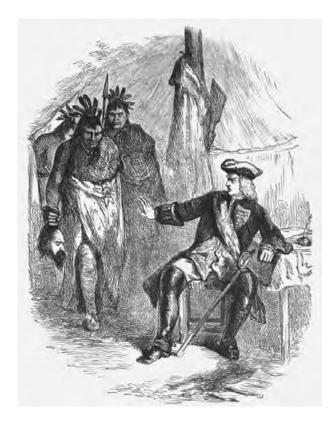
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Oglethorpe, James Edward

Born: December 22, 1696 Died: June 30, 1785

British general, member of Parliament, and founder and governor of Georgia (1733–1743). James Oglethorpe was born in London,



James Edward Oglethorpe, founder of Georgia, shown here with his Chickasaw allies during the Spanish attack on the English colony in 1743. Wood engraving from 1887. (The Granger Collection)

England, on December 22, 1696, and was reared in typical upperclass fashion. After some schooling at Corpus Christi College at Oxford, Oglethorpe joined the Austrian Army in 1716. He served with considerable distinction in fighting against the Ottoman Turks.

By 1719, Oglethorpe had returned to England and was elected to the House of Commons in 1722. After a personal friend died in debtor's prison, Oglethorpe led a commission to investigate prison conditions, and he prepared a special report in 1729 that highlighted the atrocities of confinement.

Looking for a solution to such injustices, Oglethorpe believed that the New World could provide a haven for England's hardworking, honest poor. He hoped to establish a colony that would provide a fresh start for debtors and where yeoman farmers and small merchants could also flourish. Oglethorpe's concept involved no large land grants to individuals, no liquor, and no slavery. Individual families would work their own small plots of land with their own labor. The area he envisioned as a colony would also serve as a buffer zone between English settlements in lower Carolina and Spanish settlements in Florida.

Oglethorpe landed in the New World at Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) in 1732 and immediately began preparing the area south of the Savannah River for settlement. He formally founded Georgia in February 1733 to provide a haven not only for the poor and disposed but also for the religiously persecuted.

Oglethorpe served as governor of Georgia for 10 years (1733–1743), during which time the colony became modestly successful. The lure of slaves and liquor in nearby colonies, however, created a steady migration out of Georgia. The new colony did function fairly well as a buffer between South Carolina and Spanish Florida.

When the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744) began, Oglethorpe's fledgling colony faced serious threats. Oglethorpe, then a colonel, decided to make a preemptive strike against the Spanish. He led a force of men south and laid siege to St. Augustine and the Castillo de San Marcos for 38 days in the summer of 1740.

Early victories in the St. Augustine campaign were overshadowed as Oglethorpe's combined land-sea plan of attack fell apart. Although he had strong Native American allies, Oglethorpe did not have many white soldiers available to fill the ranks. The expedition suffered a major defeat on June 15 at Fort Mosé, which brought Oglethorpe's military skills into question, especially when he repeatedly divided his troops and seemed to have no resolute plan of attack. Spanish reinforcements arrived on July 3, 1740, and the English, knowing they then had no chance to take the town, withdrew the following day.

Oglethorpe's opportunity to redeem himself came in July 1742. The Spanish had planned to take Georgia and then move on to Port Royal (South Carolina). From there, they hoped to incite a slave insurrection to oust the English from the southern colonies. Given the high stakes, South Carolina's acting governor, William Bull, was remarkably unresponsive, allowing Oglethorpe and Georgia to bear the brunt of the English defense against the Spaniards.

In June 1743, Spanish troops under Gov. Manuel de Montiano invaded the Georgia coast at St. Simons Island, just 40 miles south of Savannah, the heart of the Georgia colony. Oglethorpe had gathered his forces and set his defenses, but his force was pitifully small without South Carolina's help. Outnumbered and quickly outflanked, Oglethorpe ordered his troops to abandon Fort St. Simons and retreat to Fort Frederica.

On July 7, 1743, the opposing forces met along the Military Road that connected the fort and the town in what became known as the Battle of Bloody Marsh. In this short engagement, Oglethorpe's combined army of English, Scottish Highlanders, and Native Americans ambushed the Spanish force of nearly twice its size. Using guerrilla tactics, Oglethorpe's men thoroughly routed the Spanish. The Spanish then withdrew back on St. Simons and sailed for Florida on July 14. Oglethorpe had thus repelled what turned out to be Spain's last attempt to expand northward from Florida.

In the wake of this Georgia military success, Oglethorpe received promotion to brigadier general. In July 1743, he traveled to England, under some criticism for his administration of the colony. In England in 1744, he met and married Elizabeth Wright. In 1745, he was advanced to major general and in 1765 to the rank of general. Meanwhile, he had been defeated in parliamentary elections in 1754. Oglethorpe settled in Essex in 1760. He died there at Cranham Hall on June 30, 1785.

LISA L. CRUTCHFIELD

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Bloody Marsh, Battle of; Castillo de San Marcos (Florida); Florida, British Invasion of; Fort Mosé (Florida); Fort Frederica (Georgia); Fort St. Simons (Georgia); Georgia; Port Royal (South Carolina); South Carolina; St. Augustine

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Ogoula Tchetoka, Battle of

Event Date: March 25, 1736

French attack on the Chickasaw village of Ogoula Tchetoka on the lower Mississippi River (near present-day Memphis, Tennessee). As allies of the British, the Chickasaws were important in helping Britain gain supremacy over France in the southern part of North America. The nation's location on the Mississippi River and the stranglehold it imposed on French commerce and communication cut New France virtually in two, separating Louisiana from the rest of the colony. The Chickasaws had supported the Natchez when they revolted against the French in 1729, adding insult to France's grievances against the tribe and leading to the French decision to destroy the Chickasaws in the same manner as they had destroyed the Fox and the Natchez.

In the spring of 1736, two French forces set out against the Chickasaws. The northern one, under the command of the Illinois Territory's governor, Pierre d'Artaguette, included 30 French regulars, 100 militiamen, and almost 300 Illinois, Weas, Miamis, and Piankashaws led by the Illinois chief Chicagou and François de la Valterie, Sieur de Vincennes. The southern force included some 600 French troops and 1,000 Choctaw warriors commanded by Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville. The original plan was for both armies to meet at the main Chickasaw town of Ackia (Tupelo, Mississippi) at the end of March.

Bienville's force, which followed the Tombigbee River north from Mobile, was delayed for several weeks by heavy rains, but Bienville had no means of informing d'Artaguette of his position. The northern force arrived at the Chickasaw Bluffs (Memphis) in early March as planned and built a small fort as a supply base. After three weeks, however, d'Artaguette was running out of food and decided to attack on his own. The Chickasaws were well aware of the presence of the French and were waiting in their fortified towns. Realizing that his force was not strong enough to defeat the Chickasaws in their main town of Ackia, d'Artaguette chose to attack Ogoula Tchetoka on March 25.

The village was heavily fortified, and the French and their allies were pinned down by crossfire. Worse yet, 400 Chickasaw warriors arrived from a nearby town and hit the French flank. Most of France's native allies fled the battlefield, joined by some of the French regulars. Seventeen Frenchmen were captured including d'Artaguette and Vincennes. When the Chickasaws realized that a second force was approaching from the south, they no longer hoped to ransom their captives and burned d'Artaguette and the others alive.

Learning of d'Artaguette's death when he approached Chickasaw territory, Bienville was determined to avenge him by attacking Ackia, which hosted Natchez refugees. The Chickasaws, however, had used the interval to fortify the town with the help of British traders. Nevertheless, as the French forces outnumbered the Chickasaw and Natchez defenders three to one, the Chickasaws sent a delegation of intermediaries to arrange for a truce, but the Choctaws killed them after their arrival.

The French employed grenades against the village's fortified houses and protected themselves with heavy woolen bags against musket balls, but the defenders caught them with crossfire between houses. Several French officers were killed, which added to the confusion among the soldiers. The French finally retreated, and Bienville led his diminished force back to Mobile. The Battle of Ogoula Tchetoka was the worst defeat the French had suffered to that point in their clashes with Native Americans.

KATIA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Chickasaws; Chickasaw Wars; Choctaws; Le Moyne de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste; Louisiana; Mississippi River; Natchez; Natchez Revolt; New France

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Ohio Company

A land speculation company formed in July 1749 and officially dissolved in May 1771. The official name of the enterprise was the Ohio Company of Virginia. After hearing the company's petition for land in 1749, King George II sent instructions to Lt. Gov. William Gooch of Virginia directing Gooch to grant 200,000 acres to the company in the Ohio River Valley, which was within Virginia's extensive western land claims.

The company did not fulfill the obligations outlined in its charter, namely, to settle 100 families on its land grant, but it managed to capitalize on an expanding Native American trade network. By the end of 1749, company traders and agents had constructed a storage house on a western branch of the Potomac River. Within the next two years, the company had begun planning a road northwest



Woodcut of the Ohio Company coat of arms. The Ohio Company was a land speculation company formed in 1749. (The Granger Collection)

toward the Monongahela River. It also sought to purchase more land in western Maryland. Company representative Christopher Gist also began surveying Ohio Company land for larger-scale settlement.

The Ohio Company's attempts to advance its claims raised fears among natives in the region. In 1752, officials representing Virginia and the Ohio Company negotiated the Treaty of Logstown with the Iroquois, Shawnee, Delaware, and Wyandot nations. It required the natives to recognize Virginia's claims along the eastern Ohio River and the Ohio Company to build a fort near present-day Pittsburgh to protect the allied natives and white settlers. This provision brought the company and the colony of Virginia into direct confrontation with the French, who also claimed the area.

Shortly after company agents began building the fort in 1754, it was surrounded by an armed French force, which secured the surrender of the fort after a brief parley. This action set in motion the events that precipitated the French and Indian War.

Stockholders in the Ohio Company included members of some of the most prominent families in the colony, such as Augustine Washington, Thomas Lee, John Mercer, and Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie. The company's most effective advocate was John Hanbury, a wealthy Quaker merchant in London. Hanbury had presented the Ohio Company's petition for the land grant to the king's Privy Council, leading to the 1749 grant.

After the French and Indian War, the Ohio Company met more obstacles to settlement. The company finally merged with another land company before the official expiration of its charter in 1771.

CRESTON LONG

See also

Dinwiddie, Robert; Forks of the Ohio; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Gist, Christopher; Logstown, Treaty of; Ohio Country; Ohio Expedition (1754); Virginia; Washington, George

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Ohio Country

A loosely defined area of territory west of the Appalachian Mountains and north of the Ohio River and a key battleground in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The Ohio Country encompassed modern-day Ohio, eastern Indiana, southern Michigan, western Pennsylvania, and northwestern West Virginia.

Before the English and French settlements emerged between 1650 and 1700, the Iroquois considered the Ohio Country part of their territory. However, the Europeans ultimately forced the area's natives to confederate, move, or perish. Around 1660, hoping to dominate the fur trade, the Iroquois chased the Shawnees out of the region during the so-called Beaver Wars. By 1730, however, the Shawnees were back.

By the middle of the 18th century, French and English merchants in Ohio traded with the natives and came into increasing conflict with each other. Interested again in the fur trade, the Iroquois revived their land claim. They, the French, and the Shawnees (allied with the Delawares) fought the British.

George Washington and other wealthy Virginia planters sought to purchase large tracts of land in Ohio Country, subdivide these, and then sell smaller sections to settlers. They had less interest than the French in the fur trade. In 1749, the Ohio Company received a crown charter for 200,000 acres near the Forks of the Ohio River. The company sought to settle 100 families and build a fort there in order to strengthen British claims. In 1750, the company dispatched Christopher Gist into the Ohio Country to survey it in preparation for settlement.

The French soon learned of the Virginians' interests in the area. Having no intention of sharing the land, they established a string of forts, and the struggle for control of the Ohio Country was under way; indeed, it was the immediate cause of the French and Indian War. The conflict ended with the Treaty of Paris (1763), in which France ceded the area to the British.

The war thwarted the Ohio Company's plans. The company was also blocked by the Proclamation of 1763. London did not want the expense of garrisoning the area nor bloodshed, so it issued the Proclamation of 1763, which barred colonial settlement west of the

Appalachians. The colonials had fought the war in part because they wanted the fertile farmlands available in Ohio, and they saw the proclamation as a clear disregard on the part of the Crown of their needs and interests.

The restrictions on settler access to the Ohio Country were a contributing factor in the coming of the American Revolution. Other British actions dealing with Ohio further fanned the flames of colonial resentment. For instance, London ended the Crown's recognition of the colonies' land claims in the area. And the Quebec Act of 1774 placed the region under the newly acquired province of Quebec, making it French in governance and Catholic in religion.

Virginian and Pennsylvanian settlers seeking new land ignored the prohibitions and crossed the Alleghenies, coming into conflict with the Shawnees. Threatened by the westward expansion of English colonists, during the American Revolutionary War the Ottawas, the Wyandots, the Miamis, the Mingos, the Shawnees, and other natives joined the British to keep the settlers out. Although the French had ceded the Ohio Country, this action had not extinguished the Native Americans' claims.

During the American Revolutionary War, Patriot forces were successful in Ohio by 1778. The Virginia legislature organized the county of Illinois, covering Ohio lands that Virginia claimed. But the Native Americans were not done yet. In 1782 the Ohio Nations and the British bested the Americans at the Battle of Blue Licks. Under the terms of the 1783 Treaty of Paris, the Ohio Country was ceded to the United States and opened almost immediately to settlement. With the establishment of the Northwest Territory, which encompassed Ohio, colonial claims were extinguished. Claiming their wartime bonus, American veterans and land speculators flocked to the territory.

The Shawnees continued to resist, but by 1800 they had mostly given up their Ohio claims in exchange for land in Missouri. During the War of 1812, the Shawnee chief Tecumseh mounted the last effective Native American resistance. By 1817 it had been eliminated.

JOHN H. BARNHILL

See also

Forks of the Ohio; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Iroquois; Ohio Company; Ohio Expedition (1754); Paris, Treaty of; Proclamation of 1763; Shawnees; Virginia

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Ohio Expedition

Start Date: April 2, 1754 End Date: July 3, 1754

Failed British colonial campaign against the French in the Ohio River Valley that began on April 2, 1754, and ended with Lieutenant

Colonel George Washington's surrender at Fort Necessity (Pennsylvania) on July 3, 1754. The expedition followed Washington's failed attempt to negotiate a French withdrawal from the region in 1753. The results of the campaign set the stage for another expedition in 1755. That offensive formally began the Seven Years' War (French and Indian War) in North America.

Late in 1753, Washington, already commissioned a major in the Virginia Militia, marched to Fort Le Boeuf, some 25 miles southeast of Lake Erie. There he presented the French commandant, Captain Jacques Legardeur, with an order from Virginia's lieutenant governor, Robert Dinwiddie, calling on the French to evacuate the region. The directive also demanded that New France give up all territorial claims along the Ohio River and its tributaries. Legardeur rejected the demands, and Washington then returned to Williamsburg, Virginia, to report to Dinwiddie.

In the spring of 1754, after an extended debate with the Virginia House of Burgesses, Dinwiddie secured an appropriation to outfit a 200-man force under Washington's command to march into the Ohio Valley. Dinwiddie promoted Washington to lieutenant colonel. He also sent word to agents working for the Ohio Company of Virginia, a land speculation and trading enterprise, to begin recruiting a militia company in far western Virginia to assist with the defense of Virginia's land claims.

On April 2, 1754, Washington led a contingent of only 160 men from his supply base in Alexandria, Virginia. Once this force had crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains, they gathered more provisions at Winchester, Virginia. Because they had to widen the road as they traveled west from Winchester, progress was slow. On average the company covered only two to three miles a day. The only benefit to such slow progress was the possibility that other companies might have time to come to Washington's aid before his command reached the area contested by the French.

Washington advanced steadily toward the Forks of the Ohio River, near present-day Pittsburgh. On April 20, he received word that 41 Virginians under the command of English ensign Edward Ward had surrendered a new fortification to 600 French soldiers led by Captain Claude-Pierre Pécaudy de Contrecoeur, new commandant of Fort Le Boeuf (Pennsylvania). The surrender had been negotiated peacefully and Ward's men returned to Virginia. The French renamed the newly acquired fortification Fort Duquesne and continued its construction under the French flag.

Four days later, Washington stopped his troops at a marshy clearing known as Great Meadows. There he decided to build a fortification and await reinforcements. While his men constructed a crude stockade, scouts brought news that a small French force was close by. Washington sent out 75 men to reconnoiter the area and cut off the French force from the Monongahela River. Soon afterward, Tanaghrisson, a Mingo chief known as "Half-King" to his English allies, sent a message to Washington that he and a small group were camped near Great Meadows ready to attack the French party.

Late that night, Washington left half of his force in Great Meadows and marched with 47 men to join Tanaghrisson's party. At sunrise on May 28, 1754, Washington's men along with Tanaghrisson and several Mingo warriors surrounded and attacked the French encampment. More than 20 Frenchmen surrendered after a 15-minute battle that claimed 9 of their force. In the aftermath of the fighting, Washington lost control of the situation when Tanaghrisson approached the wounded French commander, Ensign Joseph Coulon de Villier de Jumonville, and killed him by cracking his skull with a tomahawk. After this turn of events, Washington sent the surviving prisoners under guard to Virginia and returned to Great Meadows to continue construction of the fortification there.

On June 2, Washington's post, Fort Necessity, was complete. It consisted of a circular palisade about seven feet high with an entrenchment on the outside to provide protection for soldiers unable to fit in the tiny fort. After Washington received reinforcements of about 300 men, he marched toward Fort Duquesne with a large portion of his force.

Along the march, scouts reported on June 28 that more than 700 French soldiers and native warriors were marching from Fort Duquesne. Washington considered his options and decided to fall back on Fort Necessity. When the men arrived there, they did their best to strengthen the palisade and waited for the French.

French forces attacked Fort Necessity on the morning of July 3. Washington marched his men out of Fort Necessity's stockade to confront the French in traditional battle formation. The French commander, however, kept his men within the tree line surrounding the fort and was able to pour musket fire into Washington's line. Washington then ordered a retreat into the fort and its surrounding trenches. There they faced continuous enemy fire for the next eight hours. With his men surrounded and many unable to fire their weapons because of rain, Washington asked, via an interpreter, to negotiate terms of surrender.

The French commander allowed Washington and his men to return to Virginia, marching under full colors and carrying several of their weapons. Because of a failure of translation, however, Washington unwittingly acknowledged that he was responsible for the murder of Jumonville a month before. This last point heightened tensions between England and France and was a factor in bringing the nations to full-scale war by the following year.

CRESTON LONG

See also

Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville, Joseph; Dinwiddie, Robert; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Le Boeuf (Pennsylvania); Fort Necessity (Pennsylvania), and Battle of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Jumonville's Glen, Action at; Mingos; Ohio Company; Tanaghrisson (Half-King); Washington, George

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Ohio Expedition

Start Date: April 1755 End Date: July 1755

British campaign during April to July 1755 against the trans-Allegheny French position at Fort Duquesne at the Forks of the Ohio River during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). In the summer of 1754, colonial forces under the command of Lieutenant Colonel George Washington had failed to secure the Forks of the Ohio against French designs. The mission, in fact, ended in Washington's surrender of Fort Necessity.

With the beginning of the French and Indian War, British authorities were determined to make a concerted effort in 1755 to strike the French in North America. They planned an ambitious, multipronged attack. The British planned to send four separate expeditions against French strongholds at Fort Niagara, Fort St. Frédéric (Crown Point), Fort Beauséjour (New Brunswick), and Fort Duquesne. The latter was the primary objective of British strategy in 1755.

The French constructed Fort Duquesne in 1754. It soon became a significant threat to the backcountry settlements of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. It also solidified French control over the upper Ohio Valley, a region much coveted by colonial land speculators.

In late 1754, London appointed Edward Braddock of the Coldstream Guards as major general and commander in chief of British forces in North America. He was selected for this posting despite having no significant experience commanding large forces on active campaigns. With wide-ranging authority to conduct operations and the power to coordinate logistical support with provincial leaders, Braddock decided to lead the expedition in person against Duquesne.

Military planners in London recognized that the colonies might not have sufficient troops to conduct the operations projected in 1755, particularly that against the French on the Ohio. Fort Duquesne was in territory disputed by Virginia and Pennsylvania, so neither colony could be counted on to raise a large number of troops for such a dubious mission. Squabbling within the various provinces between royal officials and parsimonious assemblies in 1754 also led to insufficient support for military affairs that year. Indeed, this would continue to be the case throughout Braddock's

tenure as commander in chief. Given the unlikelihood of sufficient matériel, provisions, and recruiting in America, Crown officials sent two foot regiments of 500 redcoats each from Cork, Ireland, to join Braddock's thrust toward the Ohio. They were Sir Peter Halkett's 44th Regiment and Colonel Thomas Dunbar's 48th Regiment, neither of which was regarded as a particularly effective unit. These regiments landed in Virginia in March 1755 at Alexandria, where Braddock had established his headquarters.

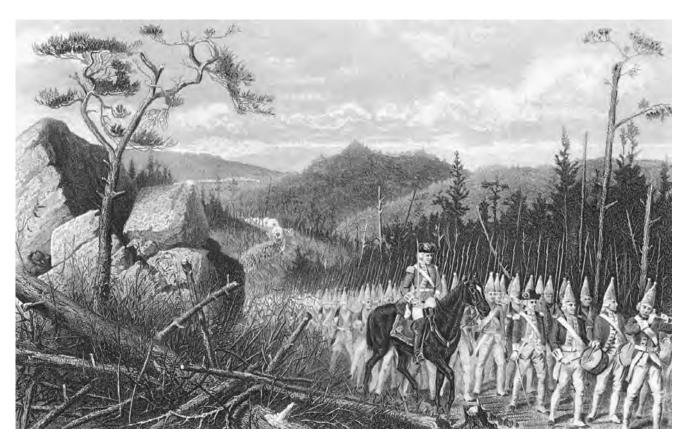
On his February 1755 arrival in America, Braddock faced enormous obstacles. He had to secure supplies, money, horses, wagons, and men. To obtain these, from the time of his arrival he continually harangued colonial leaders. Pennsylvania and Maryland were particularly parsimonious in granting aid to Braddock's forces. Pennsylvania's Benjamin Franklin, however, was eventually able to procure a number of wagons and limited additional support for the campaign from Pennsylvania.

British officers increased the strength of their regiments by enlisting Americans into their ranks, particularly in Virginia. Nevertheless, Braddock had to rely on other troops raised in the colonies to augment his forces. These included a small company of Virginia light horse, several companies of Virginia rangers, one company of Maryland rangers, one company of North Carolina rangers, two New York Independent Companies, a detachment of the South Carolina Independent Company, numerous carpenters, and a group of British sailors to move and operate the artillery.

After several weeks of preparations in Virginia, Braddock's army began its long westward march in early April 1755. To avoid congesting the poor and inadequate colonial roads, Braddock divided his forces for the movement to his forward base, Fort Cumberland on the Potomac at Wills Creek. The South Carolinians and part of the colonial troops marched through Fairfax County and Winchester, Virginia, while Dunbar's command proceeded along the Potomac on the Maryland side of the river. By May 10, 1755, the army was united and encamped at Fort Cumberland. Among those participating was George Washington, who served without military rank as a volunteer aide-de-camp on Braddock's staff.

Braddock's difficulties in waging a wilderness campaign with a large army far from the main supply base in Virginia was compounded by his failure to obtain effective assistance from native allies. Indeed, he alienated many natives and failed to comprehend the importance of warriors as scouts and guides for the march to the Ohio in a mountainous land of no roads and few trails. He refused to allow the native women to accompany the army as was customary. And he implied that once the French were defeated, the English would own the lands along the Ohio River. After several stormy meetings with Ohio Valley native delegations at Wills Creek, most of these valuable auxiliaries unceremoniously departed the fort. Braddock was left with only eight Mingo warriors under the Half-King Scarouady. Other natives, including the Delawares, remained neutral.

From Fort Cumberland, the French position at Fort Duquesne was approximately 110 miles west-northwest. Between the two lay



Etching depicting British major general Edward Braddock's ill-fated march on French Fort Duquesne in 1755. (North Wind Picture Archives)

several major mountains with torturous terrain. Ambush by the French and their natives allies was a constant threat. Not only were the British forced to carry with them all of their munitions, supplies, food, and fodder, but they had to cut a road in the forest to allow the troops, wagons, and artillery to move against the enemy. Additionally, countless swamps and creeks along the way required the construction of numerous bridges.

By the time Braddock's advance troops set out from Fort Cumberland on May 29, 1755 (followed by the rest of the army over the next several days), the army included 29 artillery pieces, over 400 wagons, 900 horses, and a large herd of livestock. For the most part, the army's engineers and pioneers constructed what became know as "Braddock's Road" by improving on ancient Buffalo paths or American Indian trails. Nevertheless, the going was so difficult that the army could often cover only two or three miles in a day. Meanwhile, enemy Native American parties occasionally harassed the column as it crawled westward.

One week after the British force left Fort Cumberland it had covered only 35 miles. On June 17, Braddock decided to divide his army into a quick-moving "flying column" of 1,500 picked men and lighter cannon. They were to be followed by a second column of troops and the baggage and the remainder of the artillery commanded by Dunbar. The lead troops made much better progress from that point, and a week later they crossed the Youghiogheney

River. After that, the troops began to encounter increased signs of hostile warriors in the surrounding woods.

By June 27, Braddock had successfully crossed the last of the several mountain ridges on the way to the Forks of the Ohio. But he faced dwindling supplies, and much of the army's flour was ruined by heavy rain. The army nonetheless pressed on in the face of increased skirmishing with natives and the continuous need to construct the road. By July 8, the army stopped on the east bank of the Monongahela River, just eight miles from Fort Duquesne.

The French were not unaware of Braddock's progress. They assembled a force of 250 regulars and Canadian militiamen commanded by Captain Claude-Pierre Pécaudy, Seigneur de Contrecoeur, along with 637 warriors—mostly Ottawas, Mississaugas, Wyandots, and Potawatomis. When the British began to make their final crossing of the Monongahela on the morning of July 9, Contrecoeur sent much of his force out to meet the enemy. He opined that his native allies were not likely to participate in defending the fort from within its walls.

Braddock's men crossed the river without incident. However, French and natives ambushed them shortly thereafter. What ensued became a confused melee in which panicked British regulars were routed by their largely unseen enemy. Braddock was mortally wounded. His decimated army then fell back on Dunbar's support column in a disorganized retreat to the Great Meadows, a

camp along their original line of advance. Dunbar restored order among the troops and marched the survivors back to Fort Cumberland to regroup. Rather than remain at this relatively secure post, however, he marched all of his regulars to Philadelphia for winter quarters in July, leaving the frontier of Virginia and Pennsylvania wide open to the depredations of the French-supported natives.

JOHN R. MAASS

See also

Braddock, Edward; Braddock's Campaign; Crown Point (New York); Forks of the Ohio; Fort Cumberland (Maryland); Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Necessity (Pennsylvania), and Battle of; Fort Niagara (New York); Franklin, Benjamin; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Washington, George

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Ohio Expedition

Event Date: 1764

Campaign orchestrated in the fall of 1764 by British colonel Henry Bouquet, designed to compel Native American insurgents to sue for peace. The 1764 Ohio expedition was a "mop-up" operation carried over from the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and Pontiac's Rebellion, begun in 1763. In concert with a northern force led by Colonel John Bradstreet, Bouquet was to attack Delaware, Mingo, and Shawnee villages that had taken part in the insurrection.

Bradstreet's contingent did not complete all of its assigned duties, however. This left Bouquet's force to face the region's American Indian war parties alone. Delays raising colonial forces and adequate supplies to equip 1,200 troops under Bouquet's command slowed offensive preparations. The final preparations were not completed until the late summer.

Colonial legislators were reluctant to provide manpower for this combined effort. The Pennsylvania Assembly agreed to provide 1,000 men, but many of them deserted before reaching the operational theater. Consequently, regulars drawn from the 42nd (Royal Highland) Regiment of Foot and the 60th (Royal American) Regiment of Foot did not take the field with provincial counterparts from Pennsylvania and Virginia until October 1. On that date, the expedition began its slow advance from Fort Pitt toward the upper Muskingum River Valley.

Bouquet's command of irregular warfare was demonstrated during the 130-mile march through the wilderness to a fortified encampment constructed deep in the heart of native territory. His late start was not a detriment because offensive operations were most effective after autumn frost had denuded vegetation that provided natural cover for ambushes. The soldiers moved at a guarded



Shawnee, Delaware, and Mingo representatives make peace with the English, relinquishing their captives to Colonel Henry Bouquet in November 1764. Bouquet led an expedition into the Ohio River area to restore peace following the French and Indian War and Pontiac's Rebellion. (Library of Congress)

pace along three parallel paths cut by pioneers, much like they had during Forbes's march on Fort Duquesne in 1758. Bouquet had been de facto field commander of that campaign and had then learned the basics of North American frontier warfare.

Bouquet's tactical thinking had evolved somewhat in the intervening six years, however. His infantrymen now adopted a novel configuration based on the hollow square used to defend against cavalry attack. In this instance, they were to deploy into a defensive shell instead of an extended line when fired on. Regulars formed the front and right of the square, Pennsylvanians composed the left and rear of the square, and 50 light horses and Virginia volunteers provided the rear guard. The center was reserved for the baggage train, moving down the middle lane ahead of troops, who would close the square behind the 300 or so drovers and camp followers. Such innovation protected both the troops and the vulnerable pack horses from surprise.

The approach of Bouquet's force alarmed natives who realized their untenable position and hurried to the negotiating table. Delaware messengers were the first to treat since their Detroit confederates had already reconciled with the British months before. Mingo and Shawnee representatives appeared shortly thereafter. The Royal American commander displayed his diplomatic skills by receiving native emissaries gallantly but without affection to emphasize the solemnity of the occasion.

The ensuing conference held at Tuscarawas met on October 17, 1764, in a special arbor built some distance away from the lines. There an honor guard of light horse, regulars, and provincials were posted to impress arriving dignitaries with the strength of the forces marshaled against them.

Bouquet censured native chiefs for breaking the peace, killing innocent civilians, and besieging Fort Pitt. Old native refrains that warriors had been compelled to participate in the insurrection or that braves still raiding backcountry settlements were beyond the control of community headmen fell on deaf ears. Bouquet assured his listeners that a new armistice would not be signed until every previous treaty obligation was honored by their communities. In particular, he stipulated that all British captives, including slaves and deserters, must be returned to the colonies. Villagers were required to provide provisions and transport for this exodus. Bouquet also insisted that all war parties were to be recalled and appropriate tribal deputies sent to Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern colonies, to make peace. A grace period of 12 days allowed prisoners to be collected from distant villages at the Muskingum Forks, where the army marched to receive them.

Bouquet then advanced another 30 miles into the very heart of Shawnee territory and built an entrenched camp. Meanwhile, he awaited delivery of the prisoners. Native raiders had captured approximately 2,000 colonists through 1764, with many still awaiting redemption by the fall of that year. Shawnee communities held the largest number of Anglo-Americans taken during the French and Indian War and Pontiac's Rebellion. And they had exhibited remarkable unwillingness to release them, despite repeated promises to do so. Only the intimidating presence of Bouquet's troops overcame their recalcitrance. It also prompted the release of many captives and the surrender of 6 hostages as surety for the delivery of the balance soon after. Two hundred and seven captives were initially taken into army custody and housed in special accommodations constructed within British lines.

Lists of captives recording their names, ages, dates and places of capture, as well as physical descriptions, were compiled before they were discharged into the care of custodians who accompanied them eastward to Pittsburgh. From there, they were returned to their counties of origin where anxious relatives awaited. Nine more Shawnee prisoners were released to authorities within weeks of the first group's arrival at Fort Pitt on November 28, 1764.

Pennsylvania legislators, in a rare moment of equanimity, offered public thanks to Bouquet for restoring tranquility to their western frontiers. It was a peace that would last until the outbreak of Lord Dunmore's War a decade later. Their address recognized the Royal American officer's expertise in partisan warfare, citing his actions at Bushy Run and the Muskingum Valley expedition as concrete evidence of military prowess.

ALEXANDER V. CAMPBELL

See also

Bouquet, Henry; Forbes Campaign; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Lord Dunmore's War; Pontiac's Rebellion

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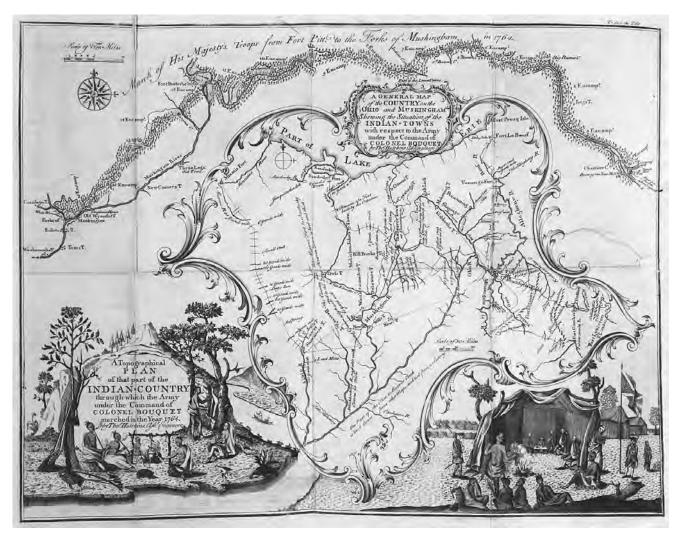
Ohio River Valley

Valley of the Ohio River, the tributaries of which drain the entire western slope of the Appalachian Mountains south of New York. The Ohio River begins at present-day Pittsburgh in southwestern Pennsylvania, at the confluence of the Allegheny River and the Monongahela River. After initially flowing northwest, the river proceeds southwest at the border of the present states of Ohio and Pennsylvania. From there it follows a series of sweeping arcs to the south and southwest, joining the Mississippi River where Kentucky, Illinois, and Missouri meet. The river is 981 miles long and contributes almost half of the water volume of the Mississippi River.

For the first 300 to 350 miles, the Ohio River flows through sharply hilly country, the western foothills of the Appalachian Mountains. As it reaches Kentucky and western Ohio, the land opens up onto extremely fertile and gently rolling plains. The river is easily navigable during all seasons, save for a stretch of rapids about halfway down its length, known as the Falls of the Ohio.

During the colonial period, virtually the entire watershed was heavily wooded. However, early American explorers to the region recognized the farming potential of the land, particularly in Kentucky, located south of the river. There were four areas of white settlement in the valley. Perhaps 500 Pennsylvanians and Virginians lived around Fort Pitt (modern-day Pittsburgh), in what is now southwestern Pennsylvania. Several small settlements of Moravian Germans and their Christian Delaware converts began settlements about 200 miles downstream, in what is now West Virginia. A few hundred additional Virginians lived in Kentucky. Several hundred Frenchmen lived in southern Illinois, north of the river. The Ohio Valley was also home to several Native American nations, including the Shawnees and the Cherokees. In addition, the Iroquois claimed the regions to the north and east of the river.

Given the heavily forested nature of the land, and the complete lack of roads, the river system was the only practical way of conducting any large-scale military campaign. The valley was the scene of sporadic fighting in the colonial period and Anglo-French disputes over its control sparked the French and Indian



A general map of the Ohio River country in 1764 during British colonel Henry Bouquet's expedition of that year. (Library of Congress)

War (1754–1763). The area became the site of numerous skirmishes during the American Revolutionary War. During that struggle, Patriot control of Fort Pitt and the regions in Kentucky gave them a decisive advantage over the British and their Native American allies.

Joseph Adamczyk

See also

Cherokees; Delaware; Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania); Illinois; Iroquois; Mississippi River; Monongahela River; Ohio Country; Shawnees

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Ojibwa-Dakota Conflict

It is not possible to ascertain for certain when the Ojibwa (also called Anishinabe or Chippewa) and Dakota (Sioux) peoples began to war against each another. The origins of the conflict, according to Ojibwa accounts (recorded by William Warren), date back to pre–European contact times. Forced westward because of their conflicts with the Iroquois, the Ojibwas moved into the territory west of the Great Lakes. Many of the native peoples in the region, including the Dakotas, regarded the Ojibwas as intruders. The origins of the Dakota-Ojibwa wars are also usually attributed to treachery on the part of one side or the other. The fighting lasted from precontact times into the mid-19th century.

The Ojibwa-Dakota conflict, however, would take on a very different aspect with the arrival of Europeans. By the end of the 17th century, native peoples of the Great Lakes and beyond had

discovered the advantages of European tools and weapons. And they realized that possessing them gave them an advantage over their enemies. Even before they encountered Europeans, the Dakotas sensed the value of metal trade goods.

The arrival of French traders in the 17th century introduced a new and deadlier aspect to the Ojibwa-Dakota conflicts. Having easier access to French traders because of their location, the Ojibwas obtained firearms earlier than the Dakotas. Thus, they were able to gain, and for the most part keep, the advantage in the conflict. Concerned with the ruinous effects of warfare on the fur trade, French traders—and their later British and American counterparts—did their best to arrange truces between the two sides. Traders realized they were in a delicate situation. Trading with one side in the conflict could bring an attack by the other.

By the mid-18th century, the main battleground between the two sides was the area of present-day Minnesota. Not only were furs and fur hunting territories at stake, but also the abundant waterways of the region with large quantities of wild rice, which was the staple food of both peoples. Another primary objective of both the Ojibwas and the Dakotas was not only the traditional goals of honor and captives, but to keep the other side from trading with the French and acquiring European weaponry.

With the beginning of the 19th century, the Ojibwas had succeeded in pushing the Dakotas and their allies, the Cheyennes, out of most of the Minnesota Territory. The conflict between the two would continue into the 1850s, and some Dakotas remained in Minnesota until the 1860s, when they departed to join their brethren on the Great Plains, becoming part of the Plains horse culture.

ROGER M. CARPENTER

See also

Beaver Wars; Native American Trade; Native Warfare; Ojibwas

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Ojibwas

Native American nation of the upper Great Lakes region. At the time of first European contact, the Ojibwa (also called Anishinabe or Chippewa) peoples constituted the largest Native American group in the Great Lakes region. Their population was estimated at some 35,000. Located in present-day Ontario, Michigan, Wisconsin, Manitoba, and Minnesota, the Ojibwas lived in widely separated groups.

In spite of their large numbers, the Ojibwas did not wield the same amount of influence with the Europeans as did the Iroquois. Their location, far from the theaters of imperial conflicts, helped to limit their involvement in these wars. The Ojibwas were, nevertheless, one of the few native peoples to turn back the Iroquois onslaught during

the Beaver Wars. They fought the Dakotas for over 150 years, eventually pushing them into the Great Plains. The Ojibwas allied themselves with the French during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), and they also participated in Pontiac's Rebellion (1763).

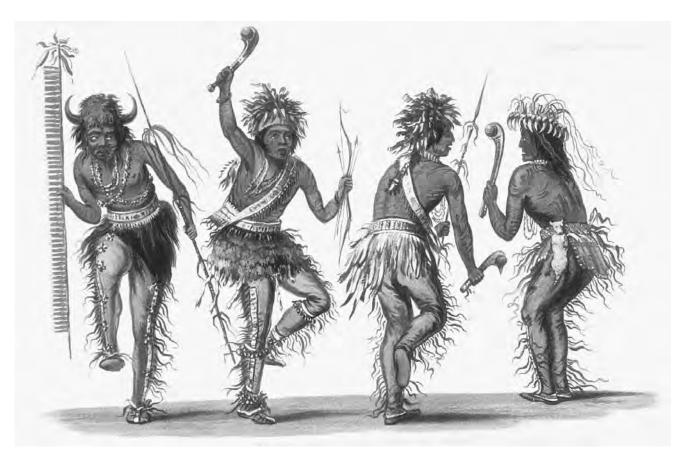
According to their oral traditions, the Ojibwas migrated to the Great Lakes region prior to European contact after being driven from the eastern seaboard by their Iroquois enemies. They settled in the vicinity of Lake Superior as well as in lower Michigan. Native peoples of the region, such as the Munduas, regarded them as interlopers and responded forcefully to their presence, but the Ojibwas defeated these opponents in short order.

The Beaver Wars commenced in 1641, when the Iroquois Confederacy, heavily dependent on European goods, trapped out the beaver in their territory. Provided with firearms by the Dutch, the Iroquois launched attacks against other native peoples in Ontario. During the next few years, they proceeded west, defeating other American Indians along the way. However, the Iroquois could not defeat the Ojibwas, who, by the 1690s, had also secured firearms from French traders. In a series of battles in northern Michigan and northern and southern Ontario, the Ojibwas turned back the Iroquois. Shortly thereafter, exhausted from the Beaver Wars, the Iroquois sought peace with New France.

Because of their distant location, the Ojibwas avoided fighting in the first three imperial wars between England and France. With the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1754, however, the French needed their native allies more than ever. The French managed to convince a large number of Ojibwa warriors to go east and fight with them. These Ojibwas participated in the defeat of a British force under Major General Edward Braddock in 1755, almost within sight of Fort Duquesne. In 1756, Ojibwas also served as auxiliaries to French major general Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm's, forces during his assault on the English fort at Oswego on the shores of Lake Ontario. Ojibwas also joined Montcalm's attacks in 1757 on Fort William Henry and Fort Edward on Lake Champlain and Lake George. Before the end of the war, however, the Ojibwa warriors, like most of France's other native allies, had returned to their homes.

The peace terms that ended the French and Indian War in 1763 dictated that the French surrender all of their North American possessions. At that time, Major General Jeffery Amherst, British commander of forces in North America, ignored the advice of the British Indian superintendent, Sir William Johnson, and ended the practice of giving gifts to native peoples. Amherst argued that the giving of gifts amounted to bribing people for good behavior. The gifts, which included items such as powder and shot for hunting, however, had become necessities for the Ojibwa people.

The natives disdained what they saw as British arrogance, and it was at about this time, in the Ohio Country, that Neolin (also known as the Delaware Prophet) began preaching a message urging native peoples to give up European goods—particularly alcohol—and to return to the ways of their ancestors. Ottawa chief Pontiac (whose mother was an Ojibwa) found Neolin's message especially appealing. Pontiac, however, may have altered Neolin's



Ojibwa Native American war dance. A large nation within the Algonquian linguistic family, the Ojibwas were centered in the upper Great Lakes region. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

message. Neolin preached avoidance of Europeans, but Pontiac argued that Neolin made an exception for the French, whom Pontiac hoped could be persuaded to return. French residents encouraged Pontiac in this belief. Thus, he organized a number of native nations in the Great Lakes region and the Ohio Country into an alliance against the British and struck in 1763.

Pontiac's forces quickly captured all of the British posts in the west with the exceptions of three forts: Detroit, Niagara, and Pitt. Ojibwa warriors participated in a number of battles during what the English called Pontiac's Rebellion. The most important one for the Ojibwas occurred on June 2, 1763, at the British post of Fort Michilimackinac on Mackinac Island in the Straits of Mackinac, which separate Lake Michigan and Lake Huron. Its garrison was unaware of the uprising and did not know about Pontiac's attacks on other British forts. The Ojibwas arrived at the fort and began playing a game of lacrosse outside its walls. The garrison looked on, with the gates to the post left open. During the game, the ball was lofted over the wall into the fort, and the players took off after it. They rushed through the gates while their women handed them weapons they had concealed underneath their blankets. Seizing the fort, the Ojibwas killed 15 of the post's 35-man garrison and took the remainder prisoner. By the end of 1763, however, Pontiac's Rebellion had ended.

The longest conflict in which Ojibwas were engaged was their war with the Dakota people. The Ojibwa and Dakota peoples warred on one another in precontact times, and after European contact, fur traders, fearing that the trade would be harmed, often tried to arrange truces between the two sides. Although both sides fought for honor and captives, they were also fighting for control of the woodlands of present-day Minnesota, coveting its plentiful furs and lake regions containing wild rice. They also sought to deny European goods to their enemies. By the beginning of the 19th century, the Ojibwas had succeeded in pushing the Dakotas, and their allies, the Cheyennes, out of most of the Minnesota Territory. The conflict between the two nonetheless continued into the 1850s, and some Dakotas would remain in Minnesota until the 1860s.

ROGER M. CARPENTER

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; Beaver Wars; Braddock's Campaign; Fort William Henry, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Iroquois; Johnson, Sir William; Neolin; Ojibwa-Dakota Conflict; Oswego, Battle of; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Old Briton (Memeskia)

Born: Unknown Died: 1752

A Miami sachem (chief) who forged ties first with the French, then with the British in the vicinity of western Ohio. Nothing is known of the date and circumstances of birth for Old Briton (Memeskia), nor of his early years. Initially, Memeskia backed the French during the early stages of King George's War (1744–1748). By 1747, however, a shortage of trade goods and dwindling French gifts had badly strained the Miami-French relationship. This led Memeskia and the Miamis to join an unsuccessful rebellion against the French led by the Wyandot sachem Orontony.

Following the war, Memeskia formed an alliance with the British and allowed English traders to move into the new village of Pickawillany in western Ohio. To underscore his transfer of loyalty, Memeskia was thereafter known by the nickname of "Old Briton," instead of the French moniker of "La Demoiselle."

Pickawillany flourished as a major economic center, channeling to the British the trade of numerous native nations from as far away as Illinois. The French had claimed possession of Pickawillany and its surrounding countryside, but they felt powerless to counter the British presence because of their increasingly weak hold on the entire Great Lakes region. French officials tried without success to pressure Old Briton into expelling the English.

In early 1752, the French finally organized a military expedition of 250 Ottawa and Ojibwa warriors under the command of Charles Langlade, a leader of mixed French and Native American heritage. On June 21, 1752, the numerically superior French-led force overwhelmed and destroyed Pickawillany. In the process, Old Briton was taken captive. To foster a proper fear of French power, Langlade executed Old Briton. He then handed over the body to be cooked and eaten by the Ottawas.

The Miamis returned to their alliance with the French in 1753, a temporary accommodation that lasted only until the British permanently drove the French out of the region during the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

Andrew C. Lannen

See also

King George's War, Land Campaigns; Orontony (Orontondi, Rondoenie, Wanduny, or Nicholas); Pickawillany Massacre

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Old Fort Niagara (New York)

See Fort Conti (New York)

Old Shawnee Town (Ohio)

A Shawnee settlement located on the Ohio River at the mouth of the Scioto River, in present-day Scioto County, near Portsmouth, Ohio. Old Shawnee Town's nucleus was the council house, described by Christopher Gist in 1751 as a bark-covered structure about 90 feet long. This structure would have been used for council meetings, rituals, secular celebrations, the seclusion of warriors after a raid, or occasionally as a fort. Gist stated that the town had 140 bark lodges and 300 men, suggesting a total population of about 1,200, unusually large for a Shawnee settlement.

The village was established sometime before 1739 and destroyed by a flood in 1753. One of two Shawnee chief towns, or capitals, it was also known as Lower Shawnee Town or Lowertown. The French called it Sonnioto or Sonnontio. In addition, any Shawnee chief town could be called "Chillicothe." Some of these same names were used at different times for other villages or for the same villages moved to new locations.

An example of what the French called an "Indian Republic," the town was an ethnically mixed community of refugee peoples (Mingos, Delawares, and some Miamis, in addition to Shawnees), not controlled by a European alliance system, though nominally linked to the Iroquois-English Covenant Chain. Having been expelled from the Ohio Country by the Iroquois in the mid-17th century, the Shawnees began returning in the 1730s. In this they were encouraged by the French, who hoped to incorporate them into their alliance system. Although the Shawnees came to the area in part to use the French as an alternative source of trade goods, English traders followed them there as well. And the town was visited regularly by Susquehanna and Potomac traders. Moreover, Shawnee efforts to establish peace among the natives without French mediation vexed the French greatly.

Captain Pierre-Joseph Céloron de Blainville was met with suspicion and hostility at the town when he came to assert France's claim to the Ohio Country in 1749. He ordered the English traders out, stating that they had no right to be on the territory. At Old Shawnee Town, Céloron received word that the Detroit-based natives would not be reinforcing his expedition as promised. He then decided to withdraw without pillaging the English traders' goods, as he had been instructed to do.

In August 1752, following the destruction of Pickawillany by French-allied natives, the Miamis, the Mingos, the Delawares, and the Shawnees of the Ohio Valley met at Old Shawnee Town and called on the English and the Iroquois for support under the Covenant Chain. None was forthcoming. Viewing themselves as abandoned, the Shawnees shifted their allegiance to the French until the fall of Fort Duquesne in 1758.

See also

Covenant Chain; Gist, Christopher; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Ohio Country; Shawnees

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Oñate, Juan de

Born: ca. 1552 Died: 1626

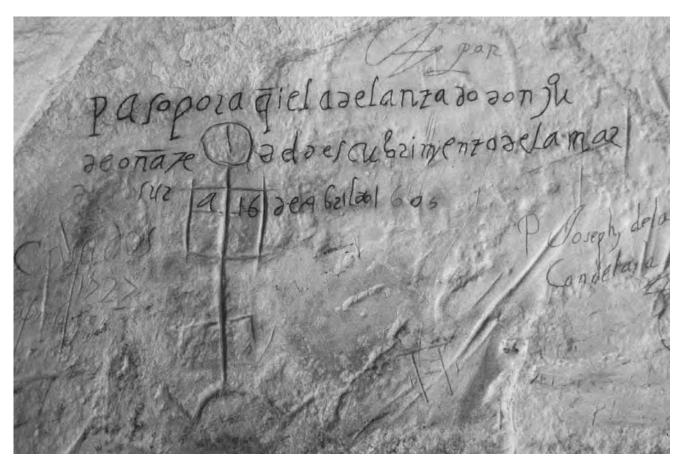
Spanish explorer and the first governor of the province of New Mexico. Juan de Oñate was born around 1552 in Nueva Galicia (New Galicia), located in western Mexico. His father, Cristóbal de Oñate, was a wealthy mine owner and the governor of New Galicia. As a young man, Oñate participated in the campaigns against the Chichimec natives along the northern frontier and helped administer the family silver mines in Zacatecas, the largest silver mining

site in northern Mexico. He married Isabel de Tolosa Cortés Moctezuma, the great granddaughter of the Aztec ruler Moctezuma (Montezuma) and granddaughter of Hernán Cortés. The combined wealth of these two families made Juan de Oñate one of the wealthiest men in Mexico.

In 1595, Oñate received an appointment from the Spanish court to lead an expedition up the Rio Grande River to spread the Catholic faith, pacify the natives, and establish a permanent colony in the northern reaches of New Spain. After a series of delays, Oñate and 500 men, women, and children entered New Mexico in early 1598 near present-day El Paso, Texas. The explorer immediately claimed possession of the land and its people.

By late May 1598, the expedition reached the upper Rio Grande and encountered the first of many pueblos that Oñate formally claimed for Spain. In July, Oñate arrived at the confluence of the Chama River and the Rio Grande and established his headquarters at Ohke Pueblo, which he renamed San Juan, the capital of the new colony. In doing so, Oñate effectively extended the Camino Real another 600 miles.

From San Juan, Oñate inaugurated his missionary program by dispersing friars to the pueblos while he personally conducted a reconnaissance of the province. Native hospitality turned to open



Inscription carved at El Morro by Gov. Juan de Oñate in 1605. It reads "Passed by here, the advanced Don Juan de Oñate, from the discovery of the Sea of the South, the 16th day of April, 1605." (National Park Service)

resistance in January 1599, when natives at Acoma Pueblo attacked Spanish soldiers who had entered the pueblo in search of food. Eleven Spanish soldiers died. In retaliation, Oñate sent a punitive expedition against the town that killed 800 men, women, and children and took another 580 captive. Adolescents were sentenced to 20 years of servitude, and adult men were subjected to public mutilation to be conducted in the plazas of pueblos along the Rio Grande as a lesson to those who might question Spanish authority.

In 1601, Oñate moved the capital across the Rio Grande to Yunque Ouinge Pueblo and renamed it San Gabriel. Despairing over the apparent lack of riches in the colony, Oñate set out in June of that year in hopes of finding wealth in Quivira—a location (most likely Wichita villages) in present-day Kansas visited by Francisco Vásquez de Coronado in 1541. The journey proved fruitless, and Oñate returned to his colony only to lead a final and equally unrewarding expedition in 1604 westward to the Colorado River and the Gulf of California. During his absence, growing discontentment in the colony led many Spaniards to return to Mexico.

With Spanish interests in New Mexico on the verge of failure, government officials recalled Oñate to Mexico City in 1606 to face charges related to the poor condition of the colony and the governor's conduct toward the Acoma natives. Oñate resigned his office in 1607 but remained in New Mexico long enough to see the establishment of a new provincial capital at Santa Fe. In Mexico City, the Spanish Court found the former governor guilty of misconduct toward the inhabitants (Spanish and native) of his colony and permanently banished Oñate from New Mexico. Despite a successful appeal clearing him of all charges, Oñate departed Mexico for Spain where he became a mining inspector. He died there sometime in 1626.

Alan C. Downs

See also

Acoma Pueblo, Fight at; Coronado, Francisco Vásquez de; New Mexico; Pueblos

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Oneidas

One of the five original tribal nations of the Iroquois Confederation. The Iroquois called themselves *Haudenosaunee*, or "People of the Longhouse." The name Oneida was derived from the Iroquois word *onayotekaona*, which referred to a great boulder that was located in their territory. The Oneidas joined with the Senecas, the Cayugas, the Onondagas, and the Mohawks to form the Iroquois Confederation. Around 1570, the prophet Deganawidah and his disciple Hiawatha founded the confederation with the goal of ending constant intertribal warfare.

The Oneidas' territory was in what is now central New York state. They lived near Lake Oneida southward to the Susquehanna River. To their immediate east were the Mohawks, and to their immediate west were the Onondagas. Although part of the Iroquois Confederation, the Oneidas were distinct from their fellow allied natives. They were also the least numerous of the Iroquois, numbering just 1,500 at first European contact.

The Oneidas shared the general culture and history of all the Northeastern indigenous peoples, and the Iroquois in particular. They built palisades to surround their villages and lived as families in longhouses in arrangements according to matrilineal descent. The women raised corn, tobacco, beans, and squash, and the men hunted and fished. Women were socially honored and held in generally high regard. The Oneidas believed that the world had been created when a woman fell from the sky world. The water creatures were concerned for her, so they built the land to be a platform for the woman, who was mother earth. This myth and many others were part of the rich spiritual lore of the Oneida people.

In the mid-1600s, the Oneidas made a temporary peace with the French while they played the Mohawks and the Onondagas against each other to preserve their independence. King William's War wrought great destruction on the Oneidas, and in 1696 French forces raided a key Oneida village and destroyed its structures and surrounding fields. This led to the division of the Oneidas into the Upper Oneidas and the Canawarogheres. Finally, in 1701, the Iroquois Confederation—including the Oneidas—made peace with the French and allied western natives. In 1722, the Tuscaroras, an Iroquoian-speaking band of natives from North Carolina, moved to New York. They sought protection from the Iroquois and were given a place next to the Oneidas to live. The Tuscaroras soon became the sixth nation of the confederation. For sometime thereafter, the Oneidas sent war parties into North Carolina to punish the Tuscaroras' enemies.

The Iroquois Confederation held an annual Great Council in Onondaga territory. Nine sachems, or chiefs, would attend as representatives of the Oneidas. The Oneidas were organized into three clans: the Bear, the Turtle, and the Wolf. Each clan was represented by three sachems nominated by the women of their respective clans. These sachems after 1722 also served as representatives for the Tuscaroras.

In general, the Oneidas tried to remain neutral in the various colonial conflicts. Nevertheless, their locale helped them to develop strong economic ties to the English, particularly in the Hudson River Valley. They courted natives in the Great Lakes but frequently warred with southern native groups. In this way, the Oneidas—and all of the Iroquois Confederation—could achieve maximum economic and military benefits from their allies.

During the American Revolutionary War, the Oneidas broke with the other Iroquois and supported the Americans against the British. They had tried to remain neutral so that they could avoid attacking the Tories, who were their neighbors. Eventually, Rev. Samuel Kirkland, a Presbyterian minister, brought most of the Oneidas over to the Patriot cause. Some Oneidas served as scouts for the colonists, and others served in different ways. During the

desperate winter at Valley Forge, a party of Oneidas led by Chief Skenadoah brought 600 bushels of corn to General George Washington's starving army.

Oneidas participated in several major battles of the Revolutionary War. On August 6, 1777, they fought in the Battle of Oriskany. After the American Revolutionary War, some Oneidas returned to their homes in central New York. At this time they took in some of the remnants of the Mohegans. Other Oneidas moved to a reservation on the Thames River in Ontario, Canada. In the early 1800s, most of the New York Oneidas relocated to Green Bay, Wisconsin.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Iroquois Confederation; King William's War, Land Campaigns

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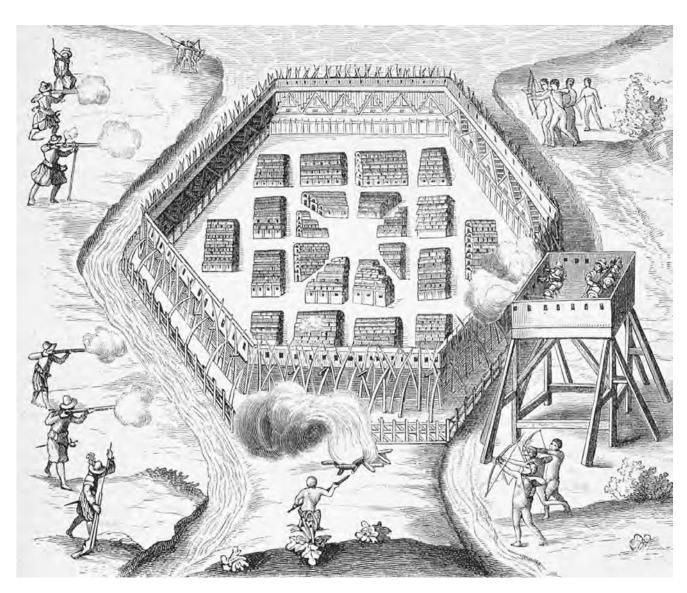
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Onondagas

Founding nation of the Iroquois Confederation. The Onondagas ("People of the Hills") controlled the heart of Iroquois territory in much of present-day upstate New York. They were hunters as well as agriculturalists, and their hunting territory ranged from modernday Onondaga County as far north as Lake Ontario and as far south as the Chenango Forks. As the most centrally located of the original Iroquois Five Nations (the others were the Senecas, the Oneidas, the Cayugas, and the Mohawks), the Onondagas hosted its yearly councils beneath the Tree of the Great Peace. They also provided the chief



Contemporary illustration showing a fortified Onondaga village in New York. The Onondagas were part of the Iroquois Confederacy. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

who presided over these gatherings. This pivotal position rendered Onondaga political sentiments most crucial to how the confederation aligned itself with respect to European powers.

The Onondagas acted as mediators of sorts in deliberations at the annual councils. If the elder "house" or brotherhood of the Senecas and the Mohawks could not agree with its junior counterparts among the Cayugas, the Oneidas, and later the Tuscaroras, then the Onondagas supplied the deciding vote. But they had no veto power in the event that the other native nations presented a united front. The Onondagas also served as archivists for the confederation by maintaining its wampum belts and consequently sported the most chieftainships within the league. Their council house was one of the largest and most elaborate Native American structures of its time.

According to an Iroquois legend known as the Deganawidah (the Peacemaker) Epic, the peoples of the Five Nations warred frequently on one another until Hiawatha and Deganawidah promoted reconciliation. But an Onondaga chief and sorcerer, Tadadaho, rejected this message of peace and, in his resultant madness, grew misshapen with a bed of snakes for hair. Hiawatha and Deganawidah subsequently cured Tadadaho with wampum beads, which symbolically spurred the creation of the Great League of Peace and Power. This alliance, which dated at least as far back as the 16th century, emphasized internal stability and asserted authority over weaker native nations.

The Onondagas participated in the Beaver Wars (1641–1701). During this period they warred with western nations such as the Hurons and the Eries over hunting rights and access to trade with Europeans and other native groups.

Periodically relocating for better access to natural resources, the Onondagas generally confined themselves to inhabiting two large, fortified villages at a time. They employed fire to clear land for agriculture and forest underbrush for hunting. As with the rest of the league, they relied on adopting members of defeated nations to replenish their numbers. Some captives suffered ritualistic torture and execution as a means of grieving for lost loved ones. The Hurons (allied with the French) and the Susquehannocks comprised the principal indigenous enemies of the Onondagas.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, Protestants and Catholics proselytized among the Onondagas with limited success. The Jesuits established missions that proved short lived because of dramatic shifts in support for the French.

The Onondagas became factionalized through scheming among anglophiles, francophiles, and neutralists. This constant intrigue influenced the diplomacy of the confederation and threatened to draw it into larger conflicts. Although neutral at first, by 1759 most Iroquois were supporting the British during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The demise of New France in 1763 left the Six Nations (with the addition of the Tuscaroras in 1722) without its former position as the arbiter of the balance of power in North America.

In the Proclamation of 1763, King George III established a limit for westward migration by American colonists. Settlers largely ignored the rule that prohibited expansion beyond the Appalachian Mountains, and Onondaga land holdings came under increased pressure. The Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768) reconfirmed the Great Covenant Chain through which the Iroquois dissuaded subsidiary tribes from attacking colonists. With the American Revolutionary War underway in 1776, both sides courted the league for an alliance. The Great Council opted to let each of the Six Nations decide for itself. The Senecas, the Mohawks, and the Cayugas joined the British, and the Oneidas and the Tuscaroras assisted the United States. Accounts vary as to where a majority of the Onondagas stood on this question, but Patriot authorities regarded them as hostile.

Pro-British Iroquois conducted raids alongside Loyalist Rangers in New York and in Pennsylvania. An American offensive in 1779 destroyed the Onondaga villages. The British loss of the 13 colonies spelled disaster for the Iroquois Confederation as it was forced to cede most of its land in the Treaty of Paris (1783). The Onondagas then split between those who remained in New York and those who followed the Mohawk chief Joseph Brant to Canada.

JEFFREY D. BASS

See also

Beaver Wars; Covenant Chain; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Proclamation of 1763; Wampum

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Opechancanough

Born: 1575 Died: 1646

Influential Native American leader and Pamunkey chieftain (1622–1644) in Virginia's Chesapeake region at the time of the establishment of the Jamestown settlement in 1607. Opechancanough was sometimes referred to as the "King of the Pamunkeys," a name given to him by Jamestown leader Captain John Smith. Opechancanough was born sometime in 1575, probably in the eastern part of modern-day Virginia. Nothing is known of his early life, but Opechancanough's half-brother was the powerful Chief Powhatan, the leader of a confederacy of local natives. In 1617, Powhatan migrated north toward the Potomac River, leaving his half-brother in charge of the Chesapeake region. When Powhatan died in 1619, Opechancanough succeeded him as the werowance (chieftain) of the native confederation.

Unlike Powhatan, Opechancanough took a dim view of the English settlers. He viewed them as interlopers who had to be driven away or destroyed. In March 1622, he staged a daring attack against English settlements around Jamestown. Only weeks before, Opechancanough had given English leaders the impression that he stood for peace and tranquility. Thus, the settlers had little reason to defend themselves against a potential raid. In any event, Opechancanough's offensive killed 347 colonists or some 25 percent of the English population.

The stunned but furious survivors sought a hasty retribution. Although Opechancanough escaped capture, a large number of his subjects fell to blistering attacks and starvation at the hands of the English. Within a year, Opechancanough sued for peace. In 1644, a frail and failing Opechancanough authorized yet another broad offensive against the English settlements, allegedly to avenge the murder of a Pamunkey leader. His decision launched the two-year Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1644–1646) in which roughly 500 of Virginia's 8,000 white inhabitants died. The natives, however, again suffered disproportionately. In 1645, Virginians managed to track Opechancanough down and took him captive. He died in 1646 in Jamestown, murdered by a militiaman.

JAIME RAMÓN OLIVARES

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Anglo-Powhatan War, Third; Jamestown; Pamunkeys; Powhatans; Virginia; Virginia-Indian Treaty (1646)

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Orontony (Nicholas)

Born: Unknown Died: 1750

Wyandot-Huron leader in the Ohio River Valley noted for his consistent hostility toward the French. Nothing is known surrounding the circumstances of Orontony's birth or formative years. In 1738, Orontony (sometimes referred to as Orontondi, Rondoenie, Wanduny, or Nicholas) helped the British-allied Cherokees ambush a Detroit war party. This action earned him the enmity of French-allied natives, including some other Wyandots. Soon afterward, he and his followers left the Detroit region and founded a new settlement near Sandusky Bay. The site was within easy reach of British merchants and their lower-priced trade goods.

When King George's War (1744–1748) began, most Wyandots rallied to support the French. Orontony's group, however, instead strengthened its relationship with the British. Orotony entered into an alliance treaty with them in 1745 and allowed Pennsylvania

traders to build a strong blockhouse near his village. A wartime British blockade of Canada soon cut the flow both of gifts and of French trade goods. This development greatly disrupted French relations with natives in the Great Lakes region. Emboldened by this apparent weakness, in 1747 Orontony quietly recruited the Miamis and several other regional nations into a general armed uprising against the French. The plot was prematurely revealed in June 1747, however, when an overeager group of Wyandots killed five French traders and tipped off the commandant of Detroit to the danger.

With the 1747 conspiracy uncovered, several of the native nations involved denied any knowledge of Orontony's plans. Instead, they pledged their loyalty and friendship to the French. Violent clashes between Orontony's remaining allies and the French flared briefly in the summer of 1747 and then abruptly died out. Later that year, Orontony visited Detroit in a bid for peace, but he returned to Sandusky without any firm guarantees from the French commander. In 1748, the French renewed their demand that Orontony break off all relations with the British. Meanwhile, the pro-French Ottawas began preparing a large expedition to send against him should he refuse. Faced with these threats, Orontony burned the Sandusky village and moved his followers south and west to the White River, in what is today Indiana. Yet Orontony's impact on the Ohio region lingered on after his departure. Indeed, a 1749 French expedition from Canada found the Ohio natives resistant to any French presence. Orontony died in Indiana in 1750.

Andrew C. Lannen

See also

Hurons; King George's War, Land Campaigns; Ottawas; Sandusky Bay (Ohio)

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Osages

Native American group located in the upper Mississippi River Valley and lower Missouri River Valley. In colonial times, the Osages were seminomadic and eventually controlled modern-day Missouri, southern Illinois, northern Arkansas, northeastern Oklahoma, and southeastern Kansas. Originally, they were probably part of a single tribe that split and developed into the Osages, the Kasaws, the Omahas, the Poncas, and the Quapaws. In colonial times, they probably numbered around 10,000 people, but as time progressed, their numbers dwindled significantly. Linguistically, the Osages were part of the Siouan-speaking nations.

The Osages called themselves the *Ni-U-Ko'n-Ska*, or "People of the Middle Waters." The word "Osage" came from the name of one of their clans, the Wazhazhes. During French explorations of the Illinois River Valley and the Mississippi River Valley in the late 17th century, French explorers gallicized the name as Ouazhagi. The English later anglicized the name to Osage.

The Osages lived in semipermanent villages in wooded river valleys most of the year. They cultivated corn, beans, squash, and other vegetables. During buffalo hunting season, they made use of temporary shelters. Buffalo provided not only an important food source, but served as a key source of clothing and a trade article.

The Osages were organized into two groups (moieties). The Tsizhu moiety had 9 clans that were associated with the sky and peace. The 15 clans of the Honga moiety were linked with earth and war. Each clan occupied a separate section of their villages and operated as separate military units.

Osage political and religious organizations were closely interconnected and were integrated on both the village and tribal levels. At the tribal level were two hereditary chiefs, one from each moiety. The Osage Nation was divided into five permanently named bands of villages, each with its own set of chiefs, and a council of *Nonhonzhinga* (Little Old Men). The council was primarily a religious body, but it could also deal with civil affairs from time to time.

Europeans first mentioned the Osages in 1683, when Father Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, encountered them while exploring the Mississippi River Valley. During the 1700s, the French and Osages shared a robust trade in furs, guns, horses, and European goods. The trade gave the Osages great influence with many natives of the region. It also enabled them to act as mediators between the woodlands natives of the east and the natives of the Great Plains to the west.

The profitable trading enabled the French to establish a strong military alliance with the Osages. During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the Osages actively aided the French. Indeed, Osage warriors fought with the French when the British, under Major General Edward Braddock, approached Fort Duquesne on July 9, 1755. After the French defeat in 1763, the Osages developed contacts with the Spanish, who had gained control of the Louisiana territory. Eventually, however, the Osages engaged in hostile actions against the Spanish.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Braddock's Campaign; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Native American Trade; Quapaws

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Oswego, Battle of

Start Date: August 13, 1756 End Date: August 14, 1756

Key French victory over the British on August 13–14, 1756, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Oswego is located in New York on Lake Ontario's southeastern shore. Governor General

Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil of New France feared simultaneous British attacks launched from Oswego and the Champlain Valley against Montreal and the St. Lawrence River Valley. He thus advocated an aggressive strategy of striking vulnerable outposts in order to disrupt British operations. His military commander, Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, preferred a more cautious policy, however.

Although an English trading post had existed at Oswego since the 1720s, most of its fortifications had been constructed during Major General William Shirley's failed 1755 British expedition against Fort Niagara. The site proved poorly suited for fortifications. The original trading post, a stockaded stone building known as Fort Oswego or Fort Pepperell, had been constructed in a valley along the Oswego River's southern shore. Hills on the north shore and to the south overlooked the post. To secure the area more effectively, Shirley's men constructed Fort Ontario, a star-shaped log palisade, on the northern heights across the river. It too could be dominated by higher ground, however. A third outpost to the south, Fort George, remained incomplete and was virtually indefensible.

In 1756, British colonel James Mercer commanded a 1,500-man garrison at Fort Ontario, including the 50th Regiment and the 51st Regiment, both recruited in the colonies, and a New Jersey regiment assigned to Fort George. Mercer feared that French ships would dominate the lake. Although he had four small warships and another two under construction, Mercer lacked trained seamen, armament, and naval stores.

In order to move against Oswego, in July 1756 Montcalm shifted nearly 3,000 troops from the Champlain Valley to Fort Frontenac at the junction of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River. His force included 1,300 French regulars, 1,500 French provincials, and an assortment of militiamen and natives. It also boasted a siege train of 20 heavy guns.

While Vaudreuil and many Canadian officers advocated attacking Oswego, Montcalm hoped that the mere presence of his force would divert the English away from the Champlain Valley. The risks and logistical difficulties of moving several thousand troops in small boats and supporting a potentially lengthy siege seemed too great. Vaudreuil was confident of victory, however. He understood the weaknesses of the British fortifications and had received reports, judged to be reliable, of low British morale. Systematic French and Native American raids had also severed Oswego's 300-mile supply line from Albany, placing the British at Oswego in a tenuous situation. With all of these factors, Montcalm gradually warmed to Vaudreuil's plan.

On August 10, 1756, Montcalm's improvised invasion fleet of several hundred small craft landed nearly 3,000 men and 80 cannon about two miles north of Fort Ontario. The following day, the French harassed the British garrison with small-arms fire, while axemen cleared the heights overlooking Fort Ontario.

Having positioned their siege guns, on August 13 the French opened artillery fire on the English positions. That night, with Fort Ontario's timber walls unable to withstand the constant pounding

and the French advancing their assault trenches toward the fort, Mercer ordered the garrison to spike its cannon and withdraw across the river to Fort Oswego. Occupying the abandoned fort and the surrounding heights, Montcalm's artillerymen then positioned their guns overlooking Fort Oswego, a mere 400 yards distant.

At dawn on August 14, the two forts exchanged artillery fire, but their exposed position put the British at a severe disadvantage. Shortly after the opening of the bombardment, a French and native force crossed the Oswego, effectively surrounding the British. At this critical point in the battle, around 10:00 a.m., a cannonball struck Mercer and killed him. Unnerved by Mercer's death, his second-in-command, Lieutenant Colonel John Littlehales, faced a situation in which his forces were cut off by land and water and under continuous French fire.

Littlehales quickly convened a council of war that recommended immediate surrender. Littlehales concurred, expecting that the garrison would then be paroled. Although the British position was indeed untenable, the French bombardment had inflicted fewer than 50 casualties.

With Oswego's capitulation that same day, the French captured nearly 1,600 troops and camp followers. But instead of releasing them as the British expected, they transported their prisoners to New France. The French also secured 6 ships, 77 artillery pieces, 12 tons of gunpowder, 200 tons of provisions, and enough specie to more than pay for the cost of the expedition. Despite pledges of protection, Montcalm's native contingent also looted the prisoners' possessions and killed some 30 wounded men before the French could intervene.

What Montcalm thought at first would be a mere diversion had proved a major success. British forces, already grappling with the Lake Champlain expedition, shifted troops toward Oswego, but halted them on word of the fort's capitulation. Given the forts' inherent weaknesses it is doubtful that even timely reinforcements could have altered the outcome.

Montcalm debated continuing the offensive but instead razed the British forts and withdrew. The French triumph at Oswego secured Lake Ontario and removed the English threat to New France's vital trade and supply connections with its western outposts. It also inspired many western Native Americans to rally to the French.

STANLEY J. ADAMIAK

See also

Fort Ontario (New York); Fort Oswego (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Lake Ontario; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Pierre de, Marquis de Vaudreuil; Shirley, William

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Ottawas

Native American people who inhabited Manitoulin Island along the northern reaches of Lake Huron. The Ottawas belonged to the Algonquian linguistic and cultural group, being closely related to the Ojibwas, the Potawatomis, and the Algonquins. The Ottawas entered the written record when Samuel de Champlain encountered people he referred to as the *Cheveux relevés* (raised hairs) in 1615.

French observers were impressed by the Ottawas' martial skills, and Champlain himself claimed that they were formidable warriors. Similar to other Great Lakes groups, the Ottawas practiced scalping, torture, adoption of prisoners, and symbolic eating of the flesh. They preferred to engage in guerrilla-style warfare. The Ottawas supported themselves by agriculture, trading, hunting, fishing, and gathering. Indeed, the French soon discovered that they were perceptive and highly effective traders.

The Ottawas traditionally occupied the north shore of Georgian Bay (Lake Huron), Manitoulin Island, as well as the Bruce Peninsula in Ontario. They fled to the western shores of Lake Superior after 1649 to avoid attacks by the Iroquois. By 1670, they began to return east after clashing with Dakota and Winnebago groups in present-day Wisconsin. By 1701 the Ottawas had settled throughout the Great Lakes–Ohio Valley region, and by the 1770s they had begun to venture into Manitoba.

"Ottawa" means "trader," which reflects the role they played in the Great Lakes. The term, however, also applied to anyone engaged in trade. This led 17th-century French observers to give the name to all non-Huron traders from the upper Great Lakes. This broad use has hindered identification of the Ottawas prior to the 18th century. By the early 1700s, the French recognized several subdivisions among the Ottawas, who usually acted independently of other related native nations.

Ottawas warred with the Iroquois, the Fox, and the Mascoutens. They belonged to the Three Fires Confederacy, a sociopolitical and military alliance, along with the Ojibwas and the Potawatomis. As allies of the Hurons, the Ottawas became allied to the French and thus became involved in the Beaver Wars (1641–1701). In 1670, the French thwarted Ottawa attempts to conclude a peace treaty with the Iroquois. In 1701, under the auspices of the French, several branches and chiefs of the Ottawa Nation signed the Treaty of Montreal.

A number of Ottawas settled in the Detroit region after 1701. On the instigation of Lamothe Cadillac, clashes soon erupted between the Ottawas, the Fox, the Miamis, and the French, which led to Ottawa involvement in the Fox War of 1710–1738. The Ottawas in the Detroit region also grew to distrust their Huron allies, accusing them of conspiring with the Iroquois and other enemies.

The Ottawas participated in the colonial wars as allies of France, especially during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). In 1763,

Ottawa leader Pontiac united several native nations in the Great Lakes—Ohio Valley region and attempted to drive the British from that area. After the Niagara Peace Treaty of 1764, the Ottawas became allies of the British. Despite the broad alliance patterns, internal divisions among the Ottawas often permitted groups and individuals to hold neutral, anti-French, or anti-British sentiments.

KARL HELE

See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Beaver Wars; Champlain, Samuel de; Detroit; Fox War; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Hurons; Iroquois Confederation; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Ouiatenon Trading Post and Fort (Indiana)

French trading post built in 1718 (and called a fort beginning in 1742), situated on the west bank of the Wabash River, near present-day Lafayette, Indiana. The Ouiatenon Trading Post consisted of a dozen cabins in two rows surrounded by a 10-foot-high stockade. Ouiatenon was the first fortified European post in Indiana and considered the most southwesterly point of French Canada. It was named for the Weas (in French, Ouiatanons), a subgroup of the Miamis that had evolved into a separate group.

Although they were allied with the French against the Iroquois, the Weas frequently found the offerings of English traders tempting. Moving from the Chicago area, they settled along the middle section of the Wabash River in the early 18th century and resisted French efforts to move them back. Members of related nations (Piankashaws, Mascoutens, Kickapoos) soon joined them there. The French founded the Ouiatenon Trading Post in 1718 to protect their fur trade from English competition. It was also designed to keep open the important Wabash-Maumee route to the Mississippi River and to maintain peace between the Weas and other French allies, particularly the Illinois.

François Picoté de Belestre established the post with four soldiers, three traders, and, at the Weas' request, a blacksmith. In 1721, Captain Jacques-Charles Renaud Dubuisson established Fort Miami among the Miami people at the forks of the Maumee River. With jurisdiction over both sites, he resided at Miami and placed François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes in command at Ouiatenon. The Miami and Wea posts produced few furs (in part, because of illicit trading with the English). However, the French were reluctant to abandon them and risk losing the strategic position to their rivals.

In 1729, Vincennes and a group of Piankashaws relocated to the mouth of the Wabash (present-day Vincennes, Indiana), in essence "defecting" to French Louisiana. A fur trader, Simon Réaume, then became acting commander of the post for a number of years. From there, he led as many as 400 Weas and Piankashaws during the siege against Fox Fort in 1730. The French also induced the Weas to

attack the Chickasaws, which they did regularly from 1731 until about 1742.

A level of tension nevertheless persisted between the Weas and the French. In 1734, there were rumors that the Weas would defect to the British, and a group of Weas pillaged the post after a fight with a young Frenchman. In 1742, the Weas complained about French regulations that restricted the number of traders at the post.

King George's War (1744–1748) created severe shortages and inflation. That contributed to a Miami rebellion in 1747 led by Memeskia (known as "Old Briton" to the English, "La Demoiselle" to the French). Afterward, the French became increasingly suspicious of Wea loyalty. Yet they remained reluctant to abandon the strategic post completely. They manned Ouiatenon only during the winters of 1747–1748 and 1748–1749.

With growing tensions in the Ohio Country, Ouiatenon as well as Native American trade were placed under the commandant of Detroit. In 1751, with Louisiana once again enticing natives to move to its territory and Memeskia encouraging them to trade with the English, Canada sent reinforcements to Ouiatenon to keep watch over them. François-Marie le Marchand de Ligneris, stationed at Ouiatenon, argued that France must seize the Ohio Country or risk losing the Weas and others to the English.

The Weas participated in several raids in the French and Indian War (1754–1763), siding with the French. Some served with de Ligneris at Fort Duquesne. English lieutenant Edward Jenkins accepted the surrender of Ouiatenon late in 1761, after the fighting had ended. Subsequently, he commanded a garrison of 20 at the fort, while 200 Weas, 180 Kickapoos, 90 Macoutens, and 100 Piankashaws lived adjacent to it. There were also about 14 French families nearby.

The Weas and others objected to English policies, including their stinginess with presents and restrictions on ammunition sales. In 1763, they joined Pontiac's Rebellion. Having seized Jenkins and several of his men, they demanded and received the surrender of the fort on June 1, 1763. The famed trader George Croghan, taken to Ouiatenon as a prisoner in 1765, met with Pontiac there and convinced him to seek terms with Indian agent Sir William Johnson.

Ouiatenon was not garrisoned after 1763. The natives and French traders still residing there reclaimed the site, although the local fur trade was largely depleted. It was occupied for a time during the American Revolutionary War, and U.S. troops under General Charles Scott burned the post, the native villages, and surrounding fields in June 1791, at a time of Native American unrest.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Fox Fort (Illinois), and Siege of; Fox War; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Johnson, Sir William; King George's War, Land Campaigns; Ohio Country; Old Briton (Memeskia); Pontiac (Obwandiyng), Chief; Pontiac's Rebellion; Vincennes (Indiana)

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Ouitanon Fort

See Ouiatenon Trading Post and Fort (Indiana)

Ouitanon Trading Post

See Ouiatenon Trading Post and Fort (Indiana)

Oyster River (New Hampshire)

English frontier settlement in New Hampshire notable for the Native American attack it suffered on July 19, 1694. The assault was made by a largely Abenaki force. Striking by surprise, the attacking warriors killed and captured approximately 100 colonists. This raid was the most significant Native American victory of King William's War (1689–1697) in New Hampshire.

In 1693, tiring of their war with the English and the suppression of trade it had caused, one Abenaki faction, associated with the prominent Penobscot Abenaki headman Modockawando, decided to seek a truce with the English and signed a peace agreement on August 11. The treaty upset the French, who relied on the Abenakis to mount attacks along the New England frontier. The treaty also angered those Abenakis who preferred that the war continue, including Modockawando's principal rival, Moxus.

In the spring of 1694, the French discovered evidence that Modockawando had used the treaty negotiations as an opportunity to sell Abenaki land without the knowledge of other Abenaki headmen. The French immediately alerted Moxus, who informed the other Abenakis of Modockawando's actions, thereby discrediting his peace faction. Accordingly, the French and the Abenakis began planning an expedition against the English, which the English did not expect.

The initial Abenaki force, accompanied by several French soldiers, traveled to Oyster River (also known as Durham), securing additional Abenakis and Pennacooks. By the time the raiding party reached Oyster River on the evening of July 18, it numbered more than 230 warriors. The natives separated into small bands and spread out throughout the village.

Word that Modockawando had concluded peace with the English had arrived in Oyster River a few days earlier. As a consequence, the settlers had disbanded their night watch, allowing the natives to take up their positions undetected. The attack began prematurely on the morning of July 19, when an early riser left his house. The nearby warriors feared he might discover them and give the alarm, so they commenced the assault earlier than they had planned.

Despite this setback, the natives devastated the town. The warriors killed 45 colonists and took prisoner another 49. They also burned most of the dwellings and adjacent fields. The warriors then withdrew before reinforcements from neighboring settlements could arrive.

The English regarded the Oyster River attack as an Abenaki betrayal, coming as it did in the wake of a peace treaty to which the colonists believed all Abenakis had assented. It hardened the colonial perception of the Abenakis as fundamentally untrustworthy and cemented English hostility toward them. The Oyster River attack began a new war between the two sides that would persist as late as 1699, long after the French had concluded a separate peace.

Andrew Miller

See also

Abenakis; King William's War, Land Campaigns; New Hampshire; Pennacooks

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P

Pacifism

The principle that holds unequivocally all forms of violent conflict to be morally and socially unacceptable. Pacifism seeks alternatives to violence and war through nonviolent and peaceful negotiation and cooperation. Pacifism in North America developed from the European religious movements of the 16th and 17th centuries, especially the Anabaptist movement and German Pietism. Predominant among pacifist sects in North America were the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), the Mennonites, the Amish, the Schwenkfelders, the Church of the Brethren (Dunkers), and the Moravians.

Pacifism meant more than a rejection of fighting. Indeed, attitudes toward fighting varied, according to religious affiliation. Quakers were the most restrictive; they would do little to aid in a war besides paying taxes to a government. The Mennonites and the Amish would pay taxes and agree to supply substitutes and to pay fines in lieu of militia service. Moravians refused to serve in the army or militia but would pay substitutes for such service and organize their own military defenses, which included drilling with weapons.

Pacifists' religious toleration and renunciation of war was based on the teachings of Jesus and prohibitions on war as expressed in the New Testament. Pacifists did not focus on the Old Testament's depiction of or justifications for war.

William Penn and other leaders in Pennsylvania never used their charter-based authority to wage war against pirates, Native Americans, or other possible enemies. They believed that there could be a prolonged peace with the Native Americans. Indeed, for nearly three-quarters of a century the Quakers in Pennsylvania and the Delawares (Lenni Lenape) lived in relative peace while other English colonists waged war against the Native Americans.

All pacifist groups also protested, in one way or another, the domination of the church by the state, excessive government inter-



Seventeenth-century etching of a meeting of Quakers, also known as the Society of Friends. (Brown Brothers)

ference, and ecclesiastical hierarchy. They also eschewed elaborate religious ceremonies. Quakers were unique among pacifist sects in that they did not reject political office. Indeed, they sought it and were prominent in the government of Pennsylvania, where most of them settled.

The Quakers were the first pacifist group to arrive in North America, in the 1650s. They settled in colonial Rhode Island, North Carolina, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and western New Jersey. Penn founded Pennsylvania as a refuge for pacifists and as a "holy experiment" committed to spiritual and theological toleration. Quakers set their principles on the basis of conscience and communal harmony and called for individuals to experience God with an "inner light." The Quaker peace testimony (a declaration of religious affirmation) was an expression of choosing between reasons of state and the law of love. It also advocated combating evil with inner spiritual weapons rather than weapons of destruction.

Consistent with the Quaker reasoning of spiritual weapons and nonparticipation in war and other forms of violence were the Anabaptists and their Mennonite successors who followed the Quakers to North America. Most members of these pacifist sects settled in the mid-Atlantic area of colonial English North America rather than in New England, New York, and the South, areas where there was more fighting. Moravians did establish colonies in Georgia and later in North Carolina, however. Expansionism and fighting with the natives there led many of them to relocate to Pennsylvania. The general immunity of Pennsylvania from warfare ended with the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and Pontiac's Rebellion (1763), when Pennsylvania saw considerable fighting. Nonetheless, few members of the pacifist sects took up arms against either the French or the natives.

Between the end of the French and Indian War in 1763 and the beginning of the American Revolutionary War in 1775, Quakers and Mennonites extended their commitment to pacifism by denouncing human slavery, which they held to violate their religious beliefs and saw as a hidden seed of war.

Pacifists often faced discrimination from other English colonists. This had as its roots the pacifist renunciation of war against Native Americans and against the French and the Spanish. During the American Revolutionary War, many Patriots equated pacifists with Loyalists, which led to beatings, whippings, imprisonment, and, in some cases, exile. However, colonial and state governments had to acknowledge the principle of conscientious objection to war and to present alternative schemes for pacifists to do their part in times of conflict.

Government legislative substitutes for wartime service included fines, increased taxes, and conditional exemptions. Sometimes the government simply ignored the conscientious objection issue and left pacifists free to practice their religion. Legislation regarding alternatives to military service varied according to an individual colony/state's military policy, placing conscientious objectors at the mercy of each respective government. Most members of the sects remained firm in their stance. Quakers further alienated themselves from their communities during both peace and war by refusing to attend public prayer services.

The pacifist sects were not immune to internal turmoil over the alternatives to military service advanced by the colonial governments. German Brethren in Maryland, for instance, could refuse church membership if a member of the congregation either signed

the state-required oath of allegiance or enlisted into military service. Unless the individual who signed the oath or enlistment recanted, he could expect to be excommunicated from the Brethren. Similarly, if a member of the Society of Friends strayed from the church's teachings, he or she was no longer able to take part in church activities. For most pacifists, America was a true haven, where they were indeed free for the most part to practice their beliefs.

JAMES J. SCHAEFER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Just War Theory; Quaker Pacifism

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Pamunkeys

An Algonquian-speaking Native American group that belonged to the Powhatan Confederacy and lived along the Pamunkey River in tidewater Virginia. The Pamunkey River is formed by the confluence of the North Anna River and the South Anna River. The Pamunkey then joins the Mattaponi River to form the York River near present-day West Point, Virginia. The Pamunkeys' way of life was similar to that of other natives living in the eastern woodlands. Men engaged in hunting and fishing, and women practiced limited agriculture. They also made clay pots, jars, and pipes.

The Pamunkeys were among the 31 nations that formed the Powhatan Confederacy and one of the tribes Chief Powhatan (Wahunsonacock) had inherited from his parents late in the 16th century. Powhatan's three brothers—Opichapam, Opechancanough, and Kekataugh—were chiefs (or *werowances*) in the Pamunkey territory.

In the winter of 1608–1609, English captain John Smith, accompanied by 38 men, visited the Pamunkeys, who were then living along the York River. After a tense verbal exchange with the Powhatans who were present, Smith threatened to kill a Pamunkey. He then intimidated a group of warriors, forcing them to load the English ship with grain. Two days later, Smith's party arrived at Opechancanough's town. After a bit of trading in exchange for corn, Smith found himself surrounded by hostile warriors. In the tension of the moment, he allegedly challenged Opechancanough to individual combat.

In 1622, the natives of the Powhatan Confederacy attacked the settlers in the colony of Virginia, sparking the Second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622–1632). The Pamunkeys took part in the uprising. Opechancanough, the brother of the late Chief Powhatan, had assumed leadership of the Powhatan Confederacy and planned



Engraving depicting the capture of Captain John Smith in December 1607 by the Pamunkey Native Americans. (Smith, John. *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith,* 1630)

and led the native alliance. His actions placed the Pamunkeys in a very difficult situation. In July 1624, the Pamunkeys were forced to defend their enormous cornfields from the English. Following a two-day pitched battle, the English were able to destroy virtually all of the corn. This event was quite damaging to the Pamunkeys, who lost much of their reputation as keen warriors.

The fighting between the Pamunkeys and the English continued until 1632, when the settlers made peace with both the Chickahominys and the Pamunkeys. Nevertheless, the peace treaty forbade English trade or other contact with the natives. The Second Anglo-Powhatan War wrought dramatic and negative consequences on all of the Powhatan tribes. Their populations were greatly reduced, and many of the old ways of life were lost.

In 1644, Opechancanough led the Powhatans into another conflict against the English (the Third Anglo-Powhatan War, 1644–1646). Once more, the Pamunkeys joined the fray. The fighting took a particularly devastating toll on the Pamunkeys, for much of the turmoil unfolded on their ancestral lands near the headwaters of the York River. Opechancanough's death brought an effective end to the conflict and to the Powhatan Confederacy. In 1646, Opechancanough's successor, Necotowance, believed also to have been a Pamunkey, signed a treaty with the English. He agreed to relinquish land to the settlers while his people would become tributaries to the English Crown, presumably for reasons of defense and protection.

With the collapse of the Powhatan Confederacy, individual chiefs moved to gain power. In the case of the Pamunkeys, the *weronsqua* (woman head) Cockacoeske sought the leadership of the nation from her inherited relationship with the late Opechancanough. However, the colonial government misunderstood that she was, in effect, the new tribal leader and regarded her husband Totopotamoi as the new chief of the Pamunkeys. In 1656, the English sought the help of the Pamunkeys and the Chickahominys in fighting other Native Americans. The Pamunkeys paid dearly for the action because the English commander acted incompetently, resulting in an unnecessary defeat in which Totopotamoi was killed.

In 1676, Virginia was wracked by Bacon's Rebellion. In such tense times, colonial militias often attacked friendly natives as well as those who were hostile. To the natives' way of thinking, such bloodshed required retribution in blood. In Bacon's Rebellion, the Pamunkeys found themselves caught in the middle. Gov. Sir William Berkeley rightly interpreted the 1646 Virginia-Indian Treaty as offering the natives protection against all rebels. Thus, he was obliged to protect them from Nathaniel Bacon and his rebels. Bacon's followers, however, saw Berkeley as trying to monopolize trade with the natives. The rebels soon launched attacks against the Pamunkeys.

The Pamunkeys were so frightened by Bacon's followers that they fled their villages and hid in the surrounding swamps. In the fall of 1676, Bacon's followers located the Pamunkeys in their swamp hideouts. When Bacon's forces attacked, the Pamunkeys did not resist, yet many were shot. Pamunkey prisoners were paraded to Jamestown to demonstrate Bacon's skill as an "Indian fighter." Bacon died a few weeks later, but hostile attitudes among the rebel colonists almost resulted in the Pamunkeys being sold into slavery.

After Berkeley's return to Jamestown in 1677, a new treaty was signed between several native nations (including the Pamunkeys) and the colony of Virginia. The Virginia-Indian Treaty of 1677/1680 created a new reservation for each nation. Cockacoeske was also recognized as the *weronsqua* of the Pamunkeys. By the late 1700s, the Pamunkeys had declined to a small handful of people.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Anglo-Powhatan War, Third; Bacon's Rebellion; Berkeley, William; Cockacoeske, Queen of the Pamunkey; Opechancanough; Powhatan Confederacy; Virginia; Virginia-Indian Treaty (1646); Virginia-Indian Treaty (1677/1680)

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Parade Fort (Connecticut)

English-built post fortified in 1691, situated in New London (Connecticut) near Long Island Sound. New London served as the Connecticut Colony's main port of entry. The Parade Fort stood at the

foot of State Street, about 264 feet from the edge of the Thames River and not far from the river's outlet into Long Island Sound. An associated guardhouse and a powder magazine stood on higher ground not far to the west.

The Thames River, technically a flooded valley, gave New London one of the deepest harbors on the East Coast. Indeed, its strategic significance was recognized at an early date. Settlement of the area began in 1646, and in the same year the New England Confederation found in favor of Connecticut's claim to the territory over that of Massachusetts Bay. The focal point of the settlement was a small square called the Parade, near the wharves.

The Parade was fortified in 1691, during King William's War (1689–1697), on the orders of the Connecticut General Court. To arm the new structure, six "great guns," probably 4- or 6-pounders, were brought to New London from the older fort at Saybrook. More cannons were acquired in 1739, on the eve of the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744).

In 1775, at the beginning of the American Revolutionary War, other forts were built nearby. They included Fort Trumbull just down the river from Parade Fort in New London, and Fort Griswold across the river in Groton. Parade Fort, along with the other forts and much of the town, was destroyed on September 6, 1781, as a consequence of an attack led by Benedict Arnold. Parade Fort was never rebuilt.

SCOTT C. MONIE

See also

Connecticut; Fort Saybrook (Connecticut); New England Confederation

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Pardo, Juan

Born: Unknown Died: Unknown

Officer in the Spanish Army. A junior officer under the command of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Juan Pardo led two *entradas* into the southern Appalachian Mountains during the mid-16th century in an effort to extend Spanish control in the region. Little is known of Pardo's origins, but there is a possibility that he came to America with Menéndez. Menéndez established Santa Helena near Beaufort, South Carolina, as a presidio and mission to control and convert the local native people. He placed Pardo in command of the garrison there.

As part of this initial attempt by Menéndez to incorporate La Florida (the Spanish term for the Southeast) into the Spanish empire, Pardo led *entradas* during 1566–1567 and 1567–1568 from Santa Helena through the Carolinas and the southern Appalachians into the chiefdom of Coosa. Along the way, Pardo built five small

forts to link the interior with the coast, garrisoning each with only a handful of soldiers. All of these fortifications disappeared within a year as the soldiers fled back to the coast, were killed by hostile natives, or were absorbed by the local natives.

These expeditions may have helped spread diseases into the interior of La Florida that led to widespread native depopulation in the region and destabilized many of the chiefdoms there. Additionally, one of the garrisons left behind by Pardo allied with some local natives and destroyed the chiefdom of the Chiscas in southwest Virginia. This group later moved down out of the Appalachians to raid the Spanish missions in Florida during the 17th century.

After these two expeditions into the interior of the Southeast, Pardo disappeared from the historical record. Nothing is known about the rest of his life. The official records left by the Pardo expeditions have provided modern scholars with valuable information concerning the location of many native groups in the interior Southeast during the 16th century.

DIXIE RAY HAGGARD

See also

Columbian Exchange; Florida; Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro; South Carolina

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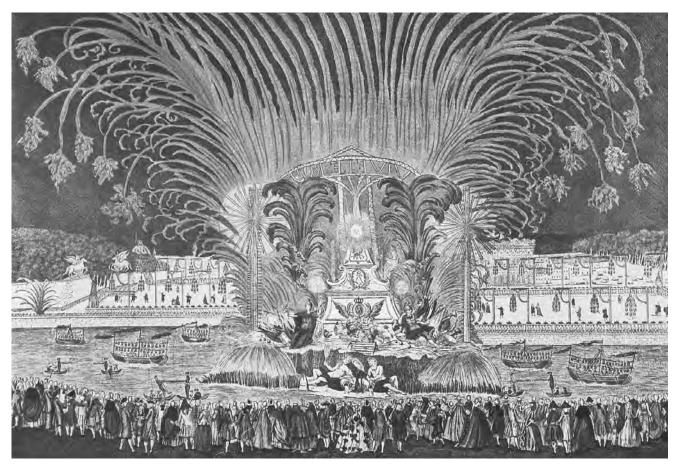
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Paris, Treaty of

Event Date: February 10, 1763

Signed by Britain, France, and Spain on February 10, 1763, the Treaty of Paris brought to a close the struggle between those nations known in America as the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Five days later, on February 15, Austria and Prussia signed the Treaty of Hubertusburg, ending the larger European part of this war, the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Under the terms of this treaty, Austria definitively ceded Silesia, confirming Prussia as a major power.

The French and Indian War began in America in 1754 with fighting between French and English colonists in the Ohio River Valley. Within a year the conflict had spread to Nova Scotia and the West Indies. By 1756, the great powers of Europe (France, Britain, Prussia, Austria, and Russia) were all at war on the continent, while Britain and France waged a struggle for world empire on the seas



Contemporary illustration of the fireworks display in Paris on June 22, 1763, celebrating peace after the Seven Years' (French and Indian War). (Giraudon/Art Resource, NY)

and in such diverse locations as the West Indies and India. The initial lineup saw France, Austria, and Russia pitted against Prussia and Britain; Spain joined on the side of France in 1762, but this did not prevent the British from winning key battles in Canada and the Caribbean.

The British were able to keep Prussia in the war by financial subsidies, while focusing their own military efforts in the colonies and on the Royal Navy. The French, although they had far greater assets than the British, were forced to take an active role in the fighting on land in Europe and thus had far less to expend on the fighting at sea and in the colonies. The Royal Navy cut the vital supply lines between France and its overseas colonies.

The Treaty of Paris recognized this British military triumph. No other international agreement before or since saw the transfer of so much American territory. Britain received control of all of Canada, including Cape Breton Island and the St. Lawrence islands. Britain also secured from France recognition of its control of the Ohio River Valley as well as all the territory east of the Mississippi River (including the port of Mobile) except the city of New Orleans. In the Caribbean, Britain secured St. Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, Grenada, and the Grenadines. There was considerable debate in Britain over the wisdom of taking Canada and removing that threat to the often

troublesome northern English colonies rather than demanding the rich sugar island of Guadeloupe, but in the end Prime Minister William Pitt prevailed on the grounds of military security as well as trade considerations.

France retained the islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon off the southern coast of Newfoundland, as well as fishing rights on Newfoundland's banks. In the West Indies, Britain returned to France the Caribbean islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, while, as noted, France restored to Britain St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago.

In Europe, France agreed to evacuate its positions in the German state of Hanover. In India, France received back Pondicherry, but its fortifications were to be razed and limits were placed on French military strength. French stations in Bengal were limited to commercial centers. (The French dissolved their Compagnie des Indes in 1763.) In Africa, the French acquired the slave port of Goree off the western coast, and Britain gained the Senegal River and its settlements. The treaty also compelled France to drop any compensatory claims for shipping losses and destroy the maritime fortifications at Dunkerque (Dunkirk).

Spain's ineffective participation in the war brought mixed results in the treaty. Spain forfeited all Canadian fishing rights and traded all of Florida (Spanish possessions east of the Mississippi) to Britain for the return of Cuba from Britain. Britain also returned Manila. The British promised to demolish fortifications along the Honduran coast, but Spain was forced to recognize the rights of its loggers in that area. In Europe, Spain returned Minorca to England. In the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso of November 3, 1762 (by which France secured Spanish participation in the war), Spain had already acquired from France both New Orleans and all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi River.

The Treaty of Paris of 1763 was a watershed mark for British power and a great humiliation for France, confirming Britain as possessing the world's most extensive overseas empire. The treaty did not, however, usher in a period of peace in North America. Although the French and Spanish threats to British colonists were now gone, conflict with Native Americans was far from over. In addition, disagreements between the colonists and the mother country escalated a decade later into the American Revolutionary War. Although the costs for their nation would be high indeed, French statesmen who were bent on revenge for the losses of 1763 embarked on a program of support for the American Patriot cause. The next treaty of Paris, that of 1783, stripped Britain of its North American colonies, save for Canada, and secured the French a measure of revenge for 1763, albeit at high cost. A bankrupted France itself succumbed to revolution in 1789.

RICHARD J. SHUSTER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Acadia; Florida; France; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Great Britain; Louisiana; Newfoundland; New France; New Orleans (Louisiana); Pitt, William, the Elder, First Earl of Chatham; Spain

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Passage Fort (South Carolina)

English-built fort erected in December 1717 on Daufuskie Island, South Carolina. Passage Fort sat on Bloody Point, at the southernmost tip of the island. Daufuskie Island is strategically located between Hilton Head Island immediately to the north and Tybee Island, Georgia, immediately to the south. Between the two lies the majestic Savannah River, which separates South Carolina and Georgia and provided ready access to the interiors of both colonies. Passage Fort was never well fortified and was only sporadically garrisoned.

In the beginning, the palisaded compound was manned by scouts from Fort Beaufort, located about 25 miles to the north.

Scouts were able to monitor incoming ship traffic owing to the fort's proximity to the open ocean, the Savannah River, and the inland passage, which surrounded the fort on all sides save for the ocean frontage. In a surprise raid during the winter of 1728, a Yamasee raiding party caught the fort's garrison by surprise and proceeded to kill or capture all of the defenders. By 1765, Passage Fort had been abandoned.

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See also

Fort Beaufort (South Carolina); South Carolina; Yamasees

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Paxton Boys Uprising

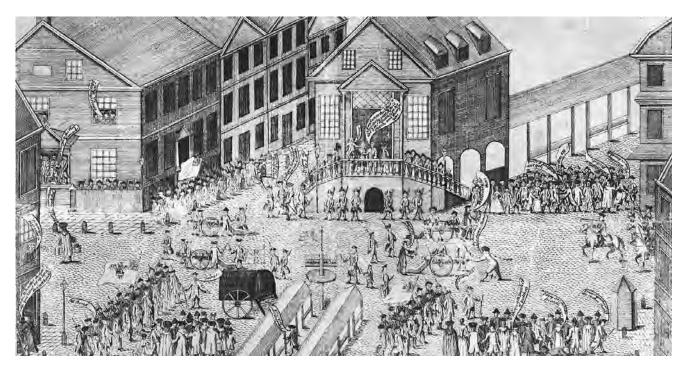
Start Date: December 14, 1763 End Date: January 1764

Series of deadly attacks on Native Americans in central Pennsylvania led by a group of lawless colonials in late 1763, followed by a threatening march on Philadelphia early in 1764. The early stages of the Paxton Boys Uprising began in the spring of 1763. Indeed, Pontiac's Rebellion had already broken out in western Pennsylvania among native groups reacting to Britain's occupation of the Ohio River Valley after the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

By July 1763, reports of native attacks on white frontier settlements and rumors of atrocities reached Paxton, a town located at the old native village of Paxtang, about 70 miles west of Philadelphia. In response, some 110 men from Paxton marched on a scouting mission northwest toward the Susquehanna River's west branch. In late August, hostile natives surrounded and attacked the Paxton contingent. The expedition retreated to Paxton after a brief battle that resulted in the deaths of 4 Paxton men and the wounding of 6 others.

In October 1763, another armed band of Paxton men marched along a different branch of the Susquehanna River in order to gauge native strength and possibly to identify unauthorized white squatters. During their expedition, they came on the ruins of an encampment of Connecticut settlers. There they found nine men and one woman killed and mutilated. When the Paxton men returned with news of the destroyed Connecticut settlement, suspicion and hostility began to mount concerning the peaceful Conestogas living in the midst of white Pennsylvanians. Without any concrete evidence, some Paxton residents began suggesting that the Conestogas presented an imminent threat.

The first large-scale event of the uprising happened on December 14, 1763. On that day, 50 armed men on horseback, calling themselves the Paxton Boys, descended on a native village at the town of Conestoga and slaughtered most of its inhabitants. Later in the day,



Preparations in Philadelphia to repel the Paxton expedition of 1764. Shown are the Old Court House on Second Street and the buildings around it. Engraving by Henry Dawkins, ca. 1764. (The Granger Collection)

as nearby settlers sifted through the debris of the village, they found a bag containing several old documents and two wampum belts. The items were tokens of respect natives used to symbolize treaty agreements. The oldest of the documents was a 1701 treaty signed by William Penn, the founder of the colony, cementing a peaceful relationship between the colony and the Conestogas.

After the attack on the Conestoga settlement, Gov. John Penn, grandson of William Penn, attempted to prevent further atrocities by ordering the detention of the Paxton Boys. Although local officials ignored the governor's order to detain the Paxton Boys, they did try to protect the surviving Conestogas, some 14 men, women, and children. Locals brought the stunned survivors to a temporary jail located in a public building in Lancaster County. The attempt to protect the remaining Conestogas proved ineffective and half-hearted, as local officials offered the Conestogas no real protection and left the jail unguarded. Concentrating all of the survivors in one location proved to be devastating to the Conestogas when the Paxton Boys struck on December 27, 1763, killing all the Conestogas inside the jail.

In January 1764, the Paxton Boys embarked on a threatening march on the colonial capital of Philadelphia. Their immediate objective was to attack a group of some 140 Delawares who were Christian converts and had been sent to Philadelphia for protection after the first Paxton attacks. The Paxton Boys attracted more recruits on the march, raising suspicion that they sought to overthrow the Pennsylvania government. As they approached the city, Philadelphians armed themselves to drive back the Paxton Boys. In

a last-minute negotiation, however, Benjamin Franklin and other city officials convinced the Paxtonians that they could not overpower the combined forces of the armed Philadelphians and royal troops within the city.

Following this parley, the Paxton Boys returned home with a pledge from officials that they would not face prosecution for their actions. Local officials also demurred from trying them for their nefarious deeds. Although the Delawares escaped a direct attack, about a third of them died after contracting smallpox during their protective confinement in the city.

CRESTON S. LONG

See also

Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Franklin, Benjamin; Pennsylvania; Pontiac's Rebellion; Praying Towns and Praying Indians

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Peach War

See Dutch-Indian Wars

Pécaudy de Contrecoeur, Claude-Pierre

Born: December 28, 1705 Died: December 13, 1775

French colonial regular army officer. Claude-Pierre Pécaudy de Contrecoeur was born in Contrecoeur, Quebec, on December 28, 1705, the son of an officer in the French Army. He entered into his father's profession at age 16 and by 1729 had become a second ensign. Promoted to captain in 1748, he served in a unit commanded by his father at Fort St. Frédéric (Crown Point), New York. Pécaudy subsequently assumed command of Fort Niagara in western New York once the French began developing an important chain of fortifications into the Ohio River Valley.

Simultaneously, Virginia land speculators of the Ohio Company had been crossing the Appalachian Mountains and were pressing claims to the same territory. The pivotal point in Pécaudy's career came in January 1754, when he received orders to march south from Fort Niagara to the Forks of the Ohio River (modern-day Pittsburgh). There he was to construct a major new fortification. While fulfilling this task, he encountered Ensign Edward Ward and 41 men of the Virginia Militia near the very site he intended to garrison. Pécaudy immediately ordered the English from the area, tore down their small stockade, and commenced building a new and spacious frontier fortification. It was subsequently christened Fort Duquesne in honor of Governor-General Ange de Menneville, Comte de Duquesne. Fort Duquesne, a 150-foot-square edifice built of wood and earthen works, could accommodate a garrison as large as 300 men.

The pace of conflict in the Ohio Country quickened in the spring of 1754, when Pécaudy became aware that another group of Virginians, under Lieutenant Colonel George Washington, was also trespassing on land claimed by France. He promptly dispatched Ensign Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville and 30 men to evict the Virginians. Washington's men ambushed Jumonville's force en route, resulting in the death of Jumonville and several of his men. Pécaudy, enraged by what he considered the assassination of a diplomatic courier, then ordered Captain Louis Coulon de Villiers, the slain man's brother, to evict the trespassers with a larger force.

The French experienced little trouble in forcing Washington's surrender at Fort Necessity on July 3, 1754, which cleared the contested land of English forces and reinforced France's territorial claims. For his part in the affair, Pécuady was commended by the governor-general. A year later, however, he found himself at the epicenter of the newly declared French and Indian War (1754–1763).

In July 1755, Pécaudy dispatched Captain Daniel Hyacinthe Marie de Beaujeu to the Monongahela River, where he executed a devastating ambush on English soldiers and American militia under Major General Edward Braddock. Pécaudy secured Braddock's papers, which he sent along to Quebec with a request that he be allowed to retire.

In 1756, Pécaudy finally mustered out, receiving the prestigious Cross of St. Louis for his lengthy and distinguished service to France. He settled at Quebec and, following the British conquest of Canada, took an oath of allegiance to Britain. Now a private citizen, Pécaudy amassed a considerable fortune. In January 1775, Governor-General Guy Carleton appointed him to the Montreal Legislative Council. Pécaudy died there while serving in this capacity on December 13, 1775.

JOHN C. FREDRIKSEN

See also

Braddock's Campaign; Coulon de Villiers, Louis; Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville, Joseph; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Necessity (Pennsylvania), and Battle of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Jumonville's Glen, Action at; Ohio Country; Washington, George

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Penn, William

Born: October 14, 1644 Died: July 30, 1718

English Quaker who advocated religious and civil liberty and founded the colony of Pennsylvania as a "holy experiment," as a place where these liberties could exist. William Penn was born in London on October 14, 1644, the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, a wealthy naval officer, landowner, and good friend of King Charles II. Although his father was an Anglican, Penn was drawn to the Puritans. In 1662, after two years' study at Christ Church College, Oxford University, he was expelled because of his refusal to accept the university rule that all students must attend the Church of England. Hoping to change his son's nonconformist religious beliefs, Penn's father sent him to Italy and France.

On his return, Penn studied law in London, then went to Ireland to manage his father's estates there. In Ireland, Penn met the Quaker preacher Thomas Loe and became convinced of the truth of the Quaker faith. To his father's great chagrin, Penn gave up a promising future to associate himself with a plain-living and plainthinking sect, the members of which were scorned, ridiculed, and often imprisoned.

Penn himself was imprisoned several times for preaching and writing about the Society of Friends (Quakers). While locked up in the Tower of London, he wrote his celebrated *No Cross, No Crown* (1669), setting forth the Quaker doctrines of humility and nonviolence. Although his father secured his release after eight months,



An early 20th-century painting depicting King Charles II of England granting William Penn the land now known as Pennsylvania at a meeting in Whitehall in 1681. (Library of Congress)

Penn was again arrested in 1670 for preaching on a London street. He defended himself so eloquently that the jury found him not guilty. When it refused to change its verdict, the jury was imprisoned by an angry judge but later released.

In 1670, Penn's father died after having become reconciled with his son. The admiral's legacy to Penn included his extensive estates in England and Ireland as well as his personal friendship with King Charles II and his brother, James, Duke of York. Penn spent the next decade writing pamphlets in defense of Quakerism and going on preaching missions throughout England, the Netherlands, and northern Germany.

During these years, Penn developed an interest in America. In 1677, he helped settle the affairs of a Quaker colony in New Jersey, for which he took part in the drafting of a liberal charter. Then in 1680, Penn asked King Charles II to repay a debt of £16,000 owed to his father with a grant of wilderness land in America. In 1681, Penn's dream of a holy experiment came true when he was granted a charter giving him proprietary rights over the territory west of the Delaware River between New York and Maryland.

In 1682, Penn drew up a "Frame of Government," providing for an elected assembly. Penn's Frame may have had an influence on

the U.S. Constitution (1787). Other laws guaranteed free elections and trial by jury and established a humane penal code.

Attracted by promises of cheap land and religious freedom, settlers from the Netherlands and Germany, as well as England, poured into Pennsylvania, or Penn's Woods, as the new colony was called. Penn went there himself in 1682. He helped get the government set up and held friendly councils with the Native Americans to negotiate for the transfer of their lands and ensure peaceful relations. A pioneer in city planning, Penn laid out Philadelphia in an orderly checkerboard pattern and had a fine manor house built for himself in Pennsbury on the Delaware River. But after less than two years, a border dispute with neighboring Maryland forced Penn to return to England.

Back in England, Penn's friendship with the new king, James II, a devout Catholic, was at first a boon, then a liability. Penn was able to use his influence with the king to free from prison hundreds of Quakers and political prisoners. But when the Glorious Revolution of 1688 replaced James II with the Protestant rulers William III and Mary II, Penn found himself under suspicion and was arrested several times. In 1692, Pennsylvania was taken from him and put under royal control. It was restored to him in 1694.

By the time Penn returned to his colony in 1699, it was beset by problems over government and other matters. Penn tried to resolve these difficulties by issuing a new constitution, the Charter of Privileges, creating a one-house elected legislature with greater powers while at the same time reducing the powers of the proprietor and his governor. He also allowed the lower counties (now Delaware) to set up an independent government, united with Pennsylvania only through the governor. Penn also held frequent meetings with Native Americans to make new agreements and foster friendly relations. In addition, he tried to lessen the evils of slavery in Pennsylvania and made a will providing for the freeing of his own slaves at a later date.

Although Penn had hoped to remain in Pennsylvania, within two years' time he was again obliged to return to England. He never set foot in America again. Penn's last years were darkened by tragedy. In 1708, he had to spend nine months in debtors' prison because of his steward's mismanagement of his funds. In 1712, Penn was about to sell his proprietorship of Pennsylvania to the Crown when he suffered a stroke that left him incapacitated. His wife managed his proprietary affairs until Penn died on July 30, 1718, in Buckinghamshire, England.

WILLIAM McGuire and Leslie Wheeler

See also

Delaware; Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Pennsylvania; Quaker Pacifism

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Pennacooks

Native American group that lived within present-day New Hampshire along the Merrimack River watershed and around Lake Winnipesaukee. The Pennacooks were prominent participants in New England's early imperial wars. A numerous people before European contact, the Pennacooks were ravaged by the New England pandemics of 1619 and 1633. As a result, they welcomed the English colonists of New Hampshire and Massachusetts Bay as friends and allies. In their weakened state, the Pennacooks hoped that the newcomers might help in the struggle against rival tribal groups, particularly the Mohawks. Enmity between the Pennacooks and the Mohawks predated European movement into New England. However, that intrusion had given the Mohawks new interest in captives and furs, and new weapons in firearms to satisfy it. The two sides fought an ongoing war with each other between the 1650s and 1670s in which the Pennacooks generally fared poorly.

When King Philip's War broke out in 1675, the Pennacooks attempted to remain neutral. This neutrality was sorely tested for at the war's beginning, Massachusetts sent soldiers to burn the Penna-



Woodcut of Pennacook chief Passaconaway the Bashaba, ca. late 1600s. (North Wind Picture Archives)

cooks' principal town (today Concord, New Hampshire) for fear they were hostile. Worse was to come. After the war's conclusion, many natives who had fought for Philip took refuge among the Pennacooks. Massachusetts, concerned by this, asked its northern agent, Major Richard Waldron, to settle the situation. Waldron, under pretext of friendship, invited Pennacook leaders and their guests to his home, then arrested those suspected of participating in the war and sent them to Boston. There they were executed or sold into slavery.

During their wars with the Mohawks, the Pennacooks had frequently relied on the French for aid. But by the 1680s Pennacook amity with the French and dissatisfaction with the English was so strong that when King William's War began in 1689, the Pennacooks abandoned their neutrality and attacked Waldron's estate.

Having cast their lot with the French, they maintained the alliance throughout that war. That bond continued throughout Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), which followed shortly afterward.

The pressure of Mohawk and English hostility in the period 1660–1713 encouraged many Pennacooks to withdraw permanently from their traditional lands. A number moved to Canada. Others opted for Abenaki or Sokoki lands that were more remote from English settlements. By 1713 the Pennacook population of New Hampshire was insufficient to prevent English occupation and settlement of their homeland. Although some Pennacook warriors continued to participate in wars against the English, the age of wholesale Pennacook resistance to New England was over.

Andrew Miller

See also

Abenakis; King Philip's War; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Massachusetts; Mohawks; New France; New Hampshire; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Sokokis; Waldron, Richard

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Pennsylvania

Mid-Atlantic colony controlled by the English since 1681 and dominated by the Quakers. Pennsylvania was chartered as a proprietary colony in 1681. Its founder, William Penn, secured the charter for Pennsylvania from King Charles II as reimbursement for money loaned the Crown by Penn's father, Admiral William Penn.

Before Penn's charter, the French, the Dutch, the Swedes, and the English all claimed territory currently within Pennsylvania's borders. The Swedes created the first permanent settlement in the region near current-day Wilmington, Delaware. During their rule from 1638-1655, Gov. Johan Björnsson Printz established a capital near present-day Philadelphia on Tinicum Island, where he caused Fort Gottenburg to be erected. In 1655, conflict broke out between the Swedes and the Dutch over control of the Delaware River. As a result, Gov. Petrus Stuyvesant of New Netherland seized New Sweden and made it a part of Dutch territory until 1664, when the English defeated the Dutch and renamed New Amsterdam as New York. The English retained control throughout the colonial period, except for a brief period of Dutch resurgence during 1673–1674. During this time the Duke of York's Laws, created in 1676, established English law and civil government in the region. Lands west of the Appalachians, however, remained in dispute between the French and English until the conclusion of the French and Indian War (1754-1763).

Penn's charter for Pennsylvania extended between Lord Baltimore's lands in Maryland and those of the Duke of York in New York. In 1682, the Duke of York also deeded Penn his claim to present-day Delaware, referred to as the "Three Lower Counties" in colonial records. Delaware remained under the proprietary ownership of, and shared a governor with, Pennsylvania until the American Revolutionary War. It was, however, granted a separate legislature in 1704.

During the colonial period, the proprietor, the deputy or lieutenant governor (addressed as governor), and the assembly governed Pennsylvania. From 1681 to 1683, the colony operated under Penn's First Frame of Government, which was revised in 1683 as the Second Frame of Government. In 1701, this constitution was revised again and called the Charter of Privileges. It remained in effect until 1776. This gave the assembly full legislative powers.

Throughout the colonial period, political disputes were the norm. Quakers dominated the assembly until 1756. They tended to support a policy of nonviolence and thus were often in dispute with the proprietors as well as non-Quaker groups over military support for the colony.

Western frontier inhabitants also vied with interests from the southeastern region and petitioned for better representation in the assembly. The westerners also sought increased protection during the various colonial wars. In considerable measure, Quaker influence in Pennsylvania politics led directly to the colony's extraordinary record in cultivating harmonious relations with Native Americans. Indeed, some natives settled there precisely for that reason. Nonetheless, there was always the potential for conflict between the colonists and Native Americans, especially in the western, less-settled part of the colony.

There was little military action on Pennsylvania soil during the early colonial conflicts of King William's War (1689–1697), Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), and King George's War (1744–1748). However, these conflicts did affect Pennsylvania politics, economics, and culture. The wars alternately stimulated and depressed trade and created new economic opportunities, such as smuggling, piracy, privateering, and military contracting.

The perceived threat of French and Spanish invasion was ever present during the colonial era. To protect against international enemies, all the colonial governments active in Pennsylvania at one time or another erected forts in the region. Early on, the Swedes built blockhouses, such as Fort Mecoponacka, Fort Wiaco, and Fort New Korsholm, in southeastern Pennsylvania. When the English took control, they constructed additional garrisons and forts. Association Battery and the Battery at Atwood's Wharf, built in the 1740s, were directed toward defense of the Delaware River against enemy privateers and warships. Indeed, the river was an important center for shipbuilding, and Philadelphia shipbuilders produced many vessels used in both trade and warfare.

Quaker political influence within the colonial government early opposed support both for military endeavors or even their logistical support. Attempts to create a militia were easily defeated. There was sentiment in other colonies that Pennsylvania was not contributing its share toward colonial defense. Indeed, this came to a head during King George's War when Spanish privateers entered

the Delaware and the colony's government failed to appropriate funds for defense. This lack of action on the part of the authorities led Benjamin Franklin to take the lead in helping to organize a voluntary militia in 1747 in order to meet an anticipated Spanish attack, which, however, never materialized.

Throughout the colonial period, the tolerant attitude of Pennsylvania made it a haven for immigrants from many lands. Chief among them were Germans, who sought to escape both war and religious persecution. Scots-Irish Presbyterians from northern Ireland also settled in Pennsylvania in large numbers, seeking economic opportunity as well as freedom to practice their religion.

Despite the best efforts of Pennsylvania leaders, they were not able to isolate the colony from conflict, and the French and Indian War (1754–1763) had a profound impact on the colony. Indeed, Pennsylvania found itself at the forefront of the war's causes. By the early 1750s, fur traders, settlers, and land speculators in Pennsylvania and Virginia had become intensely interested in lands west of the Appalachians. This was, however, territory also claimed by the French.

Not wanting to let the English steal a march on them and determined to preserve their lines of communication from Canada to Louisiana, beginning in 1753 the French moved forces to the headwaters of the Ohio River in western Pennsylvania in order to lay claim to the disputed territory. When the English realized what was happening, they first tried to persuade the French to leave, and when that did not work, they dispatched forces there. In 1755, British major general Edward Braddock led two regular regiments and provincial forces across western Pennsylvania in an effort to take Duquesne, the French fort near present-day Pittsburgh. This action brought the resignation of several members of the Pennsylvania government. A French and native force of some 800 men ambushed Braddock's much larger force a few miles from their goal and inflicted a humiliating defeat. Braddock was among the dead. Although for a time thereafter, it appeared that western Pennsylvania was in danger of invasion, especially from the French-allied Delawares, the colony came through the war without serious loss.

After the British victory in the war, the Proclamation of 1763 barred further settlement west of the Appalachians. Settlers seeking land ignored the order, however. Before the proclamation had even been promulgated, widespread native resistance to further colonial westward expansion contributed to Pontiac's Rebellion (1763–1764). During the rebellion, Native Americans in western Pennsylvania, the Ohio Valley, and the Great Lakes region attacked British forts and Anglo-American settlements. In Pennsylvania, the natives captured three forts: Venango, Le Boeuf, and Presque Isle. The natives, including many Shawnees and Delawares, also laid siege to Fort Pitt but never managed to take it. Colonel Henry Bouquet led an expedition that culminated in the Battle of Bushy Run (August 5–6, 1763), where the natives were finally turned back.

A sense of panic, however, encouraged a number of ruffians, known as the Paxton Boys, to murder a number of peaceful Con-

estoga natives living among the settlers. Then, in January 1764, the Paxton Boys threatened to march on Philadelphia, with the objective of seeking out 140 Delaware converts who had taken refuge there. In the end, the Paxton Boys were dissuaded from the attempt, largely because of Franklin's successful effort to raise a sufficient force to confront them, but the militants were also allowed to disband without threat of prosecution.

The vicissitudes of war affected Pennsylvanians in varying ways. Restrictions on trade brought devastating economic losses to some. Indeed, the numbers of poor residents increased throughout the era and inspired a number of civic responses to care for the indigent. Others, however, greatly profited. Tradesmen involved in the manufacture of war supplies, traders who dealt in wheat, corn, and other agricultural products, and producers of manufactured goods benefited from supplying provisions.

Illegal trade also helps explain the rise in a number of fortunes during the wars. Skirting embargos to provide restricted goods brought great reward to many. By the eve of the American Revolutionary War, Pennsylvania had become the third largest English colony in America. Indeed, Philadelphia was the largest English-speaking city apart from London.

Pennsylvania became a hotbed of political agitation. It was one of the first colonies to support resistance to the Stamp Act in 1765 and among the first to provide assistance to Boston in opposition to the Coercive (Intolerable) Acts in 1774. Pennsylvania's political and geographical importance is reflected in the Continental Congresses held there during the American Revolution.

CATHARINE DANN ROEBER

See also

Braddock's Campaign; Bushy Run, Battle of; Delaware; Forbes Campaign; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania); Franklin, Benjamin; Kittanning, Battle of; Pacifism; Paxton Boys Uprising; Pontiac's Rebellion; Proclamation of 1763; Quaker Pacifism

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Pensacola (Florida)

Spanish outpost situated on Pensacola Bay, an inlet of the Gulf of Mexico 13 miles long by 2.5 miles wide in northwestern Florida. Founded in November 1698, Pensacola became a focal point of imperial rivalries over control of the Gulf of Mexico. A relatively isolated military post among sandy pine barrens, it failed to attract many civilian settlers. Indeed, Spain was forced to resort to convict labor in the early years. Pensacola did not produce its own food, although it did export tree trunks for ship masts. Its chief raison d'être was as a base to secure control of the gulf for Spain.

Spain's first failed effort to settle the site, led by Tristán de Luna y Arellano, occurred in 1559–1561. French explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle's, interest in the gulf drew Spain's attention back to the area in the 1680s. In 1689, Admiral Andrés de Pez argued that Pensacola would be a more valuable post than St. Augustine. Then, in the 1690s, when English movement inland from Carolina threatened France's trading activities in the Mississippi River Valley, the French formulated plans to create their own outpost on the Gulf of Mexico.

Learning of the French intentions, Spanish officials preempted them in 1698 with the construction of the Presidio Santa María de Galve. Its centerpiece was Fort San Carlos de Austria, situated on a bluff overlooking Pensacola Bay. Finding the Spanish already established at Pensacola in January 1699, the French moved on to establish outposts at Biloxi Bay and the Mississippi Delta.

The initial Spanish garrison at Pensacola was 300 men, but at times it was as few as 80. In 1700, before Spain and France came to blows over the gulf, a French Bourbon, Philip V, ascended the Spanish throne and France and Spain became allies. In Queen Anne's War (1702–1713, the War of the Spanish Succession in Europe), English Carolinians and Creeks attacked Pensacola overland twice, in 1707 and 1711. Although these assaults destroyed the settlement, they failed to take the fort. Attacks from English settlers in Carolina and the Creeks on the Apalachee mission province to the east served, however, to isolate Pensacola from St. Augustine and rendered the Spanish fort dependent on the new French post at Mobile.

After the war, Franco-Spanish cooperation cooled. Confronted with the cost of rebuilding, the Spanish authorities considered simply destroying the fort. In the end, they left a small detachment to maintain the right of possession.

France and Spain found themselves on opposite sides of the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718–1721), which in North America focused on Pensacola. The site was seized by the French, taken back by the Spanish, and recaptured by the French, all in 1719. During their brief possession of the site, the Spanish built a stockade, Fort Príncipe de Asturias, on Santa Rosa Island, which commanded the main channel entering the bay. They also erected a stockade protecting the land approach to San Carlos de Austria. Peace negotiations were stalled until France agreed to end its occupation of Pensacola. The peace treaty of March 27, 1721, returned Pensacola to the Spanish.



View of Pensacola, Florida, in the 1770s. (Library of Congress)

The Spaniards abandoned the main sites, now mostly burned, and built a new town and fort (Presidio Isla de Santa Rosa) on Santa Rosa Island. A hurricane in 1752 forced the removal of the settlement and garrison back to the mainland, although by 1757 the new stockade (San Miguel de Panzacola) had not yet been completed. There were at the time 150 soldiers and 25 civilians in residence.

The 1763 Treaty of Paris, ending the French and Indian War (1754–1763), granted Florida to Great Britain, and all but one of the Spaniards at Pensacola departed for Mexico. The British made Pensacola a center for Native American trade and the administrative center of West Florida. They also built a stone fort, Fort George, in 1779, and a number of redoubts.

Spanish forces seized Pensacola in 1781 during the American Revolutionary War, and many of the British residents fled. The 1783 Treaty of Paris, which ended the American Revolutionary War, ceded Florida back to Spain, but few of the former Spanish residents returned. Pensacola remained the capital of West Florida in name but was in practice dominated by the Spanish governor general in New Orleans.

SCOTT MONIE

See also

Creeks; Florida; Paris, Treaty of; Pensacola, Attacks on; Pensacola during the War of the Quadruple Alliance; Pez, Andrés de; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns

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Pensacola, Attacks on

Event Date: 1707

Raids associated with Queen Anne's War (1702–1713, also known as the War of the Spanish Succession). In 1698, Spain established a fort at the harbor of Pensacola Bay in present-day Florida in response to rumors that the French and the English were pursuing colonial settlements in the Gulf of Mexico region. The next year the French established a settlement at Mobile, less than 60 miles west of Pensacola. Each too weak to eliminate the other, these two settlements maintained an uneasy truce.

The situation changed in 1700, however, when the Spanish throne passed to a member of the French royal family, who became king of Spain as Philip V. With France and Spain now united under the Bourbon family, the fledgling settlements at Pensacola and Mobile became allies. The stronger settlement at Mobile repeatedly sent assistance to Pensacola to provide a buffer against the English.

Threatened by the new Franco-Spanish alliance, the English colonists carried out sporadic attacks against Spanish settlements throughout Florida. Most notable was the 1702 siege of St. Augustine and a series of attacks on Spanish missions. In response, the Spanish and French launched a joint assault against Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) in 1706. The preemptive strike was intended to dislodge the English from Carolina, thereby allowing Spanish settlements in Florida to flourish without fear of harassment.

The assault was very poorly planned. To compound matters, the English governor received advance word of the attack. In consequence, the Spanish attack failed. It also had the negative effect for the Spanish of strengthening British resolve to secure a foothold in Florida.

The British now began planning an assault in conjunction with their Creek allies against Pensacola, to take place in early 1707. The governor of Mobile, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, however, had excellent relations with the local natives and learned from them of the English plan. He then sent a warning to Pensacola's governor, Joseph de Guzmán, who inexplicably ignored the warning.

The English attack occurred in the summer of 1707. In the process, the English and their native allies sacked and burned the town, while the inhabitants fled to the presidio. Although the attackers briefly breached the presidio's walls, the Spaniards eventually drove back the assault. Eleven Spaniards died in the fight, while another 15 were taken prisoner.

The English planned a larger attack for November 1707. Once again, the French warned Guzmán of the impending attack and promised to send aid when the assault occurred. This time, Guzmán took heed and prepared the garrison accordingly. The English attacking force numbered 12 Carolinians and 350 Creek warriors. On the attackers' arrival, the Spaniards retreated to the presidio, and the English settled in for a prolonged siege.

The attacking forces suffered from internal dissension, and most of the Creek warriors deserted on learning of the approach of French reinforcements. When these did arrive under Bienville on December 8, the remaining English and native forces had already fled. Although intermittent English raids on Pensacola continued in the following years, Spanish control was not again seriously threatened until 1718.

DOROTHY A. MAYS

See also

Charles Town, Attack on; Le Moyne de Bienville, Jean-Baptiste; Pensacola (Florida); Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; St. Augustine, Siege of

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Pensacola during the War of the Quadruple Alliance

Start Date: 1718 End Date: 1720

In 1718 Britain, France, Holland, and Austria created the Quadruple Alliance in an attempt to check the growing power of Spain. This friction between the European powers had consequences in Florida, where Spain and France struggled for control of the territory surrounding the Gulf of Mexico.

The Spanish settlement at Pensacola had been vulnerable since its founding in 1698. In fact, the Spanish had frequently relied on assistance from their French allies in nearby Mobile to defend that post from English assault. With the creation of the Quadruple Alliance, the tentative partnership between Spain and France was broken.

Immediately on hearing of his nation's declaration of war on Spain in January 1719, the French governor of Louisiana, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, launched an expedition of three ships with 300 soldiers to capture Pensacola and its adjacent harbor. If France could gain control of Pensacola, it would dominate the Mississippi River Valley and the northern Gulf of Mexico.

It is probable that Pensacola's governor, Juan Matamoros de Ysla, was unaware of the declaration of war between France and Spain. In any case, when the French force arrived in Pensacola Bay on May 14, 1719, it easily secured the surrender of the battery guarding the bay. Entering the harbor, the French fired only a few shots at the presidio before the Spanish offered to surrender.

Matamoros was viciously criticized for his failure to mount a serious defense of the presidio, although it is apparent that he lacked the provisions and manpower needed to defend it against a well-planned assault. Matamoros did succeed in negotiating generous terms for his soldiers, who were promised safe transportation to

Cuba aboard French ships. When these ships arrived at Havana, however, Spanish general Gregorio Guazo Calderón refused to recognize the French flag of truce. He even refused to acknowledge the existence of a state of war between Spain and France. Instead, he captured the French ships and made the sailors prisoners of war. Calderón had been preparing to attack the British at Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina), but on learning of the capture of Pensacola, he diverted his ships to Florida.

On taking possession of Pensacola, the French found the defenses at the presidio in deplorable condition. As a result, they stood no chance against the Spanish counterattack launched on August 6, 1719. With 12 ships and 1,800 men, the Spanish retook Pensacola with little difficulty. Ninety of the French soldiers deserted to join the Spanish, and the remaining 200 Frenchmen were sent to Havana.

The Spanish had long resented the French presence in the Mississippi River Valley, and they now sought to mount a larger campaign against the French at Mobile, Dauphin Island, and the recently established New Orleans. The Spanish attempted to capture Dauphin Island, but when expected reinforcements from Mexico failed to arrive they withdrew.

Meanwhile, the French were preparing a second assault on Pensacola. They planned to launch their attack before the Spanish could rebuild the presidio's dilapidated fortifications. A French naval expedition of five warships subsequently set out for Pensacola. Arriving there, they engaged Spanish ships in an intense three-hour battle in Pensacola Bay on September 17, 1719. The Spaniards ran out of ammunition, and were again forced to surrender. The Spanish soldiers were then taken to France as prisoners of war. The presidio at Pensacola, already in terrible condition, was further damaged when the French allowed their native allies to pillage the town and fort.

By 1720, tensions between Spain and its European enemies had eased and serious peace negotiations were in progress. It was clear to the French diplomats that Spain would insist on the return of Pensacola before a truce could be reached. Although Pensacola had proved difficult to defend, its prime harbor and strategic location made it a prize Spain refused to relinquish. Accordingly, on November 26, 1720, the French renounced their claim to Pensacola as part of a larger peace treaty with Spain, however, formal transfer did not occur until two years later. Spain retained control of Pensacola until 1763, when it ceded control of Florida to the British.

DOROTHY A. MAYS

See also

Florida; Pensacola (Florida)

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Pepperrell, Sir William, Jr.

Born: June 27, 1696 Died: July 6, 1759

Prominent New England merchant and Massachusetts government official, known for his command of the New England forces that captured the French fortress at Louisbourg during King George's War (1744–1748). Born on June 27, 1696, in Kittery, Maine (then part of Massachusetts), William Pepperrell Jr. was the sixth of eight children of William Pepperrell Sr. and Margery Bray. The elder Pepperrell built a thriving merchant trade and shipped lumber, fish, sugar, and other goods between ports in New England, Europe, the West Indies, and North Carolina. As he grew to adulthood, the younger Pepperrell became increasingly involved in this business, which he inherited on his father's death in 1734. The business continued to prosper, and Pepperrell expanded it by acquiring large tracts of land and timber.

Even before he gained control of the family enterprises, Pepperrell was well known throughout New England. He was elected to the Massachusetts General Court and in 1727 was appointed to the colony's provincial council, where he served until his death. Pepperrell was also a militia colonel and a judge on the York County Court, becoming chief justice in 1730.

At the beginning of King George's War, Gov. William Shirley of Massachusetts set his sights on seizing the great French fortress of Louisbourg. Situated on Cape Breton Island, Louisbourg served as the center of French privateer activity against New England merchant shipping and guarded the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. Given the paucity of British professional soldiers in the colonies, any operation against Louisbourg would have to be carried out by provincial forces. It was thus natural that a prominent public figure would lead them. Shirley chose Pepperrell to command a 4,000man provincial force from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. Pepperrell landed his army on Cape Breton Island on April 30, 1745, and, despite his soldiers' lack of experience, conducted a siege that forced the ill-prepared French garrison to surrender on June 16. The success of the operation owed much to the excellent relationship Pepperrell fostered with British Navy commodore Peter Warren, who had commanded a squadron that assisted the colonial operation.

Following this victory, King George II knighted Pepperell and made him commander of a regular British regiment. He held this post until the regiment was disbanded at the close of the war. In 1749 Pepperrell traveled to England, where he was received by the king.

During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Pepperrell was authorized to recruit American colonists to serve in a regular British regiment under his command, but poor health prevented him from commanding troops in the field. In recognition of his service to the

Crown, he was promoted in February 1755 to major general in the British Army and, in February 1759, to lieutenant general. Pepperrell died in Kittery on July 6, 1759.

THOMAS A. RIDER II

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns; Louisbourg Expedition; Provincial Troops; Shirley, William; Warren, Peter

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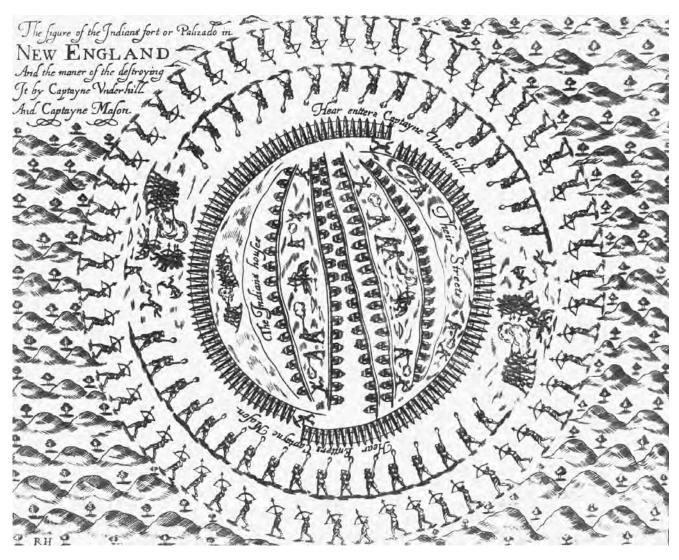
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Pequot War

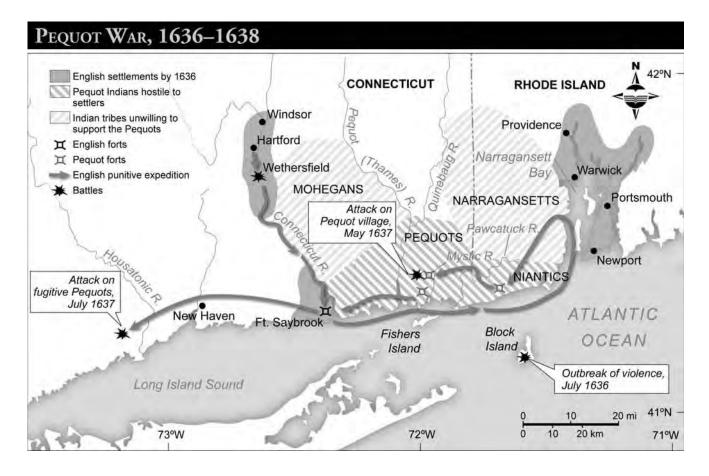
Start Date: July 1636

End Date: September 21, 1638

Conflict between the Pequot people of the lower Connecticut River Valley and the English colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, resulting in the near-destruction of the Pequots. The Pequot War grew out of a series of confrontations and growing tensions between the Pequots and English settlers in Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay in the early 1630s. The Pequots and English settlers seemed to be expanding their influence at the same time. The Pequots were growing as a regional trading power just as English settlers extended trading posts and settlements into the Connecticut River Valley. While the Pequots were interested in trading with the English, a few violent incidents quickly changed the tone of interaction.



Contemporary engraving of the colonial attack on the Pequot's Mystic Fort in May 1637. Of 400–700 Pequot inhabitants of the village, only 7 were taken alive. Reportedly, another 7 escaped. (Library of Congress)



In the spring of 1634, a Virginia merchant, John Stone, was exploring the Connecticut River area for trading prospects on a return voyage from Massachusetts. Stone apparently provoked the Pequots and they or a subordinate tribe killed Stone and his crew. Because the Pequots were then embroiled in conflict with the Narragansetts in Rhode Island and eastern Connecticut and the Dutch in New York, they quickly made a treaty with the English. Pequot sachems (chiefs) claimed that Stone had provoked the incident by kidnapping two of the Pequots to serve as guides up the Connecticut River and that, during a Pequot rescue attempt, some powder on board the ship had ignited, destroying the ship. The sachems also claimed that most of the murderers had since died of smallpox, but they agreed to hand over the two who remained. They also agreed to pay a large indemnity of wampum and pelts. Negotiations slowly ground to a halt as Pequot sachems failed to ratify the treaty, thus confirming Puritan notions that the natives were not to be trusted. Only a portion of the tribute was ever paid, but Massachusetts did not pursue the issue.

The negative attitude of Puritan settlers in Massachusetts Bay toward the Pequots was fueled by charges brought by Uncas, sachem of the rival Mohegans, that the murderers of Stone and his crew continued to live among the Pequots. Uncas also reported that the Pequots were planning a preemptive war against the English.

In this increasingly charged atmosphere another English trader was murdered. In July 1636, a vessel captained by John Gallop discovered Captain John Oldham's pinnace adrift off Block Island. Seeing

only natives on deck, Gallop assumed they had taken the vessel. Gallop and his crew attacked the pinnace and retook it at a cost of 10 to 11 Native American dead, and discovered Oldham's body. Because of the proximity of the vessel to Block Island, the government of Massachusetts held the natives there, as well as the Narragansetts, responsible because the Massachusetts leaders believed that the Block Islanders paid tribute to the Narragansetts. The Narragansett sachem, Cannonicus, agreed to return both property and captives taken from Oldham's vessel, but to deflect English anger, he claimed that Oldham's murderers had fled to the Pequots. Subsequently signing a peace treaty with Massachusetts, Cannonicus agreed to help avenge the murders.

The Narragansetts' claims, Uncas's efforts to discredit his rivals, Puritan preconceptions about Native Americans, and the murders of Stone and Oldham all combined to produce a violent response. In August 1636, Massachusetts dispatched a force of some 90 volunteers, led by captains John Endicott and John Underhill, to punish the Block Islanders. Endicott and Underhill had orders to seize the island, kill the men, and take the women and children prisoner. As the colonial force moved ashore, it was immediately assaulted by warriors, who had concealed themselves in the brush. Scattering the natives with a volley, the Massachusetts volunteers searched the island, but failed to come to grips with the warriors, who had taken refuge in a swamp.

Following two days of pillaging and burning the villages they encountered, the English expedition set off for Pequot territory. There Endicott demanded the extradition of Oldham's murderers,



The Pequot War by Edward Henry Corbould, ca. 1636. The Pequot War saw the deaths of thousands of Pequot Native Americans. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

payment of 1,000 fathoms of wampum, and hostages. Meanwhile, the Pequots quietly evacuated their women and children. Misunderstanding or refusing the English demands, the Pequots then refused to do battle. Again unable to bring the natives to decisive battle, the English turned on the Pequots' village, burning wigwams and corn. Having suffered no casualties itself, the expedition then returned to Massachusetts Bay.

The Pequots responded to this Massachusetts attack by raiding settler communities in the Connecticut River Valley. Fort Saybrook, at the mouth of the Connecticut River, came under intermittent siege for the better part of a year. Soon after the Endicott expedition, soldiers gathering corn outside of the fort in preparation for possible Pequot attacks were set upon, and the Pequots captured and subsequently tortured to death two men.

On February 22, 1637, Fort Saybrook itself came under attack. Lieutenant Lion Gardiner and nine men were clearing a wooded area to provide better fields of fire, when several hundred Pequots attacked, killing three of the soldiers. The Pequots also struck undefended settlements along the river. Most notable was the attack on Wethersfield, Connecticut, on April 23, 1637, in which nine English inhabitants died. The Pequots also captured two young women.

Fearing the English response, the Pequots attempted to enlist the support of neighboring native nations. The Mohegans under Uncas, enjoying their influence with the English, spurned overtures of alliance, while the timely intervention of Roger Williams, the banished Puritan minister, prevented the more powerful Narragansetts from siding with the Pequots.

The Pequots had been right to fear retribution. Both Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut approved raising troops for expeditions against the Pequots. Assuming command of the Connecticut forces, Captain John Mason led a force of 80 soldiers and 80 Mohegans under Uncas. The expedition stopped at Fort Saybrook before moving on to Pequot territory, where Gardiner questioned Uncas's loyalty. To prove their allegiance, the Mohegans killed four Pequots seen lurking in the fort's vicinity and captured another.

At this point Captain John Underhill and 20 Massachusetts militiamen joined Mason, replacing a number of wounded Connecticut soldiers. Mason then discussed with his officers the expedition's goals. The Connecticut General Court had ordered him to attack the Pequots at the mouth of the Pequot River (today the Thames River). Mason was certain that the Pequots, who were far more numerous than his own force, would be watching the river and repel any frontal

assault. He thus proposed sailing farther east and marching overland through Narragansett territory, flanking the Pequots. Several of Mason's officers opposed the plan, but after the expedition's chaplain averred that God was in agreement with it, the expedition proceeded.

Sailing past Pequot Harbor, Mason and his force arrived in Narragansett Bay. There Mason convinced Narragansett sachems Miantonomo and Cannonicus to support his efforts. They supplied both guides and warriors, most of whom deserted before the battle.

On May 25, 1637, Mason's force approached the smaller of two Pequot forts on the Mystic River. At daybreak on May 26, Mason moved in, positioning his men in a circle around Mystic village, with his Mohegan and Narragansett allies in a second, outer ring. Detected by dogs, the Englishmen acted quickly, firing through the palisade and storming the village's two entrances. As the Pequots responded, Mason feared being overwhelmed. Ordering a retreat, his men blocked the two gates and, with the aid of gunpowder, torched the wigwams. The two rings of soldiers and warriors prevented most Pequots from escaping. Of an estimated population of 400 to 700 Pequots, only 7 were captured alive and a reported 7 escaped.

Despite this overwhelming victory, Mason was deep in enemy territory and had some 20 of his own men wounded. He was also perilously close to a larger Pequot village. Indeed, some 500 Pequots converged on Mason's men as they marched to a rendezvous with their boats, seven miles distant. Although the warriors harried the English for most of this distance, frequent volleys of musket fire prevented them from overrunning the small English force.

The so-called Mystic Fort Fight largely broke Pequot resistance. Massachusetts forces led by Captain Israel Stoughton, assisted by Narragansetts, pursued the surviving Pequots through the summer of 1637. These forces ultimately captured more than 100 Pequot women and children and executed more than 20 warriors. The fighting effectively ended in July, when a large number of Pequots were surrounded in a swamp near modern-day New Haven.

The Treaty of Hartford, signed on September 21, 1638, officially ended the Pequot War. With it the Pequots ceased to exist as an independent people. The Mohegans, the Narragansetts, and the Eastern Niantics absorbed the surviving Pequots in return for paying an annual tribute to the English. The decimation of the Pequots shifted the balance of power from New England's natives to the English. The war also demonstrated to the English that European methods of warfare could be successful in America, particularly encirclement and the use of Native American allies.

DAVID M. CORLETT

See also

Endicott Expedition; Fort Saybrook (Connecticut); Gardiner, Lion; Hartford, Treaty of (1638); Mason, John; Miantonomo (Miantonomi); Mohegans; Mystic Fort Fight; Narragansetts; Pequots; Uncas; Underhill, John; Wampum

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Pequots

Algonquian group that inhabited southeastern Connecticut, centered around present-day New London, between the Pawcatuck River and Niantic Bay. At the height of Pequot dominance, the Pequots' territory encompassed nearly 2,000 square miles.

The Pequots dominated the area for many years before—and for a short time after—the appearance of the Europeans. Many natives in the Connecticut River Valley paid tribute to the Pequots, and their military dominance is best illustrated by their Algonquian name, which translates as "destroyer." Only five years after their first sustained contact with white men, the Pequots were nearly exterminated by disease and the Pequot War (1636–1638) at the hands of the English and their Native American allies.

The Pequot livelihood centered on agriculture, foraging, trade, hunting, and fishing. The Pequots lived in small, dispersed familial villages of 10 to 20 dwellings each. These villages were not stationary but were relocated throughout the year, allowing the Pequots to follow seasonal changes that affected the availability of game, fish, and crop cultivation. In the summer months, the Pequots lived near the coast and planted, hunted, and fished. In the winter, they moved inland, taking with them as much food as possible gathered in the summer. For subsistence in the winter, they depended on hunting and stores from summer and fall plantings.

The Pequots were led by a sachem (chief, or *sagamore*), a patrilineal position in that the office was held by men who were related. However, female sachems were not unknown. A council of elders composed of prominent warriors and other notables advised the sachem. The sachem ruled through persuasion and the granting and receiving of gifts.

The arrival of Europeans to the region and their eventual penetration into the Connecticut Valley presented the Pequots with new rivals to their dominance in the region. Unfortunately for the Pequots, the European confrontation occurred at a most inopportune time. The Pequots, like most Native Americans, were decimated by disease. Two outbreaks of European diseases in 1616–1619 and 1633 occurred just as the Pequots were confronting the brunt of European incursions onto their lands.

The Puritans in Connecticut and in Massachusetts Bay chose to regard the Pequots as little more than bloodthirsty savages. This view helped precipitate the tragic Pequot War in 1636. The English allied with the Pequots' enemies, the Narragansetts and the Mohegans, to destroy the Pequots and nearly succeeded in their aim.

According to some estimates, the Pequot population numbered 13,000 people just before European contact. By 1636 the population had fallen to 3,000, however. At the conclusion of the Pequot War, fewer than 1,000 Pequots remained. The great majority of these were sold into slavery or forced to live under the control of neighboring tribes. The Pequots almost disappeared, but they managed to survive and now occupy reservations in Connecticut.

RICK DYSON

See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Connecticut; Hartford, Treaty of (1638); Mohegans; Narragansetts; Pequot War

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Pettaquamscutt Rock, Treaty of Event Date: July 15, 1675

Treaty signed by the Narragansetts and Massachusetts Bay colonists on July 15, 1675. The agreement is also known as the Narragansett Treaty of 1675. Although the treaty was designed to guarantee the neutrality of the Narragansetts during King Philip's War (1675–1676), it quickly unraveled.

The Narragansetts, who were for the most part situated in southern Rhode Island, were the most powerful Native American nation in the New England region. In July 1675, a body of heavily armed English colonists coerced them to sign the Pettaquamscutt Rock Treaty. The English feared that the Narragansetts might join their neighbors in raids on English settlements. In order for them to prove their loyalty, the English demanded that the Narragansetts surrender any Wampanoag warriors captured on Narragansett land. Further, the English demanded four hostages from the natives as a sign of good faith.

Differing concepts of the terms led to confusion, however. The Narragansetts assumed that the hostages would be released in exchange for Wampanoag captives. Such was not the case. Colonists and Narragansetts also interpreted the term "neutrality" in different ways. Thus, when the Narragansetts did not closely confine Wampanoags and immediately transfer them to English control, the colonists decided that the Narragansetts were in violation of the treaty. They then proceeded to launch a punitive expedition against

a major Narragansett settlement. In the ensuing Great Swamp Fight of December 19, 1675, 600 or more Narragansett villagers were killed and 300 others were taken prisoner. The unprovoked attack drove the Narragansetts into an alliance with King Philip's Wampanoags. It also was a major blow to the survival of the tribe.

PAUL JOSEPH SPRINGER

See also

Great Swamp Fight; King Philip's War; Narragansetts; Wampanoags

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Pez, Andrés de

Born: 1657

Died: March 9, 1723

Spanish explorer, naval officer, and governor of the Council of the Indies (1717–1723). Andrés de Pez was born in Cádiz, Spain, sometime in 1657 and joined the navy when he was 16. In 1676, at the Battle of Palermo against the French, he witnessed the deaths of his brother and father. The tragedy engendered in him a lifelong hatred of the French. Early in his career, Pez served as a naval guard on vessels sailing between Spain and the Americas. In 1686, he was promoted to commandant of the presidio at Veracruz, Mexico.

During the 1680s, the French were the chief threat to Spain's territorial empire in the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico. French explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, had dreams of establishing a sprawling French empire in the New World in the Mississippi Valley. Pez, now a captain, participated in the search for the French explorer's colony on the Texas coast during 1687–1688. In March 1688, Pez explored the Gulf Coast from Mobile Bay to the mouth of the Mississippi River. That August he explored the Rio Grande. After locating La Salle's colony in Texas in 1689, Pez returned to Spain to report the find to the Spanish government.

While in Spain, Pez was awarded the Order of Santiago and obtained permission to explore the coast around Pensacola, Florida, the site of Tristán de Luna y Arellano's failed colony. In 1693, Pez conducted a scientific exploration that mapped the coastal regions around Pensacola. Ultimately, this expedition resulted in the reestablishment of the colony at Pensacola in 1698.

During the 1690s, Pez commanded the Armada de Barlovento, the fleet that guarded Spanish ships in the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico. In 1717, he became governor of the Council of the Indies, which oversaw colonial governance. In 1721, the Spanish Crown appointed him secretary of state for war and marine. He also continued to serve as the council governor. As secretary, Pez argued that

Spain should firmly resist French territorial ambitions in the Mississippi Valley and along the Gulf Coast. Pez died in Madrid on March 9, 1723.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Council of the Indies; La Salle, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de; Luna y Arellano, Tristán de; Pensacola (Florida)

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Philip II, King of Spain

Born: May 21, 1527 Died: September 13, 1598

Spanish monarch from 1556 until his death in 1598, and king of Portugal by conquest from 1580. Philip II was born at Valladolid, Spain, on May 21, 1527, the only son of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and Queen Isabella of Portugal. Philip was tutored in Latin, French, and the sciences and showed keen interest in music, art, and architecture.

In 1554, for purely political purposes, the already widowed Philip married Queen Mary I, the Catholic monarch of England. When his father abdicated in 1556, Philip ascended the throne of Spain. Shortly thereafter, the new king became convinced that his own son, Don Carlos, was conspiring against his rule and ordered him imprisoned. Don Carlos died while in custody, and many at the time believed that Philip had his son poisoned, though there is no hard evidence to support the theory.

Spain saw some of its greatest triumphs and deepest defeats during Philip's reign. A capable monarch who was well acquainted with what was transpiring in his far-flung empire, Philip ruled by reliance on the information presented by his many royal councils. Each one oversaw a different region of the realm. In the New World, the Council of the Indies ruled supreme.

During Philip's reign, Spain conquered the Philippines (which were named after him), opening a valuable trade route with the East. Spanish holdings in the New World also reached their zenith, so that by 1590, Spain either ruled over or claimed almost all of the Americas. In 1580, when Philip became king of Portugal, more holdings were added, which included Brazil, a toehold in China, Mozambique, Angola, Goa in India, and the Spice Islands.

Philip's reign also saw much controversy. A fanatical Catholic, he launched Spain on a great crusade against the Muslim world and Protestantism and with grim persistence poured the treasure of his kingdom into this effort. Military campaigns and imperial over-



King Philip II of Spain. During his long rule from 1556 to 1598, Philip poured much of the treasure of his far-flung empire into a great crusade against Protestantism. (Library of Congress)

stretch greatly strained the royal treasury to the point that taxes became burdensome and antipathy among the wealthy and nobles increased. Philip was forced to repudiate Spanish debts no fewer than four times during his reign.

Spain conducted a longstanding war against the Auracanians of Chile, while Pedro Menéndez de Avilés consolidated Spanish power in Florida by founding a permanent garrison at St. Augustine, on Florida's northeast coast. Meanwhile, Spain had to fend off French designs on Brazil and Florida, and English incursions along the coast of North America. Although Philip's forces were victorious over the Turks in the great naval battle of Lepanto in 1571, he had less success against the Protestants of northern Europe. Perhaps the most famous, or infamous, setback for his policies occurred in 1588. In retaliation for England's meddling in the ongoing revolt against Spanish rule in the Netherlands and English actions against Spanish shipping on the high seas, Philip prepared an invasion of England. He hoped to oust Queen Elizabeth I, a Protestant, and assume the English throne himself.

After some setbacks occasioned by an English preemptive strike on Cádiz, Philip launched the supposedly invincible Spanish Armada to invade England. It met ignominious defeat at the hands of the English Navy and the weather (the famous "Protestant Wind"). Perhaps only half of the ships returned to Spain. This event marked the beginning of the decline of Spain as a great power

and the rise of England. Philip died at Escorial, Spain, on September 13, 1598.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Council of the Indies; Florida; Spain; St. Augustine

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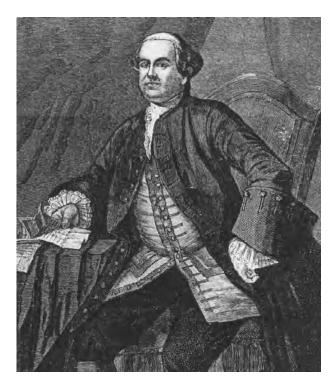
Born: February 2, 1651 Died: February 18, 1695

British mariner, military leader, and first royal governor of Massachusetts (1692–1694). William Phips was born on February 2, 1651, in Woolwich, Maine (then part of Massachusetts). The younger son of a family of farmers and fur traders on the Maine frontier, Phips moved to Boston as a teenager. There he pursued a maritime career. During the 1680s he received several royal commissions to search for sunken treasure ships around Bermuda and the Caribbean. In 1685, his efforts paid off when he located a Spanish wreck off the coast of Hispaniola. The grateful King James II knighted Phips for his service, and the humble mariner instantly gained a place among London's high society.

In the late 1680s, Phips used his status to gain entry into New England politics. He befriended Boston minister Increase Mather, and when Mather's faction seized power in the wake of the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689, Phips became a magistrate. The Massachusetts Assembly then commissioned him to lead the first English assault against the French in King William's War (1689–1697). Phips, now a major general, raised a fleet to attack the Acadian capital of Port Royal, which he captured without resistance on May 10, 1690. Phips violated the terms of surrender, however, by imprisoning the French governor and allowing his men to loot the town. While this enraged the French, it delighted both his men and sponsors in Boston.

In the wake of this success, the legislature chose Phips to lead a far more ambitious assault on Quebec. He subsequently led a fleet of 34 vessels and 2,300 men up the St. Lawrence River toward the capital of New France. Concurrently, New York and Iroquois forces were to mount a land expedition against Montreal. The land forces never reached their destination, however. Phips's fleet, acting without river pilots, took two months to reach Quebec, by which time the French governor, Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, had had ample time to prepare. Following a three-day assault on Quebec in mid-October doomed by bad weather, disease, and questionable tactical decisions, Phips withdrew his force. This decision led to a widespread negative reaction in Boston and in London.

Despite this disappointment, Phips secured appointment as the first royal governor of Massachusetts under a new charter in 1692. He



Sir William Phips, colonial governor of Massachusetts during 1692–1694. Etching, American, 19th century. (Library of Congress)

arrived in the midst of the infamous Salem Witch Trials but devoted most of his attention to securing the colony's northern frontier against French and Native American enemies. He rebuilt the fortification at Pemaquid, Maine, and signed a peace treaty with the Abenakis in 1693. Nevertheless, Phips made many enemies as governor, and several high-profile charges led to his recall to England in late 1694. Phips died in London on February 18, 1695, soon after his arrival.

OWEN STANWOOD

See also

Abenakis; Acadia, New England Attack on; Canada, New England Expedition against; Frontenac, Louis de Buade de, Comte de Frontenac et de Palluau; Glorious Revolution in America; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Massachusetts; Quebec, Attack on (1690)

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Pickawillany Massacre

Event Date: June 21, 1752

Devastating French attack on a fortified British fur-trading post and Miami village on June 21, 1752. Some consider the assault to have been the first battle of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The westernmost British commercial post in the early 1750s, Pickawillany was located on the Great Miami River in present-day western Ohio.

Piankeshaw/Miami chief Memeskia (Old Briton) first settled his people at Pickawillany in 1748. The tribe had cooled in its loyalty to the French during the 1740s. The site eventually attracted some 50 British commercial agents, including Pennsylvanian George Croghan, whose commercial ventures were so successful the French put a price on his head. The English traders engaged in a brisk business with the natives, primarily in beaver, deer, bear, fox, and raccoon pelts in return for manufactured products. By 1751, Pickawillany, then home to as many as 400 native families, threatened the French fur trade as well as their western military posts.

In 1749, French captain Celeron de Blainville had warned the native peoples at Pickawillany of the dangers of an alliance with the English traders. The residents failed to pay heed. The French threats did, however, lead Pickawillany's traders and natives to fortify the post with a log stockade by 1750.

Several years of confrontation in the region led to the French decision to send an expedition to destroy the settlement at Pickawillany in June 1752. French commander Ensign Charles Michel Mouet de Langlade led a few dozen French militiamen from Detroit, along with some 200 allied Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibwa warriors under Chief Pontiac, in an expedition against Pickawillany. Langlade and Pontiac attacked the village early on the morning of June 21, when most of its defenders were away hunting. The attackers burned the village to the ground.

The French and their allied native forces then plundered and destroyed the site. Memeskia, 13 of his followers, and a single English trader were killed. Allegedly, Memeskia was ritually eaten after his death by his native enemies. Several British traders were taken captive and sent to Detroit.

The British could no longer claim the trans-Appalachian West by right of occupation. Their influence now waned among most Ohio native villages, many of which chose to side with the French in the approaching French and Indian War. The fort at Pickawillany was never reoccupied.

JOHN R. MAASS

See also

Croghan, George; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Native American Trade; Old Briton (Memeskia); Pontiac (Obwandiyng), Chief

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Pigwackets

See Abenakis

Pike

Poled weapon. The pike was the longest polearm and was widely employed in the late Middle Ages and early modern period. In 17th-century Europe in particular, the pike was employed when massed pikemen protected musketeers against cavalry attack, especially while the musketeers were reloading. The standard length for the spear-shaped pike was 16 feet, or as long as the *sarissa* employed in the Macedonian phalanx during the fourth century BC. Some pikes were as long as 22 feet; others were shorter than 16 feet, cut down by the soldiers who wielded them to make them easier to carry. The head of the pike was of iron, but owing to its great length, its shaft was of a strong wood, often ash, reinforced with two steel strips down the sides.

Pikes were inexpensive to make, and soldiers required little training in their use, but their great length made them unwieldy in close combat. As a consequence, pikemen often carried swords to use if their ranks were broken. Pikes were employed en masse, in large "hedgehog" phalanx formations, the pikes projecting in the direction of an anticipated cavalry attack. Cavalry was the offensive arm, whereas pikemen were the primary means of defending against cavalry. The pike reached its greatest effectiveness in the Spanish *tercio* formation, which employed pikemen in the center and *arquebusiers* on the flanks.

The pike proved unwieldy and ineffective in the woodlands of North America and was soon largely discarded there. It remained in service in Europe until the advent of the bayonet and the improving effectiveness of the musket. A bayonet attached to the muzzle end of a musket made every musketeer his own pikeman. Pikes survived only as symbols of authority and were often used to carry regimental colors.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Lance

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Pilgrims

English religious separatists who helped settle the colony at Plymouth beginning in 1620. Americans commonly, but inaccurately, apply the label "Pilgrim" to all early Plymouth colonists. In reality, the Pilgrims composed less than half of the original settlers. They were a congregation of radical religious dissenters called Separatists who held irreconcilable differences with the Church of England. First migrating in 1608 to a more tolerant environment in Holland, the Pilgrims opted to leave the Netherlands in 1620 and immigrate to the New World. Before the Pilgrims departed, the



The Pilgrims, members of Plymouth Colony, hold their first meeting for public worship in North America, January 21, 1621. (Library of Congress)

Rev. John Robinson, the spiritual leader of the group, recruited Myles Standish, an officer in the British Army, to serve as the colony's military adviser.

After two aborted starts, the Pilgrims abandoned the smaller of their two ships, the leaking *Speedwell*, at Dartmouth, England, and boarded its companion, a 180-ton cargo ship dubbed the *Mayflower*. In addition to the crew, the 102 passengers included 50 men, 19 women (3 of whom were pregnant), 14 teenagers, and 19 children under the age of 13. Twenty-eight out of the 69 adults were "saints," or members of the congregation. They wanted to reach the northern regions of the London Company's Virginia settlements that were near enough to the established colony for security, but far enough away to avoid persecution.

On November 11, 1620, after 66 days at sea and severe weather that blew the ship off course, the *Mayflower* anchored off the coast of present-day Provincetown, Massachusetts. Forty-one male passengers on board the ship signed the Mayflower Compact, creating a civil government for the colony. Christopher Jones, the ship's captain, and Standish immediately oversaw a reconnaissance of Cape Cod and, by mid-December, selected the former

Native American village of Patuxet as a site for settlement. Diseases introduced by European traders had wiped out Patuxet's inhabitants years before.

During the first difficult winter at Plymouth, only 7 colonists remained untouched by ill health. Most of their ailments originated during the voyage across the Atlantic. By March 1621, sickness and starvation had claimed 50 of the original 102 colonists.

Anxiety grew over both the ever-diminishing number of settlers and the expectation of trouble with the native population. Tensions subsided, however, when Ousa Mequin (Massasoit), the grand sachem (chief) of the nearby Wampanoag Confederacy, forged an alliance with John Carver, the first governor of the colony. Mutually beneficial, the treaty provided security for the Pilgrims and military aid for the Wampanoags in case of hostilities with their traditional adversaries, the Narragansetts. The alliance also brought Wampanoag goodwill to the starving colonists, who learned from their native neighbors how to grow corn and where to fish.

In November 1621, more ships began to arrive at Plymouth Harbor, bringing supplies and additional settlers (few of whom were "saints," however) to the environs around Plymouth. The colony's

population had swelled to some 150 people by 1627. Realizing that there was little profit to be had in cod fishing, the Pilgrims and their non-Separatist cohorts expanded the bounds of Plymouth in search of other means of financial support. Tapping into the lucrative trade in beaver pelts and wampum, the colonists established trading posts on the coast of Maine and on the northern end of Buzzard's Bay at Aptucxet.

The northern trading posts in Maine were problematic, however, as they frequently succumbed to French raiding parties. Aptucxet, on the other hand, facilitated trade southward to the Connecticut River. There, the Pilgrims found themselves embroiled in economic rivalries with the Dutch, the Pequots, and the Mohegans based largely on the wampum trade. When the Pequot War (1636–1638) erupted in the Connecticut River Valley, the Plymouth colonists refused to participate, leaving the Connecticut Colony and the Massachusetts Bay Colony to bear much of the burden of the war.

Although outnumbered by the region's non-Separatist English population that soared during the Puritan migration of the 1630s, Plymouth continued to exist as a separate entity until it was absorbed along with the Massachusetts Bay Colony into the Province of Massachusetts Bay in October 1691. Pilgrim leadership predominated Plymouth society until old age or death removed the last members of the congregation from active roles in the community.

Alan C. Downs

See also

King Philip's War; Massachusetts; Massasoit; Pequot War; Plymouth; Standish, Myles; Wampanoags

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Pima Revolts

Event Dates: 1695 and 1751

Violent uprisings by the Pimas in northern Sonora (Mexico and part of modern-day Arizona) against Spanish rule. The growing volatility of Spanish–American Indian relations on the northern frontier of New Spain resulted in revolts by the Upper Pima peoples in northern Sonora (Pimería Alta) in 1695 and 1751. Throughout the 17th century, Spanish missions and members of the Franciscan and Jesuit orders served as the principal vehicles for the extension of Spanish influence in the northern reaches of New Spain. Accordingly, in 1687, a Jesuit missionary, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, arrived in Pimería Alta and established a mission at Dolores. The cultural diversity of the Upper Pimas complicated his efforts to broaden the mission system in northern Sonora, however.

The natives living in eastern Pimería Alta inhabited easily accessible small villages, or *rancherías*, and practiced subsistence agriculture. Their western kinsmen, however, led a more nomadic lifestyle. The attitude of most Spanish settlers in central Sonora, who resented the mission program's control of prospective land and labor, was also troubling for the priest. Nevertheless, Kino traveled extensively throughout Pimería Alta baptizing hundreds of natives, winning over converts to the mission program, and encountering little native opposition. By 1693, four missionaries were working in northern Sonora, and the mission system appeared to be functioning well.

Kino's world was turned inside out in 1695, when Pimas at the Tubutama mission fomented a revolt against the Spanish. Growing animosity stemming from injustices suffered at the hands of Spaniards and their Opata cohorts persuaded a faction of Pimas at Tubutama to kill their Opata overseer and 2 other Christian natives. The action sparked an uprising by other mission Pimas, resulting in the death of a young priest at Caborca. Spanish reprisals were swift and deadly. Kino's efforts to work out a peaceful resolution to the problem led to the slaughter of 50 Pimas by Spanish soldiers at El Tupo. Pima leaders had agreed to assemble there under the promise of immunity in order to turn in the guilty parties. However, much to Kino's horror, Spanish soldiers reneged on the deal and went on a rampage. These senseless deaths further inflamed Pimería Alta and led to the destruction of the missions at Tubutama, Caborca, San Ignacio, and Imuris.

Failing to find sizable bodies of Pimas to engage in battle, Spanish forces moved about the countryside killing indiscriminately and destroying Piman crops. Peace and stability returned to the region after Father Kino, once again, convinced Pima leaders to hand over those natives responsible for the murders of the Opata overseer at Tubutama and the priest at Caborca. Following Kino's successful negotiations, the Spanish military turned their attention to Apache raiders and ended the campaign against the Pimas. Peace now returned to Pimería Alta. Nevertheless, the revolts severely shook Kino's missionary program.

When Kino died in 1711, missionary activities in northern Sonora began to decline. Disenchanted Spaniards called for the removal of the Jesuits and the breakup of the mission system. Native lands appeared to be the most fruitful for farming and ranching, but it remained unavailable for Spanish settlement. Despite the colonizers' dissatisfaction with the mission system, revitalization of the Jesuit missions began in 1732. By 1750, nine missionaries were working among the Upper Pimas.

In 1751, a second Pima revolt led to a short-lived but more widespread uprising that succeeded in once again weakening the Jesuit presence in northern Sonora. Luís Oacpicagigua, an overly ambitious Pima from Saric, devised a plan to remove the Spanish presence from Pimería Alta. Beginning with the murders of 15 Spaniards he had invited to his home, Oacpicagigua and his followers killed over 100 Spanish settlers, including the missionaries at Caborca and Sonoita. Although the revolt spread eastward and found collaborators across northern Sonora, it never garnered much support among the general Pima population. The movement began to wane with the arrival of Spanish forces under Captain Diego Ortiz Parillas, who proceeded to kill forty Pimas in retribution. Oacpicagigua's revolt soon lost momentum and collapsed as its leader agreed to negotiations. He and other rebels were subsequently jailed.

Although neither Pima revolt enjoyed overwhelming collaboration among the Pimas of northern Sonora, they each effectively undermined the Jesuit presence in the region. The revolt of 1751, in particular, left the mission system quite weak. Following Spain's expulsion of the Jesuits from all its territories in 1767, Franciscans attempted to continue missionary work among the Upper Pimas, but with little success. The principal vehicles for Spanish conquest in Pimería Alta withered through the remainder of the colonial era.

Alan C. Downs

See also

Franciscan Order; Jesuits; Spanish Mission System, Southwest

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Pine Tree Hill, Treaty of Event Date: July 1760

Land agreement negotiated between the Catawba Nation and British settlers in North and South Carolina. Before European migration to North America, the Catawbas laid claim to roughly 55,000 square miles of territory. Their land claims stretched from south-central Virginia in the north through central North Carolina east of the Appalachian Mountains and much of South Carolina to the Savannah River. These claims remained relatively secure until the founding of Charles Town (present-day Charleston) in 1670 on the southern coast of South Carolina. From that point on, the Catawbas were under constant pressure from English settlers. The situation grew worse with the settling of North Carolina from the early to mid-18th century.

By 1760, the leaders of both North and South Carolina were eager to negotiate a land cession from the Catawba. Unfortunately, the text of the important treaty, signed in July 1760 by the Catawbas and representatives of the two Carolinas, has been lost. Extensive research on both sides of the Atlantic by historians as well as Catawba tribal attorneys has failed to discover it. Some facts are known about the accord, however. In 1760, the Catawbas, led by King Haigler, agreed to the cession. In it, the Catawba people agreed to cede most of their land claims in both Carolinas, reserving only a tract of some two million acres. In return for signing the treaty, King Haigler received a gold gorget and his queen was presented a silver plate.

Samuel Wyly began to survey these lands immediately after the treaty was signed, but he did not complete the work. Soon North Carolina leaders began to complain that the Catawbas had retained too much land. Complicating matters, King Haigler was killed, allegedly by Shawnee warriors. In 1763, when representatives of the Catawbas traveled to Augusta, Georgia, to attend a conference, they found themselves unable to resist further settler encroachment and felt compelled to agree to the Treaty of Augusta. After 1763, the Catawbas were limited to a reservation of 15 square miles located along the North Carolina–South Carolina border, adjacent to the Catawba River.

THOMAS J. BLUMER

See also

Augusta, Congress of; Catawbas; Haigler, King of the Catawbas; North Carolina; South Carolina

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Piracy

Piracy, or robbery on the high seas, came in many forms in the colonial period, and the distinction between it and government-sanctioned piracy, or privateering, was often murky. This was especially true in the early years of European maritime expansion, when the laws regulating nations at sea were in their infancy and not widely agreed on.

Without strong naval power, the Dutch, the English, and the French encouraged private raids of Spanish shipping in the 16th century. Even as England's naval power began to eclipse that of the Spanish, the English still had to rely heavily on piracy, especially in the West Indies. By the late 16th century, English leaders began to see piracy as more of a liability than asset. When not waging war against France in the early decades of the 18th century, British imperial officials waged war against pirates. By 1730, the Royal Navy's crackdown had virtually eliminated piracy from most of the Atlantic world.

Although there has been piracy for nearly as long as valuable goods have been transported across water, European colonization of the Americas helped fuel its heyday. Almost as soon as the Spanish began shipping the gold and silver of central Mexico and Peru across the Atlantic, pirates began plundering their ships. In 1523, Frenchmen seized on the Atlantic Ocean much of the gold that Hernán Cortés had acquired through the conquest of Mexico. By the 1550s French pirates were working deep in the Caribbean. They raided and destroyed much of Havana, Cuba, and attacked Spanish ships as they passed between Florida and the Bahamas.

The Spanish, losing significant revenue to pirates, tried to increase security. They began to ship American spoils in heavily protected convoys consisting largely of armed galleons instead of



Pirate Edward Teach, better known as Blackbeard and active in the early 18th century. (Library of Congress)

caravels. They also fortified their position on the North American mainland by destroying the French settlement at Fort Caroline in 1565 and then establishing a series of posts along the Gulf of Mexico and southern Atlantic Coast, including St. Augustine.

Beginning in the 1570s, English pirates began to pose as much a threat to the Spanish as the French. Francis Drake raided Caribbean settlements and even threatened Spanish shipping in the Pacific. His vast accumulation of wealth led Queen Elizabeth I to protect him and honor him with knighthood. It also contributed in part to King Philip II's botched attempt to invade England in 1588, which resulted in the destruction of much of the Spanish Armada. The 1604 peace treaty between England and Spain did little to stem the rise of unofficial pirates, however. Many found refuge in the small harbors of the Lesser Antilles, where they could resupply free from Spanish pursuit.

By contributing to the relative decline of the Spanish, piracy helped pave the way for permanent English colonies. Some pirate outposts in the Lesser Antilles, such as St. Christopher and Barbados, became enduring English colonies, whereas New York, South Carolina, and Jamaica all earned reputations for harboring pirates. After the English seized Jamaica in 1655, the island's proximity to the larger ports and shipping lanes of Spanish America made it an attractive base for pirates. As in many parts of North America, English officials and planters there tolerated and even encouraged the pirates' presence as a bulwark against Spanish attacks.

The most famous pirate of the 17th century, Henry Morgan, worked with Jamaica's royal governor, Thomas Modyford, in a mutually beneficial relationship. Both men lined their pockets as Morgan's pirates plundered seaports of Spanish Central America from 1665 until 1671, when King Charles II recalled the governor and tried to halt Jamaican piracy. Morgan sailed to London and, largely by selectively sharing his loot, managed to secure both a knighthood and the deputy governorship of Jamaica.

Pirates not surprisingly continued to thrive in Jamaica, particularly Port Royal. Though often an unsavory presence, the buccaneers were tolerated by the island's planters for their abilities to counter the Spanish threat and contribute to a bustling economy. But the pirates' true loyalties did not lie with the English, and at times they found it more convenient to attack English ships instead of Spanish. Believing by 1690 that the pirates did more harm than good, the English Crown appointed a new governor who was to expel them from Jamaica.

The heyday of pirates was short lived, and the end of the 17th century proved pivotal in their decline. Temporarily freed from an immediate French threat between King William's War (1689–1697) and Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), England began employing its navy to wage war on pirates. Parliament passed legislation in 1700 that turned governors and merchants into criminals if they assisted pirates. The same governors that had previously patronized pirates suddenly began arresting them. Dozens of pirates were seized and shipped to London for trial and execution. In one of the most celebrated examples, the governor of New York betrayed Captain William Kidd. The governor had supported and profited from Kidd's piracy in the Indian Ocean, but when imperial officials began to crack down, he tricked Kidd into capture and sent him to London, where his corpse would eventually dangle alongside the Thames River as a gruesome reminder of the fate awaiting pirates.

Queen Anne's War temporarily drained naval resources from the war on pirates, and its end in 1713 saw the downsizing of the navy and a glut of mariners. Taking advantage of conditions, ship captains brutally exploited sailors and merchants cut their wages. Unemployment and mutinies fueled growth in the number of pirates until Britain renewed its war against pirates in 1716. More than ever before, imperial authorities had the support of colonial societies. Governors and merchants helped the Royal Navy suppress piracy. Between 1716 and 1726, hundreds of buccaneers were convicted and executed, and many more chose death over capture. By 1730 pirates had been all but eliminated from the North American coast.

See also

Drake, Sir Francis; France, Navy; Great Britain, Navy; Privateering; Spain, Navy

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Pistols

Pistols were part of the wide variety of individual weapons in use during the colonial era. The introduction of gunpowder into Europe in the 13th century led to a military revolution, and the appearance in the late 14th and early 15th centuries of a wide variety of individual hand "gonnes." Most were larger types that evolved into the musket, but some of these medieval firearms were small enough to be classified as pistols.

The true pistol came about with the introduction of the wheel-lock, which made possible firing the weapon with one hand. The origins of the name "pistol" are obscure but it may have evolved from the term *pistolese*, a dagger made in Pistola in northern Italy, which in France and England was known as a *pistolet*. In any case, the term was in common use in the 1540s.

To load and fire all early handheld firearms, an individual would pour a set amount of gunpowder down the weapon's muzzle, then ram a round ball (usually of lead) after it, seating the ball against the powder charge at the bottom of the breech. The ball was wrapped in a cloth wad to ensure a tight fit between ball and barrel in order to hold the ball next to the powder. The powder charge was ignited by means of a slow-burning match applied to the small hole (touch hole) in the top of the breech end of the barrel over the charge.

The first individual firearms were matchlocks (or firelocks), in which a mechanism brought a match down over the touch hole. The wheel-lock improved on the matchlock; wheel-lock pistols were certainly in use by the 1540s. In the wheel-lock, pressing the trigger caused a cover over the pan containing the powder to slide forward. At the same time iron pyrites known as the spanner, clamped into a cock or dog-head, brushed against a rough-edged wheel as the latter turned, creating sparks that ignited the exposed priming powder.

The snap-lock was the next improvement. Appearing in English pistols by 1580, the snap-lock employed flint and steel for the first time. Pulling the trigger opened the pan cover, while at the same time the cock swung forward, scraping the flint against the face of a piece of upright steel, driving it forward and causing sparks to fall in the exposed pan below.

The final step in the evolution of pistols in the colonial era was the flintlock. By the 1640s, the flintlock pistol had supplanted all other types, save in Spain. The flintlock's firing device was simply a refinement of the snap-lock in which the steel and pan cover were of one piece. The flintlock was a more reliable, simple, and effective weapon than its predecessors. It was also safer and far easier to load.

Flintlock firing followed the following procedure: half-cocking, or placing the weapon on safety (the origin of the phrase "Don't go off half-cocked"); taking out the cartridge and biting off the paper at the top; pouring a small bit of powder into the pan; ramming the remaining powder, paper, and ball down the bore; putting the pistol on full cock; then pulling the trigger to fire the weapon. Pulling the trigger released the lock to strike the flint, producing a spark in the powder pan. The cover or frissen kept the powder dry and prevented it from falling out of the pan; it opened when the flint moved forward. The resulting fire raced through the touch hole into the barrel, touching off the main charge.

The first pistols were used by the military and civilians for personal defense, for hunting from horseback, and above all as a cavalry weapon. The Thirty Years' War in Europe (1618–1648) saw a great increase in pistol production. Pistols were especially favored for the close-in fighting at which cavalry actions occurred and in which accuracy was not an overriding factor. Pistols were also far easier to withdraw from saddle holsters and fire than were muskets. Often cavalrymen carried them in pairs.

Pistols were also popular aboard ship for boarding an enemy vessel or to repel boarders from one's own vessel. Pistols intended for naval use often were designed with a belt-hook, an iron clip on the left-hand side of the stock.

Pistols came to be the favored individual firearm for officers, and they were often used in duels to settle "affairs of honor" among gentlemen of the time. The second half of the 18th century saw the production in England of precisely manufactured dueling pistols, the barrels of which were 9–10 inches in length.

As with muskets, there was no standardization in pistol design in the colonial period. Pistols appeared in a bewildering array of sizes and styles. They generally ranged in caliber (one caliber equaling an inch) of from .45 to .62. Some pistols were as much as .80 caliber, however. Barrel length, at first as long as 20–25 inches, was reduced in the course of the 17th century to 15–18 inches. It continued to decrease over the course of the 18th century. Those pistols with the shortest barrels were known as pocket pistols. They had barrel lengths of up to 5 inches and an overall length of only 7–9 inches. The English light dragoon (dragoons were infantry that rode into battle then fought on foot) pistol that appeared around 1759 had a 9-inch barrel. The heavy dragoon pistol had a 12-inch barrel.

The great majority of pistols were smoothbore weapons. Some English pistols had threaded barrels that could be screwed on and off. The so-called turn-off pistol allowed the gun to be loaded by removing the barrel instead of pushing the ball down the barrel. Such pistols were quite accurate weapons when they had rifled barrels. Screwing the barrel back on pushed the soft lead bullet into the lands and grooves of a rifled barrel and eliminated the need for a patch to hold the bullet in place. Turn-off pistols had the disadvantage of being slow to load, and thus they saw little military use. The

finest type of these turn-off pistols was known as the Queen Anne pistol, which first appeared at the beginning of the 18th century.

Multiple-shot pistols were also manufactured, and blunderbuss pistols with large bores and flared muzzles were used by coachmen for close-in defensive work. Blunderbuss pistols could deliver a large amount of shot over a wide area. The duck-foot pistol was another attempt to deliver a large amount of shot at one firing. It had four barrels positioned so as to resemble a fan or a duck's foot. Some pistols were also fitted with a blade under the barrel or had a blade that came forward on releasing a catch.

Pistol stocks were made of the same hardwoods as long guns. Walnut and maple were standard, with curly maple a favorite. Scottish pistols were often entirely of metal, and had steel, brass, or German silver stocks, often with elaborate engraving.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Ammunition, Small Arms; Cavalry and Cavalry Tactics; Rifle

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Pitt, William (the Elder), First Earl of Chatham

Born: November 15, 1708 Died: May 11, 1778

British politician and influential secretary of state for the Southern Department (1756–1761). William Pitt was born on November 15, 1708, in London, the son of Robert Pitt, a member of Parliament from Cornwall. His mother was Lady Harriet Villiers, a daughter of Anglo-Irish nobility. His grandfather, Thomas "Diamond" Pitt, was a former governor of Madras who used his Indian fortune to purchase the borough of Old Sarum. Pitt pursued studies at the elite Eton School and Trinity College, Oxford.

In 1735, Pitt took the seat of Old Sarum in Parliament, succeeding his eldest brother Thomas. He developed an instant dislike to the platform of the Whig leader Sir Robert Walpole and adamantly opposed his policies. In 1739, Pitt's inflammatory rhetoric over the Spaniards' mistreatment of British sailors, including Captain Robert Jenkins, helped force Walpole to declare war on Spain. The result was the War of Jenkins' Ear (Anglo-Spanish War, 1739–1744).

During the 1740s, Pitt became a leading figure in British foreign policy, developing a vision of the grand strategy needed to extend



British statesman William Pitt the Elder, First Earl of Chatham, who achieved perhaps his greatest fame directing the British victory in America during the French and Indian War. (Ridpath, John Clark, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

Britain's empire. Pitt had already envisioned a massive Franco-British struggle in North America, the result of which had to be the defeat of New France. Despite angry opposition from King George II, he was admitted as a junior member into the Cabinet under Prime Minister Henry Pelham in 1746.

Pelham died in 1754. His brother, the Duke of Newcastle, succeeded him as prime minister. This was a severe blow to Pitt, who believed that he should have been the new prime minister. Newcastle dismissed as only minor the growing conflict between Britain and France in India, North America, and elsewhere. He even attempted to downplay the humiliating defeat in North America of Major General Edward Braddock's forces at Fort Duquesne on July 9, 1755. Pitt saw that the monumental struggle against the French in North America had commenced. He also believed that Britain had no choice but to prosecute the war vigorously as part of his grand vision to oust the French from America.

By 1756, the Seven Years' War (French and Indian War, 1754–1763) had begun in earnest. Unprepared, Britain initially suffered a series of military defeats. These debacles caused King George II to relent in his opposition to Pitt. Pitt became secretary of state, and in December 1756 he took total control of the war effort.

Pitt reorganized the British military and its logistical system. He increased the number of men under arms, dismissed incompetent officers, and promoted younger, talented officers. He also brought up a bill to raise a national militia and rid the army of Hessian

troops. Pursuing a global strategy, Pitt made destruction of France's colonial empire in North America and in India his primary goal. Using huge cash payments to Britain's Prussian ally, he was able to tie down the French Army in Europe, preventing it from coming to the assistance of France's American colonies.

Pitt strongly encouraged his military commanders—Major General Robert Clive in India and Major General Jeffery Amherst in North America—to defeat the French with all due speed. In 1758, British and colonial American forces were victorious over the French in a number of battles, capturing the French fortress at Louisbourg, as well as Fort Duquesne and Fort Oswego. In 1759, Major General James Wolfe took Quebec, and in 1760 Montreal fell to the English. Meanwhile, British victories in India assured their control there. By 1760 Britain was poised to become the preeminent European world power. Clearly, Pitt's vision and political and organizational work had a lasting impact on the French and Indian War.

In 1761, Pitt was forced to resign, even as he urged a continuation of the war. The king opposed Pitt's stance because of the enormous costs of the conflict. Pitt remained a member of Parliament.

After 1763, tensions increased between the American colonies and the British government over issues of taxation, representation, and troop quartering. Pitt was at first conciliatory toward the colonials and opposed the British government's attempts to impose taxes on the colonies. Yet he simultaneously claimed British sovereignty over the colonies. Pitt was on record as opposing the inflammatory Stamp Act (1765). In 1766, too ill to effectively engage in politics, he accepted the title Earl of Chatham.

In April 1778, in poor health, Pitt returned to Parliament to oppose the hard line being pursued by the government against the rebellious colonists. During a brief speech he collapsed and never recovered, dying in London on May 11, 1778.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns

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Plymouth Colony

The second permanent settlement of English colonists in North America established by a congregation of radical religious dissenters called Pilgrims (or Separatists), who held irreconcilable differences with the Church of England. Plymouth was founded in 1620 on what is now referred to as Cape Cod, Massachusetts. First migrating in 1608 to a more tolerant environment in Holland, the Pilgrims opted to leave the Netherlands in 1620 and immigrate to the New World. Joined onboard the *Mayflower* by non-Separatist

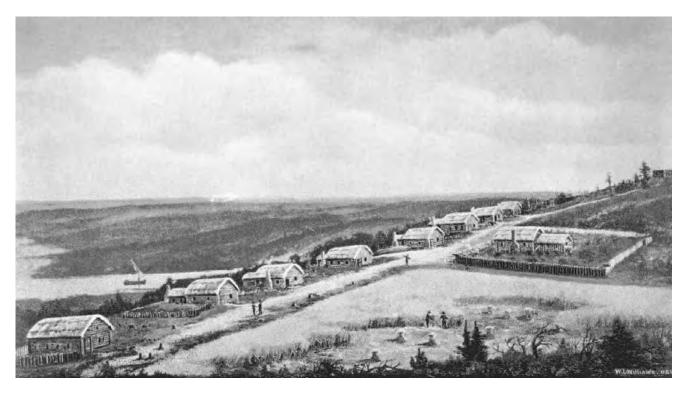
colonists recruited by the colony's merchant sponsors, the Pilgrims set sail for the northern regions of the London Company's Virginia settlements. This location was to be near enough to the established colony for security, but far enough away to avoid persecution.

On November 11, 1620, after 66 grueling days at sea and severe weather that blew the ship off course, the *Mayflower* anchored off the coast of present-day Provincetown, Massachusetts. Without a royal charter delineating a legal and administrative organization, 41 male passengers onboard the ship signed the Mayflower Compact, creating a civil government for the colony. Christopher Jones, the ship's captain, and Myles Standish, the military adviser for the colonists, immediately oversaw a reconnaissance of Cape Cod. By mid-December, they selected the former Native American village of Patuxet as a site for the settlement and named it New Plymouth (later Plymouth) after the port of origin of the *Mayflower*. Diseases first introduced by European traders had wiped out Patuxet's inhabitants years earlier.

During the first difficult winter, only 7 colonists remained untouched by ill health. Most of their ailments had originated on the voyage across the Atlantic. By March 1621, sickness and starvation had claimed 50 of the original 102 colonists. Anxiety grew over both the ever-diminishing number of settlers and the expectation of trouble with natives. Tensions subsided, however, when Ousa Mequin (Massasoit), the grand sachem of the nearby Wampanoag Confederacy, forged an alliance with John Carver, the first governor of New Plymouth. Beneficial to both parties, the treaty provided security for the colony and military aid for the Wampanoags in case of hostilities with their traditional adversaries, the Narragansetts. The alliance also brought Wampanoag goodwill to the starving colonists, who learned from their native neighbors how to grow corn and where to fish.

On November 9, 1621, the *Fortune* arrived at Plymouth Harbor with 35 additional colonists, most of them non-Pilgrims. The *Anne* and the *Little James* appeared two years later, also bringing supplies and more settlers. By 1627, the colony's population had swelled to 150. During the next three decades, the colony expanded beyond the town of Plymouth to include the villages of Duxbury, Scituate, Taunton, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Marshfield, Rehoboth, Eastham, and Bridgewater. The growth of the colony necessitated a change in the structure of government. These changes allowed individual villages to handle some of their own affairs. Overall governance, however, remained the purview of the colony's general court—a legislative body of "freemen" (citizens of the colony who could vote and hold office) presided over by the governor and his assistants.

Throughout the initial years of settlement, survival dictated the types of economic activity undertaken. Subsistence farming on individual parcels of land, however, soon replaced the original communal labor system. Fishing, lumber, and trade in cattle became the preliminary money-making enterprises. Searching for more productive means of liquidating their debts to their investors in England, the Pilgrims and their non-Separatist cohorts expanded the bounds of Plymouth. Tapping into the lucrative trade in beaver pelts, the colonists established trading posts on the Kennebec River



Thatch-roofed cabins line the single street of Plymouth Colony in 1622. Ill-prepared for fishing and not yet adept at cultivating corn, the Pilgrims struggled to survive for the first years of the colony. (Library of Congress)

and the Penobscot River in Maine. These northern trading posts were problematic, however, as they were frequently the targets of French raiding parties.

Wessagusset, a small, English fur-trading colony (in present-day Weymouth, Massachusetts) temporarily challenged Plymouth's regional monopoly in the fur trade. However, in 1623, the Wessagusset colony, fearing more hostilities with the Massachusetts tribe following a raid on the settlement, abandoned their trading post and sailed back to England. This left Plymouth, for the time being, with sole control of the area's fur trade.

In 1626, Plymouth colonists erected a southern trading post at Aptucxet on the western side of Cape Cod, at the tip of Buzzard's Bay. Aptucxet facilitated trade in fur and wampum southward to the Connecticut River where, in 1633, the colony established an outpost near the Dutch House of Good Hope (present-day Hartford). There, the English found themselves embroiled in economic rivalries with the Dutch, the Pequots, and the Mohegans based largely on the wampum trade. When the Pequot War (1636–1638) erupted in the Connecticut River Valley, the Plymouth colonists refused to participate, leaving the Connecticut Colony and the Massachusetts Bay Colony to bear much of the burden of the war.

Throughout the mid- to late-17th century, Plymouth saw its landholdings and economic security slowly eroded away by the region's swelling Massachusetts Bay Colony. The colony's relations with its native neighbors also worsened, culminating in King Philip's War (1675–1676), in which Plymouth suffered heavy dam-

age to several towns and the loss of many lives. Plymouth, however, continued to exist as a separate entity until it was absorbed along with the Massachusetts Bay Colony into the Province of Massachusetts Bay in October 1691.

Alan C. Downs

See also

Massachusetts; Massasoit; Mohegans; Narragansetts; Pequot War; Pequots; Pilgrims; Standish, Myles; Wampanoags; Wampum; Wessagusset Raid

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Pocahontas

Born: 1595 or 1596 Died: March 20, 1617

Daughter of the powerful Chief Powhatan and influential intermediary in the first years of the Virginia settlement. Born in 1595 or 1596 in modern-day Virginia, Pocahontas has assumed many identities and controversies both in life and death. The name Pocahontas is a nickname meaning "mischievous/playful one," but her public name was Amonute, and her personal name was Matoaka.



Pocahontas, daughter of the powerful Powhatan, depicted here during her voyage to England, supposedly saved Captain John Smith from death by pleading with her father. (Library of Congress)

She was one of approximately 30 children of Powhatan, the paramount chief of the Algonquian-speaking peoples known as the Powhatans, who dominated the Tidewater region of Virginia.

In 1607, Pocahontas encountered Captain John Smith, the military head of the fledgling Jamestown settlement. Still only a girl, she allegedly saved Smith's life, which was about to be extinguished by Powhatan hunters. The exact details of the occurrence are subject to much debate and interpretation, but conventional wisdom claims that she threw herself on top of Smith to protect him from the blow of a war club. From then on, Pocahontas became well known to the English colonists.

Probably in 1610 or 1612, Pocahontas married a Powhatan named Kocoum. In 1613, Pocahontas was made a captive by Samuel Argall, who hoped to exchange her for English prisoners being held by the Powhatans. While in captivity, Pocahontas learned English and was exposed to Christianity, and before her ordeal was over the following year, she had converted and was baptized as "Rebecca." She also met John Rolfe while in captivity, and the two were married in 1614. The marriage temporarily suspended most of the hostilities between the natives and English.

In 1616, Pocahontas accompanied her husband on a journey to England. Pocahontas was something of a phenomenon in London, and as such she and her husband were lavished with attention and hospitality. It is believed, although it cannot be positively substantiated, that Pocahontas had an audience with King James I, whom she found so humble that she did not believe she had met the king until after the visit. In 1617, Rolfe, who was anxious to return to his

plantation along the James River, decided to set sail for Virginia. But before the ship cleared the River Thames, Pocahontas became desperately ill. She was taken ashore near Gravesend, where she died on March 20, 1617.

Records referring to Pocahontas are sparse and contradictory, which has led to many debates surrounding her life. The debates largely revolve around her rescue of Smith in 1607, as well as her role as European Americans' symbol of a "good Indian" because of her Christian conversion and subsequent marriage to Rolfe, as well as her previous compassionate rescue and alleged love affair with Smith. The rescue and the meaning behind it are controversial because Smith failed to mention it until after Pocahontas had become very popular in England. Finally, the alleged love interest between Pocahontas and Smith seems to have been entirely constructed from a reencounter in 1616, when both met again in England. During this meeting, Pocahontas reminded Smith of his obligations to her and the Powhatan people.

KARL S. HELE

See also

Jamestown; Powhatan (Wahunsonacock); Powhatans; Smith, John

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Point Pleasant, Battle of Event Date: October 10, 1774

The only major battle of Lord Dunmore's War of 1774. This war between the British colonists and Native Americans began in April 1774, when numbers of frontiersmen attacked native settlements in the Ohio River Valley. Subsequent retaliatory raids by the natives prompted Virginia governor John Murray, Fourth Earl of Dunmore, to send 2,000 men into the area. The desire of many in Virginia and in Pennsylvania to expand colonial settlement beyond the

Two major militia columns moved into Indian country: one headed by Dunmore and the other by Colonel Andrew Lewis. On July 12, 1774, Dunmore ordered Lewis to proceed from Camp Union (present-day Lewisburg, West Virginia) to the mouth of the Kanawha

Proclamation Line of 1763 has much to do with the war.

River, where Dunmore's army was to link up with him from Fort Pitt. Lewis arrived at the rendezvous point with 1,100 men on October 6, 1774, camping at Point Pleasant, a triangle of land at the confluence of the Kanawha River and the Ohio River and site of the modern-day city of Point Pleasant, West Virginia. Dunmore changed his plans, however, ordering Lewis to join him in attacks on the Shawnee settlements along the Scioto River. Before Lewis could depart Point Pleasant, however, he came under a fierce Native American attack.

Shawnee scouts had located Lewis's force on October 6, and the warriors sought an immediate attack. Chief Cornstalk, an advocate of peace negotiations, insisted on a council to discuss the issue. When it voted in favor of an attack, Cornstalk led a force variously estimated at 300–1,000 Shawnee, Mingo, Delaware, Wyandot, and Ottawa warriors against the unsuspecting militiamen at dawn on October 10.

The battle was hard fought and lasted all day. Lewis sent some of his men around to outflank the attackers, who were finally driven off at nightfall. In the Battle of Point Pleasant (also known as the Battle of Kanawha), the militiamen sustained some 75 killed and 150 wounded, while the Shawnees are reported to have lost only 33 dead. Nonetheless, it is counted as a militia victory because they held the field and because Cornstalk now entered into negotiations with Lord Dunmore, securing peace on October 19, 1774, with the Shawnees surrendering all claims to lands south and east of the Ohio River. Eventually the other tribes also agreed, bringing the war to an end.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Cornstalk; Lord Dunmore's War; Murray, John, Fourth Earl of Dunmore; Proclamation of 1763; Shawnees

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Ponce de León, Juan

Born: 1460 Died: July 1521

Spanish soldier and explorer. Juan Ponce de León was born sometime in 1460 in San Sérvas de Campos, Spain, into a noble family of



Etching of Spanish explorer Juan Ponce de León (1460–1521). One of the better-known explorers because of his quest for the fabled Fountain of Youth, Ponce de León accompanied Christopher Columbus on his second expedition to the New World in 1493. (Library of Congress)

little means. As a young man, he became a soldier, and in the early 1490s he fought against the Muslims (Moors) in the southern part of Spain. In 1493, Ponce de León set sail for the New World on Christopher Columbus's second voyage to the Americas. He did not return to Spain with Columbus but stayed in the Caribbean and in 1502 settled on what is now Hispaniola. In 1504, he became the governor of Higuey Province on Hispaniola.

In 1508, Ponce de León, while purportedly searching for gold, began the conquest of the island now called Puerto Rico. He went on to serve as its governor beginning in 1509, in the process amassing a fortune via gold and land speculation. His brutal treatment of the natives in Puerto Rico resulted in his ouster in 1511. The Spanish Crown granted him the right to find, explore, and conquer the island of Bimini (in the Bahamas) in 1512.

On his voyage to locate Bimini, and perhaps the fabled Fountain of Youth, Ponce de León happened upon Florida. He first sighted the Florida Peninsula on March 27, 1513, naming it Pascua de Florida (Feast of Flowers) because of its discovery on Palm Sunday. By making several trips to Florida, Ponce de León eventually charted most of peninsular Florida by 1521. He also discovered the Gulf Stream, a warm current of water that passes through part of the Caribbean and parallels the southeastern coast of North America. Meanwhile, in 1514 he had returned to Spain for a brief visit during which the king appointed him a captain general.

Still believing Florida was an island, Ponce de León left for Florida from Puerto Rico on February 20, 1521, still determined ultimately to reach Bimini. His expedition of some 200 men instead

622 Pontiac (Obwandiyng)

landed on the western coast of Florida. Ponce de León hoped to establish a Spanish colony there, but the fledgling settlement soon fell under attack by hostile natives, and the Spaniards abandoned the site in short order. Wounded during one of the skirmishes, Ponce de León died soon after arriving in Havana, Cuba, in July 1521.

DIXIE RAY HAGGARD AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Columbian Exchange; Florida

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Pontiac (Obwandiyng)

Born: ca. 1720 Died: April 20, 1769

Ottawa native leader, who gave his name to Pontiac's Rebellion (also known as Pontiac's Conspiracy and Pontiac's War) in 1763. Little is known about the early life of Pontiac (also known as Obwandiyng). Most historians place his birth about 1720, although dates range widely, from 1703 to 1725. Many sources believe his father was an Ottawa and his mother an Ojibwa. His birth place also is unknown, but most likely was near present-day Detroit, Michigan, or Defiance, Ohio.

As a young man, Pontiac probably participated in the fighting between the French and the British. He fought for the French in King George's War (1744–1748) in 1745 and probably participated, as an Ottawa war chief, in the ambush of British forces under Major General Edward Braddock advancing against Fort Duquesne at the start of the French and Indian War (1754–1763) in 1755. Colonial ranger officer Robert Rogers claimed to have met with Pontiac in 1760, although most historians now believe this to be a bogus report. In any case, Rogers's subsequent publication *Pontieach*; or the Savages of America (1765) began the process of mythologizing the native leader.

Pontiac rose to prominence following the British defeat of the French in North America during the French and Indian War. Jeffery Amherst, British commander in chief in North America failed to understand the need to alleviate native fears and cultivate their friendship. Despite advice from British Indian agents George Croghan and Sir William Johnson, Amherst raised prices on Indian trade goods and curtailed the French practice of gift giving. Both actions angered the Native Americans.

At the same time, Delaware prophet Neolin influenced many of the Northwest natives, including Pontiac. Neolin's call for nativist religion required a return to the "old ways," including abandonment of many European conveniences and the ousting of Europeans from native territory.



Chief Pontiac (also known as Obwandiyng) of the Ottawas, shown here in council during Pontiac's Rebellion, 1763. (North Wind Picture Archives)

In April 1763, Pontiac convened a meeting of the tribes of the Northwest near Detroit on the Ecorse River. Pontiac passionately restated Neolin's message to the assembled natives, but insisted that the French were allies and should be left alone. Only the English were to be attacked.

The subsequent Pontiac's Rebellion was a series of coordinated attacks against English forts in the Great Lakes–Ohio Valley region. The centerpiece of native strategy was an attack in May 1763 led by Pontiac against Fort Detroit, which, however, miscarried. Pontiac then initiated a siege of that post, the longest such sustained military operation in North American native history, which eventually failed. Pontiac then withdrew to the Illinois Country. It is by no means clear how much he was able to influence native operations. Probably he was more an inspiration for the uprising than its actual field commander.

Although the native attacks overwhelmed a number of garrisons, the British rushed reinforcements to the region. One by one, the tribes reached accommodation with the British. Pontiac himself made peace in August 1763.

In July 1766, Pontiac and other chiefs met with Johnson, the British superintendent of Indian Affairs, at Fort Ontario to negotiate a formal peace treaty. The English called Pontiac a "chief," but probably the Ottawas did not have such a position at the time. Nonetheless, the British negotiated with him as if he held such authority as leader of a broad native coalition. Native American

protocol, however, called for war chiefs to step down in favor of civil chiefs when negotiations took place. Despite custom, Pontiac sought to speak for all the natives of the Northwest, both assembled and absent. This action alienated him from many natives, including a number of Ottawas.

Pontiac's arrogance in treating with the British may have led to his death. Forced to quit his Ottawa village on the Maumee River in 1768, he returned to the Illinois Country and on April 20, 1769, was murdered in the village of Cahokia, across the Mississippi River from present-day St. Louis, Missouri, stabbed in the back by a Peoria Native American. Pontiac was left to die in the street. The French supposedly buried his body, but the location is unknown.

SARAH E. MILLER

See also

Braddock's Campaign; Fort Detroit, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Neolin; Ottawas; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Pontiac's Rebellion

Event Date: 1763

Conflict between Native Americans and English colonists that followed the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Pontiac's Rebellion, also known as Pontiac's War or Pontiac's Uprising, was named for the principal native leader, Chief Pontiac, an Ottawa.

The conflict sprang from the defeat of the French. Most Native Americans had allied themselves with the French against the English in the contest between the two great colonial powers. Indeed, the alliance between the French and most natives had been both longstanding and warm, as well as beneficial to both sides. Many Frenchmen lived among the natives and married native women. French policies toward the natives were also far more benign than were those of the English.

The reason for the benevolent attitude of the government of New France toward the natives is obvious. Vastly outnumbered by the English, the French desperately needed Native American support in times of war. That the arrangement worked may be seen in the fact that most Native Americans fought on the French side against the English. It was therefore most disquieting to Native Americans of the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley region to have their longstanding friends depart and be replaced by their enemies. As early as

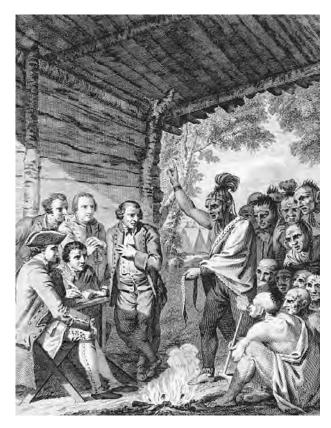
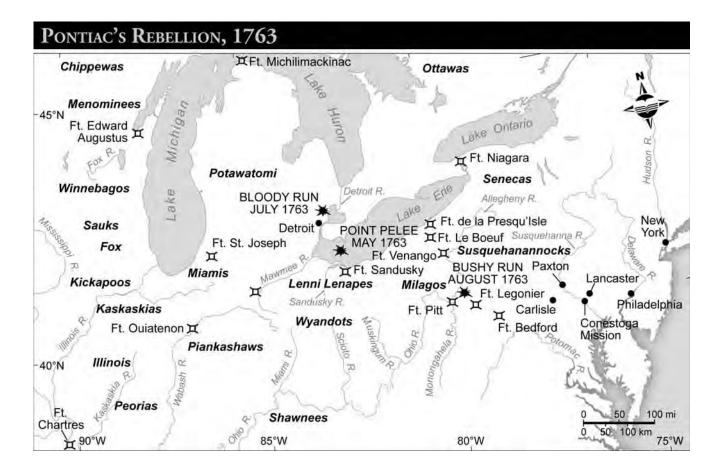


Illustration depicting Ottowa Native Americans negotiating with British colonel Henry Bouquet near the English camp on the Muskingum River during Pontiac's Rebellion. (Library of Congress)

1761, the Senecas of New York had circulated a wampum belt among the natives of the region calling for the formation of a confederation to continue the armed struggle against the British. Although this Seneca appeal elicited little response, it nonetheless was indicative of the widespread native discontent.

Native American policy fell to Major General Jeffery Amherst, the British commander in chief in North America. Amherst thought little of the natives and did not understand the need for policies that would allay their fears and win their friendship. Although George Croghan and Sir William Johnson, two men with wide knowledge of native affairs, sought to dissuade him, Amherst proceeded to raise the price of trade goods and end the longstanding French practice toward the natives of gift giving. These decisions outraged and deeply offended many native peoples and made war virtually inevitable. By the spring of 1763, natives from western New York to the Illinois River were prepared to go to war.

Two Native Americans had a decided influence on subsequent events. The first was the Delaware mystic Neolin, known as the Delaware Prophet. In part influenced by Christianity, Neolin preached a nativist religion that called on his people to reform their habits but also to break off relations with the Europeans and return to the ways of their forefathers. Neolin had an immense influence on the people of the Great Lakes.



The second individual was Chief Pontiac. He too was deeply upset over the British victory and now decided that the time had come to oust the British from the region. Pontiac issued a call for a meeting, and in April 1763, the Great Lakes nations sent representatives to a place near Detroit on the Ecorse River.

For about a month the natives discussed the course of action to be followed. Pontiac added his impassioned oratory to the Prophet's teachings and assured the representatives that the time for action was at hand. For practical reasons, Pontiac assured his listeners that the Delaware Prophet's teachings regarding Europeans did not include the French, who were to be left alone. It was the British and the few natives allied with them who were to be attacked and annihilated. After the native representatives had reached agreement to go to war, they returned to their villages to build support for the effort there. Each native group was assigned certain military objectives to fulfill.

The British military presence in the Great Lakes area was concentrated at Fort Detroit and at Fort Pitt in the Ohio Valley. Another dozen smaller British posts were scattered throughout the region. Pontiac himself took responsibility for the reduction of Detroit, while in semicoordinated attacks, warriors of various nations were to attack English-held forts all along the frontier.

On May 7, Pontiac and a large party of warriors entered Fort Detroit. He had arranged with the commander of the post, Major Henry Gladwin, to hold a ceremonial dance there with the plan that, once the dance was begun the natives, who would carry concealed weapons, would fall upon the unsuspecting English. Either because he had been forewarned or because he was of a naturally skeptical nature, Gladwin forestalled the plan. His men were fully armed and prepared, leading Pontiac to call off the attack.

After he and his men had departed the fort, Pontiac found himself the object of heavy criticism from a number of his warriors and therefore allowed his followers to open hostilities by mounting attacks on those settlers who had decided to remain outside the fort. On May 10, Pontiac called for a parley with Gladwin, who refused. Captain Donald Campbell then offered to meet with Pontiac. Gladwin sought to dissuade him but allowed Campbell to depart. When the British captain reached the designated meeting place outside the fort, the natives immediately took him hostage. Pontiac then demanded that Gladwin surrender the fort. Gladwin refused, whereupon Pontiac initiated what would become the longest North American native siege of a fortified position.

While the siege of Detroit went forward without result, the natives were enjoying great success in their operations elsewhere. On May 16, warriors secured entrance to Fort Sandusky by pretending to call a council. They then killed or captured all the men at the fort, both soldiers and traders, and secured the trade goods there. At Fort Miami (near present-day Fort Wayne, Indiana) on May 27, the native mistress of fort commander Robert Holmes asked his assistance in bleeding her sick sister. As Holmes exited the fort, he

was killed. A second soldier responded to the gunfire and was captured. The remaining nine men of the garrison then surrendered to an overwhelming number of warriors.

To the north, on June 2 at Fort Michilimackinac, the largest of the forts taken by the natives, Ojibwas and Sauks staged a game of *bag'gat'iway*, similar to lacrosse, outside the fort. native women and other spectators watched with guns and other weapons hidden under blankets. After several hours of play, the ball was launched into the fort. Securing weapons from the spectators, the players then entered the fort supposedly to retrieve the ball. Michilimackinac was the last of the surprise attacks on English garrisons.

In a two-week span, eight forts had fallen to the natives. The British forts lost also included St. Joseph (Niles, Michigan), Ouiatenon (Lafayette, Indiana), Venango (Franklin, Pennsylvania), Le Boeuf (Waterford, Pennsylvania), and Presque Isle (Erie, Pennsylvania), all of which had been held by fewer than 30 men each. The British abandoned Fort Burd and Fort Edward Augustus. Forts Pitt, Ligonier, and Bedford were all attacked but held out, as did Fort Detroit.

On May 28, a British force of 96 men in 10 bateaux under Lieutenant Abraham Cuyler put in to Point Pelee on the western end of Lake Erie on their way from Niagara to Detroit with supplies. Not long after making camp, they came under surprise native attack. Cuyler and only a handful of his men managed to escape in two bateaux.

Attacks after mid-June 1763 confronted a now-alert British military. Various Native Americans, including but not limited to the Senecas, the Mingos, the Shawnees, the Delawares, and the Wyandots, assaulted the string of forts leading to Detroit and the roads that supplied it.

The key was Detroit and victory there eluded the natives. At Detroit, Pontiac led a coalition of Ojibwas, Potawatomis, Wyandots and Ottawas in a loose siege. Although the natives could block access to the fort by land, they could not do so on the water. Two vessels, the schooner *Huron* and the sloop *Michigan*, were able to reach Detroit and resupply it. Pontiac ordered fire rafts floated down the Detroit River into the anchored ships, but the latter were moved in time to avoid destruction. A native attempt to board the ships and take them by storm was discovered and beaten back. In November, a frustrated Pontiac ended the siege and withdrew his forces to the Maumee River.

The British were not idle, and soon reinforcements were on their way to the Northwest. Able British colonel Henry Bouquet led 400 men from Fort Niagara to relieve Fort Pitt, which had been under considerable pressure since the beginning of the fighting. Its commander, Simeon Ecuyer, refused to yield to Delaware demands for surrender and reportedly sent smallpox infected clothing among the natives that led to an epidemic.

About 30 miles from Fort Pitt, Bouquet's relief column came under heavy attack by a large force of Delawares, Wyandots, Mingos, and Shawnees. In the Battle of Bushy Run on August 5–6, 1763, Bouquet's men drove off the attackers and marched on to Fort Pitt, relieving it.

The Battle of Bushy Run proved to be the turning in the struggle. Although sporadic warfare continued for another two years, isolated native groups began to conclude peace with the British. Pontiac himself eventually recognized the hopelessness of his position and made peace in August 1765. Pontiac's dream of a final victory over the English would not be realized.

SARAH E. MILLER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; Bouquet, Henry; Bradstreet, John; Bushy Run, Battle of; Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Ecuyer, Simeon; Fort Detroit, Siege of; Fort Le Boeuf (Pennsylvania); Fort Miami (Michigan); Fort Michilimackinac (Michigan); Fort Pitt, Siege of; Fort Sandusky (Ohio); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Johnson, Sir William; Neolin; Ottawas; Pontiac (Obwandiyng), Chief

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Popé (El Popé)

Born: Unknown Died: 1688

Spiritual leader from San Juan Pueblo, near present-day Santa Fe, New Mexico, and leader of one of the most effective Native American revolts in North American history. There are no detailed written or oral accounts of Popé's birth or early life. He first appears in the historical record in the early 17th century, when Spanish colonists strove to gain control over the northern provinces of New Spain.

The repressive policies of the Spaniards toward the Pueblo peoples drove Popé (also known as El Popé) onto the path of rebellion. Worst of all for Popé was the effort by Franciscan friars to eradicate Pueblo religious icons and ceremonies. In reaction to these moves, Popé began preaching the maintenance of traditional religious practices and railed against all things Spanish and Christian.

As Popé's message spread throughout the Pueblo settlements, Gov. Juan Francisco Treviño in 1675 ordered the arrest of native spiritual leaders and medicine men in the province of New Mexico. Popé, along with 46 other medicine men, was taken by force to the capital in Santa Fe and charged with witchcraft. Four of the prisoners were condemned to death, although one committed suicide before the sentence could be carried out. The remainder were whipped and imprisoned.

Owing to the loss of their spiritual leaders, the Rio Grande Pueblos threatened to revolt against the Spanish. This prompted a worried Treviño to release his captives. Later in 1675, Popé returned first to San Juan Pueblo and then fled to Taos Pueblo after he had been implicated in the stoning death of his son-in-law and

the governor of the pueblo, whom Popé suspected was spying for the Spanish. At Taos, Popé devised plans for a widespread revolt.

Popé successfully overcame obstacles created by distance and language barriers to unify at least 24 pueblos in a coordinated revolt against the Spanish in early August 1680. Using cords of maguey fibers, Popé devised a method for synchronizing the attack with knots symbolizing the number of days remaining before the commencement of the uprising. Runners carried the cords to the leaders of each pueblo, who then untied one knot per day until there were none remaining, the sign to begin the strike.

The Pueblo Revolt began on August 10, 1680. Approximately 8,000 of Popé's followers killed nearly 400 Spanish colonists and 21 of the 33 Franciscan friars in the region. Those Spaniards who were not killed or wounded initially sought safety at the Governor's Palace in Santa Fe (and at the few pueblos that had not participated in the uprising) before fleeing southward toward El Paso del Norte and Mexico.

Following his successful revolt, Popé ordered the destruction of the remaining vestiges of Spanish culture, including objects associated with Christianity. He likewise banned the use of the Spanish language and surnames and annulled marriages consecrated by the Catholic Church. In their place, Popé insisted on a return to traditional cultural practices.

Exulting in his victory, Popé chose to remain in Santa Fe and reside in the former governor's palace. He soon became overbearing, demanding tribute payments from all the pueblos and punishing those that refused to comply. As Popé's authoritarianism increased, his support eroded and the alliance collapsed as villages returned to their familiar practice of autonomy. When Popé died sometime in 1688, probably in Santa Fe, the stage was set for the Spanish to reconquer New Mexico.

ALAN C. DOWNS

See also

Franciscan Order; New Mexico; Pueblo Revolt; Pueblos; Spanish Mission System, Southwest

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Portobello, Attack on

Start Date: November 21, 1739 End Date: November 22, 1739

Successful British naval operation against the Spanish colonial port of Portobello on November 21–22, 1739, during the Anglo-Spanish War of 1739–1744. Founded in 1597, Portobello was located on the Atlantic Coast of the Isthmus of Panama. Arguably the most important Spanish city in the New World during the 17th and 18th

centuries, Portobello was the transshipment point for precious metals to Spain. Spanish ships transported silver and gold from mines in Ecuador and Peru down the Pacific Coast to Panama City. The treasure was then transported overland across the isthmus on the Camino Real (Royal Road) to Portobello, where it would be shipped across the Atlantic to Spain.

The poorly manned Spanish fortifications of Portobello were an open invitation for determined attackers. Pirates and English privateers had repeatedly struck the city. Sir Francis Drake has captured it in 1596 and Sir Henry Morgan had repeated this in 1668. These attacks led the Spanish to construct a fortification known as the Iron Castle to guard the entrance to Portobello's harbor. Inside the harbor, two additional fortifications, San Jeronimo and Gloria Castles, defended the town itself. The Spanish had made improvements to these works as late as 1735. Portobello also served as a base for *guardacostas* (Spanish coast guard vessels) that routinely harassed British merchant shipping in the region.

In late July 1739, three months before Britain officially declared war on Spain, Vice Admiral of the Blue Edward Vernon set sail from England with orders to attack Spanish colonial holdings and shipping interests in the Caribbean. After stopping at Port Royal, Jamaica, to resupply, Vernon proceeded to Portobello with six ships of the line mounting a total of 470 guns and carrying 2,500 seamen and marines. Arriving off Portobello on the night of November 21, 1739, Vernon attacked the port the next morning. Despite unfavorable winds that hindered the ability of his ships to enter the harbor, the *Hampton Court* (70 guns) moved into position to exchange cannon fire with the Iron Castle until the *Norwich* (50 guns) and the *Worcester* (60 guns) could join the fray.

When the British bombardment had suppressed the Iron Castle's fire, sailors and marines stormed the fort and captured 40 Spanish defenders. Before Vernon could attack the forts in the harbor's interior the next day, the Spanish governor, Francisco Martines de Retes, requested terms of surrender. Unable to mount an effective defense with his small garrison, he agreed to turn over the town and remaining fortifications without further resistance.

Vernon seized three *guardacosta* vessels, as many as 72 bronze guns, and approximately 10,000 Spanish silver dollars. Iron guns were also captured, but these were disabled and not carried off. Over a three-week span, the British expended 122 barrels of captured Spanish cannon powder to demolish the Spanish fortifications. Vernon then withdrew.

While Britons celebrated Vernon as a hero for his exploits at Portobello, the victory had little long-term significance. Vernon's attempt to attack Cartagena in the spring of 1741 met with near disaster.

THOMAS A. RIDER II

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Cartagena, Expedition against; Great Britain, Navy; Vernon, Edward

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Port Royal (Nova Scotia)

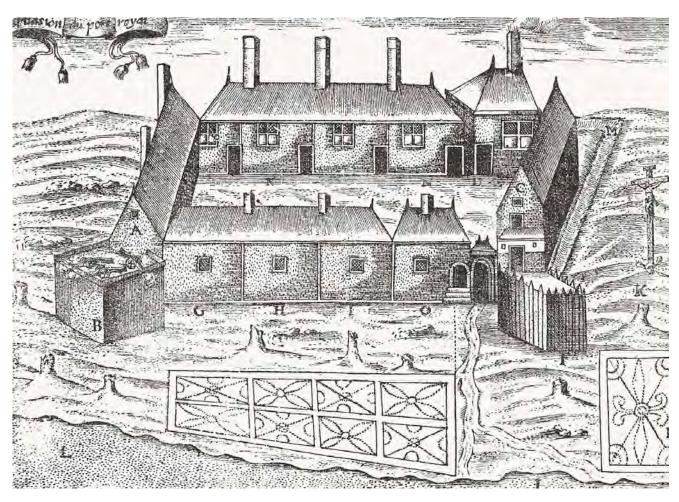
First French settlement in Acadia and the scene of repeated French-English conflict. In 1604, Frenchman Pierre du Gast, Sieur de Monts, explored the coast of Maine in search of an appropriate site for a Catholic mission to the Micmac. His expedition, which numbered about 120 people in all, included Jean Bencourt, Sieur de Poutrincourt, and Samuel de Champlain. Initially, the expedition camped at Dotchet Island on the Bay of Fundy, but the death of 36 men there during the first winter prompted the move to Port Royal in 1605.

Forty more men arrived at Port Royal in the summer of 1605, but 12 died of scurvy that winter. The next year Poutrincourt sent

for reinforcements. Only 7 men died during the winter of 1606–1607 because the settlers had grown sufficient crops to store some for the winter. Nonetheless, Monts and Poutrincourt soon abandoned the project, and for two years the fort lay empty.

When Poutrincourt returned around 1610, he brought with him Jesuit missionaries, alienating his Protestant backers. The Marquess de Guercheville purchased Acadia and gave her interest to the Jesuits, who brought additional food supplies to Acadia in mid-1611. But Guercheville withdrew her support because the Jesuits and Poutrincourt were continually at odds. In 1613, English colonists under the command of Captain Samuel Argall of Virginia attacked and burned Port Royal while the settlers were tending their fields. Many of the surviving settlers became *coureurs de bois*. Poutrincourt brought fresh provisions in 1614 and arranged for a new set of backers, namely La Rochelle's Huguenot merchants. He provided the merchants with a load of furs and never returned. By 1624, Poutrincourt's interest in Port Royal came to an end. Charles de Latour then became proprietor of the settlement.

Meanwhile, the English Crown awarded Sir William Alexander Acadia and Canada on September 10, 1621. A Scottish settlement at



Engraving of Port Royal, Nova Scotia, from Samuel de Champlain's *Voyages*, 1613, showing A) house of artisans, B) platform for cannon, C) storehouse, D) home of the Sieur de Pontgrave and Champlain, E) blacksmith, F) palisade, G) bakery, H) kitchen, I) gardens, K) burial place, L) river, M) moat, N) dwelling, O) storehouse, P) gate. (The Granger Collection)

Grandville in 1629 foundered, however, and the 1629 Treaty of St.-Germain-en-Laye returned Canada and Acadia to France. French chief minister Cardinal Richelieu made his cousin, Isaac de Razilly, the Acadian governor. But Latour believed that Acadia was his, and so he and Razilly clashed. When Razilly died in 1635, his heir, Charles d'Aulnay, came into conflict with Latour. D'Aulnay banished Latour from Port Royal in 1644. After d'Aulnay's death in 1647, his creditors tried unsuccessfully to take possession of the fort.

As governor, Latour granted Port Royal to d'Aulnay's widow and then married her. In 1654 a New England expedition took the French outposts at Penobscot and Port Royal, but the English nonetheless permitted self-government. The Treaty of Breda in 1667 returned Port Royal to France. French immigration resumed in 1671.

In 1667, Acadia's European population numbered some 400 people, more than three-quarters of them living in or around Port Royal. An unknown number married Native Americans and became *coureurs de bois*. By 1687 the population had doubled to 800 people, by 1714 it was 2,100, and by 1747 there were 12,500 French settlers in Acadia.

Between 1667 and 1710, the British besieged Port Royal five times, principally because it became a haven for French privateers attacking New England shipping. Its sacking by a New England expedition under Sir William Phips in 1690 was part of a plan to take Quebec. Life at Port Royal was difficult and oftentimes chaotic. Indeed, at times agricultural and other subsistence pursuits appeared all but impossible. In the span of just 20 years, the English sent four expeditions against Port Royal.

In October 1709, a meeting of English colonial governors laid plans for a joint expedition to seize Port Royal. Colonel Francis Nicholson commanded the expedition, which was supported by a British naval force of 36 vessels, including a bomb ketch, under Captain George Martin. Nicholson had a regiment of Royal Marines and 3,500 provincials. The English began the siege of Port Royal on September 24, 1710. Confronted by a force five times his own, the governor of Port Royal, Daniel d'Auger de Subercase, surrendered the citadel on October 16.

The English renamed the fortress Annapolis Royal in honor of Queen Anne. Acadia became British territory under the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. The French inhabitants wanted to leave, but British governor Samuel Vetch refused to let them depart to Cape Breton or Prince Edward Island. The Acadians instead were asked to swear allegiance to the English Crown in return for exemption from fighting the French or their native allies. Later they were ordered to take the oath of allegiance without the exemption, and most responded by preparing to vacate the area. The British, however, refused to allow them to colonize anywhere other than on English territory. During the next 40 years of intermittent Anglo-French warfare, the residents of Port Royal remained as "French neutrals," under pressure to take the oath and accept English schools and French Protestant ministers.

Annapolis Royal came under attack, this time by a force of French and Micmac Native Americans, in September and October

1744. The local inhabitants failed to respond to the French call to arms and ultimately English reinforcements from New England raised the siege. Another combined attack by the French and the Micmacs occurred in the spring of 1745. Both sides left the Acadians alone to harvest their crops.

In 1750, a number of the French Acadians were again denied their request for permission to depart, and in 1755 during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the Acadians were expelled and forcibly resettled in English colonies as well as in Louisiana and the West Indies, because British officials considered them a threat to the security of Nova Scotia.

JOHN H. BARNHILL

See also

Acadia; Acadia, British Conquest of; Acadia, New England Attack on; Acadia, New England Occupation of; Acadia, Virginia Attack on; Acadian Expulsion; Champlain, Samuel de; Coureurs de Bois; Jesuits; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Micmacs; Nicholson, Sir Francis; Phips, Sir William; Port Royal, English Attack on; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns

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Port Royal (Nova Scotia), English Attack on Event Date: 1613

English assault on French-held Port Royal, Acadia (Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia). French king Henry IV, eager to plant a permanent French settlement in North America, named Pierre Du Gua, Sieur de Monts, as the viceroy for Acadia in 1603. French colonizers, including Samuel de Champlain, established Port Royal in 1605. The settlement, christened "the Habitation," was erected in the fertile Annapolis Valley. This followed the failure of the Saint Croix settlement in 1604. Although the Acadians enjoyed good relations with the neighboring Micmacs, the viceroy abandoned the Habitation in August 1607 after losing his fur-trade monopoly. Jean de Biencourt, Sieur de Poutrincourt, resettled Port Royal in 1610.

In early 1613, Sir Thomas Gates, Virginia's deputy governor, authorized an attack against Port Royal in an attempt to drive the French encroachers from territory claimed by Virginia as its northernmost domain. In June 1613, Captain Samuel Argall's ship, the *Treasurer*, reached Saint-Sauveur and Mount Desert Island, the two most isolated French settlements in the region. Although the English destroyed both outposts and took several French prisoners, Virginia's leaders then ordered Argall to return to Acadia and complete the job by expelling the French encroachers entrenched at Port Royal. In July 1613, Argall's force destroyed what remained of the Saint Croix settlement. Argall then set his sights on Port Royal,

located across the Bay of Fundy. Luckily for the English, the residents were nowhere to be found. Some of the French colonists were searching for food and supplies while others tended to the surrounding fields.

The abandoned settlement was no match for Argall's force, which, hoping to make Port Royal uninhabitable, butchered the community's cattle, sheep, pigs, and horses. Meanwhile, other attackers looted the dwellings before setting them on fire. After thoroughly destroying Port Royal, the English ambushed the residents working in the fields above the fort. Fleeing laborers watched in horror as Argall's men torched their precious harvest. Satisfied that he had fully carried out his orders, Argall set sail for Virginia on November 13, 1613.

Charles Biencourt de Saint-Just, Poutrincourt's son, proceeded to rebuild his father's ransacked settlement, and Port Royal's residents gradually resumed their lives of farming and fur trading. In time, Port Royal became the capital of French Acadia.

Port Royal would experience subsequent English attacks. In 1690, William Phips captured Port Royal during King William's War (1689–1697), although the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) returned the outpost to France. During Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), the fortress capitulated to Colonel Francis Nicholson on October 13, 1710. The subsequent Treaty of Utrecht (1713) ceded Acadia, excluding Cape Breton Island and Prince Edward Island, to England and Port Royal became Annapolis Royal.

Jon L. Brudvig

See also

Acadia; Acadia, New England Attack on; Acadia, Virginia Attack on; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Micmacs; Nicholson, Sir Francis; Phips, Sir William; Port Royal (Nova Scotia); Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Ryswick, Treaty of; Utrecht, Treaty of

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Port Royal (South Carolina)

Name given to the area in far southeastern South Carolina, from Beaufort in the north to present-day Hilton Head Island in the south. Port Royal also refers to Port Royal Sound, named by the French in the mid-16th century. The area collectively named "Port Royal" lies just north of the Savannah River and was, until Georgia's founding in 1733, the southernmost point of English colonization in North America. Prior to that, the area had been Spanish territory, although the Spanish never colonized it beyond the placement of some defensive posts and tiny settlements.

Port Royal Sound is the southeastern coast's deepest natural harbor and offers easy access to the Sea Islands of southern South Carolina. The region, called the "low country" because of its low elevation, is bisected by dozens of rivers and creeks—both large and small. There are also dozens of islands, separated by tidal marshes, rivers, and Port Royal Sound.

Port Royal's climate is typical for the southern coast. Its subtropical climate offers a nearly frost-free growing season, which is perfect for the cultivation of southern staple crops such as sea island cotton (not widely cultivated there until the late 18th century), rice, and even sugar cane. Port Royal's long, torrid, and oppressively humid summers, however, are the perfect environment for diseases such as yellow fever.

The Spanish were the first to explore and exploit Port Royal's strategic location. Captain Pedro de Salazar is thought to have discovered Port Royal Sound, probably in 1515. In the mid-1520s, expeditions by captains Pedro de Quexos and Lucas de Ayllón cemented Spanish claims to the area, which they named Santa Elena (Saint Helen). In 1525, Ayllón built North America's first European fort in Port Royal. The Spanish would use Port Royal Sound as an anchorage for trade and exploration missions, especially those originating in the Caribbean.

In 1562, French Huguenot Jean Ribault took a band of would-be settlers to the New World to establish a French Huguenot settlement on what is now Parris Island, in Port Royal Sound. Ribault named his settlement Charlesfort and dubbed the area "Port Royal." The French settlement effort was doomed, however. In 1565 the Spanish Crown dispatched a naval squadron to destroy it. In 1566 the Spanish established their own settlement on Port Royal Sound (Ciudad de Santa Elena), which served as the capital of Spanish Florida until 1573. Troubles with Native Americans forced them to abandon it in the late 1580s.

Although the Spanish continued to claim the area as their own, English explorers such as Captain William Hilton and Colonel Robert Sandford began scouting the area in the 1660s. Both tried to stake British claims at Port Royal. In 1670, King Charles II established the lords proprietors, who began doling out land grants to Port Royal. In 1684, Scottish immigrants established Stuart Town. The Spanish razed the settlement in 1686.

Beginning in 1698, English settlers began arriving in Port Royal with steady frequency. Soon thereafter, forts and trading posts went up, signaling the beginning of a lively trade business with local Native Americans. On Port Royal Island, English settlers established a settlement now known as Beaufort in 1711. The early years of English colonization at Port Royal were anything but easy. Pirates, hurricanes, skirmishes with the Spanish and Native Americans, and disease all took their toll.

Port Royal was ground zero during the Yamasee War (1715–1717), which witnessed the near destruction of Beaufort and the killing of scores of settlers. The Yamasees, the Creeks, and the Choctaws had banded together in their anger over abuses committed by white traders. Though the Yamasees were finally defeated,

the war left long and deep scars on Port Royal. Between 1731 and 1734, area settlers constructed Fort Frederick along the Beaufort River in what is now Port Royal, South Carolina. By then, a plantation system based on rice had already been established.

During the Anglo-Spanish War of 1739–1744, most of the English population of the Port Royal islands fled in fear of a Spanish attack from St. Augustine. King George's War (1744–1748) saw Port Royal classified as a royal naval station, which augmented the area's economy. Between 1758 and 1763, the British constructed Fort Lyttelton at Spanish Point, just one and a half miles south of Beaufort. The post was designed to protect the city and surrounding Port Royal during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Fort Lyttelton also played a key role during the American Revolutionary War, where colonists fended off an attack by the Royal Navy in 1779.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Fort Frederick (South Carolina); Fort Lyttelton (South Carolina); Ribault, Jean; Santa Elena (South Carolina); South Carolina; Yamasee War

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Port Royal Fort (South Carolina)

See Fort Beaufort (South Carolina)

Portsmouth, Treaty of

Event Date: July 11, 1713

Peace treaty between the English in Massachusetts and New Hampshire and the Abenaki, Penobscot, Kennebec, and Maliseet natives, signed on July 11, 1713, formally ending Queen Anne's War (1702–1713). The Treaty of Portsmouth was signed subsequent to the Peace of Utrecht (April 1713), which ended the War of the Spanish Succession in Europe. The agreement attempted—unsuccessfully—to provide greater security for English settlers in New England, particularly in New Hampshire.

New Hampshire had experienced constant threats throughout King William's War (1689–1697) as combined French and native forces attacked English settlements at Dover, Oyster River, Salmon Falls, Exeter, Portsmouth, and Hampton. By the beginning of Queen Anne's War, New Hampshire was better prepared to defend itself. An organized system of permanently manned garrison houses in each town sought to discourage the French and their native allies from repeating their earlier assaults. New Hampshire settlers also became more aggressive in their efforts to rid the colony of Native Americans. They sought out native parties before they had a chance to attack, destroyed their crops and villages, and participated in expeditions against French strongholds at Port Royal and Quebec. But they could not protect the frontier completely.

During Queen Anne's War, the Abenakis and other local native groups—encouraged by the French—attacked British settlements along a 200-mile frontier stretching from Maine through New Hampshire and into western Massachusetts. The raids continued until the European combatants signed the Treaty of Utrecht in April 1713.

Three months later, delegates from the eastern tribes, led by the Abenakis, met with Massachusetts governor Joseph Dudley at Portsmouth to sign a separate peace treaty. They acknowledged the sovereignty of the British monarch, promised to respect the rights of British colonists to the territory they occupied, and pledged to end their violence along the New England frontier. In so doing, the natives agreed to vacate New Hampshire. The treaty, however, failed to keep the peace. In 1722, the eastern natives violently resisted further land encroachments by British settlers along the northern frontier, which touched off yet another round of regional Anglo-native wars.

DEAN FAFOUTIS

See also

Abenakis; Dudley, Joseph; Dummer's War; King William's War, Land Campaigns; New Hampshire; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Utrecht, Treaty of

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Pouchot de Maupas, Pierre

Born: April 8, 1712 Died: May 8, 1769

Officer in the French Army and noted military engineer who distinguished himself as a captain during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Pierre Pouchot de Maupas was born in Grenoble, France, on April 8, 1712. He joined the French Army at age 21 as an apprentice engineer. Soon he was recognized as an accomplished infantry officer who showed a knack for military engineering. Pouchot saw action during the War of the Polish Succession (1733–

1738) as well as the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). Much of his duty involved building fortifications. Rising steadily through the ranks, he became a captain in 1745.

Pouchot went to New France during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), arriving there in June 1755 and continuing his engineering duties. His first challenge was to strengthen the post at Fort Frontenac. He then took charge of rebuilding the defenses of Fort Niagara during 1755–1756. In 1759, Captain Pouchot received command of Fort Niagara. During his tenure, he showed considerable skill in negotiating with the area's Native Americans.

As part of their campaign in 1759, the British determined that they had to capture Fort Niagara and deny the French that strategic stronghold. In early July a British force of several thousand troops under Brigadier General John Prideaux arrived at the fort. Pouchot had sent most of his garrison to Fort Machault to join in the French expedition to retake Fort Duquesne. Pouchot was able, however, to hold off the British long enough to allow reinforcements from Fort Machault to come to his aid, only to see them defeated at the Battle of La Belle Famille on July 24. With the defeat of this French relief force, Pouchot surrendered Fort Niagara to the British on July 25, 1759. Held with his men as a prisoner of war, Pouchot was released in December 1759.

Pouchot returned to duty in time to take part in the campaign of 1760 as commander of Fort Lévis on the St. Lawrence River. In August 1760, a British contingent led by Major General Jeffery Amherst advanced on the fort. Pouchot had 400 men and two gunboats with which to defend the island post. Almost immediately, one gunboat was lost to an accident, and the other soon surrendered to the British, enabling the attackers to cut off the fort from reinforcement.

The siege of the fort began on August 23 and lasted for two days. The British bombarded the fort from shore until the redoubt had become useless, whereupon Pouchot surrendered. In 1761, Pouchot returned to France. With his military career in limbo, Pouchot devoted himself to penning his memoirs about his service in the French and Indian War. Not published until after his death, these remain an important primary source on the French role in that conflict. Pouchot died on May 8, 1769, in Corsica, after participating in the French conquest of the island.

DALLACE W. UNGER JR.

See also

Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Frontenac (Ontario); Fort Lévis (New York); Fort Machault (Pennsylvania); Fort Niagara (New York); Fort Niagara, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; La Belle Famille, Battle of

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Powhatan (Wahunsonacock)

Born: ca. 1547 Died: 1618

Paramount chief over a loose confederacy of Algonquian-speaking nations on the coastal plain of Virginia when the English established Jamestown in 1607. Powhatan (his "throne" name) inherited leadership of at least 5 native nations, whose territory adjoined the fall lines of three rivers: the James, the Pamunkey, and the Mattaponi. The rest he brought under his control through a combination of force, persuasion, and intimidation in the decades preceding English settlement. By 1618, it is estimated that Powhatan presided over roughly 30 Native American groups.

Powhatan's powers as paramount chief were limited. He usually ruled by prestige rather than force, with his ceremonial powers outweighing his real political or legal authority. He did not control much of the day-to-day life of his people. Ordinary natives had considerable personal freedom. Powhatan and his family probably spent some of their time living and working, as did all Powhatans.

Powhatan's success in building his paramount chiefdom was based in part on his personal qualities. The English described the chief as tall, kingly, and charismatic. But these qualities do not explain why he created the Powhatan Confederacy. He might have wanted to rebuild a population ravaged by disease or monopolize the European seaborne trade for copper, firearms, and other high-status goods. He may also have been reacting to other unknown internal native issues.

Powhatan initially welcomed the English outpost at Jamestown. A permanent English presence meant easy access to trade goods. The English might also have become useful allies in his wars with the Siouan-speaking Monacans to the west. His goal was to maintain an English presence, while not allowing them to become too powerful, or to make contact with his enemies.

Powhatan's relations with the English quickly soured. The newcomers' insistence on exploring beyond Powhatan's territory—and expanding onto Powhatan lands—greatly agitated the Powhatans. The situation was made worse when English colonists stole supplies of corn from the Powhatan settlements near Jamestown.

These tensions ultimately resulted in the First Anglo-Powhatan War (1610–1614), which ended when the English captured Powhatan's favorite daughter, Pocahontas. Following this event, Powhatan's power waned. The conflict seemed to have had a profound effect on Powhatan. He lost any will to fight white encroachments and instead chose to live a life of quiet solitude. Although he remained paramount chief until his death sometime in 1618, his younger brother and successor Opechancanough and others with great antipathy toward the English dominated Powhatan foreign policy in the 1610s.

Jennifer Bridges Oast

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, First; Jamestown; Opechancanough; Pocahontas; Powhatan Confederacy; Powhatans; Virginia

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Powhatan Confederacy

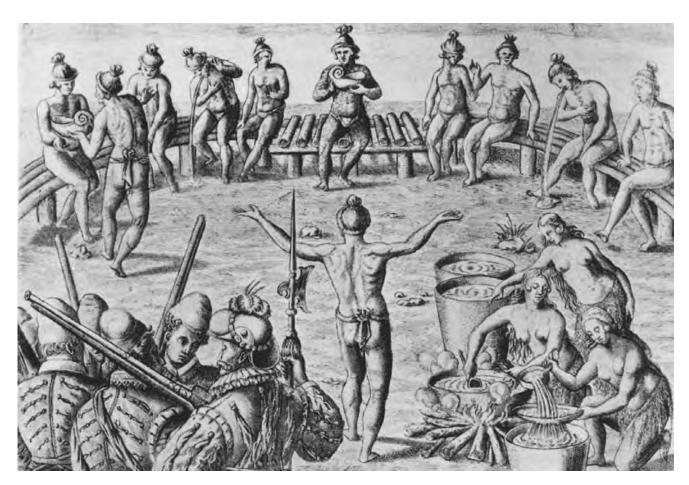
Confederation of Native American nations in eastern Virginia. Powhatan, a powerful chief, created the Powhatan Confederacy in the late 16th century as a loose collection of approximately 30 Algonquian-speaking tribes along the Virginia coastal plain. Tsenacomoco, as the Powhatans referred to this area, contained about 13,000 native inhabitants when the English arrived in 1607. Powhatan inherited control over several nations, including the Powhatans, Arrohatecks, the Appamattucks, the Pamunkeys, the Youghtanunds, and the Mattaponis. He may also have inherited the Werowocomo-

cos, the Chiskiacks, and the Orapaks, according to contemporary English sources. Powhatan brought the other neighboring tribes into his chiefdom through a combination of warfare, intimidation, and personal persuasion.

Sometimes referred to as a "mini-empire," the Powhatan Confederacy might best be viewed as a paramount chiefdom, in which Powhatan received tribute and homage from local chieftains of individual tribes. Powhatan usually ruled through prestige rather than by overwhelming force. His ceremonial powers outweighed his real legal and political authority. He in fact had little control over the day-to-day life of his people.

Following Powhatan's death in 1618, the paramount chieftaincy fell to his younger brothers, Opitchapam (Otiotan) and Opechancanough. It was Opechancanough who held the real power in the Powhatan Confederacy from the last years of Powhatan's reign until his own death in 1646. Opechancanough organized two massive assaults against the English, in 1622 and 1644. Opechancanough's capture by the English in 1646 ended Powhatan resistance. After 1646, the Powhatans were subject people of the English. In 1649, the paramount chiefdom was dismantled, and after that time local chiefs negotiated with the English independently.

JENNIFER BRIDGES OAST



Etching of Powhatan council meeting. The Algonquian-speaking Powhatan Confederacy comprised more than 30 tribes along the Virginia coast. (Brown Brothers)

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, First; Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Anglo-Powhatan War, Third; Opechancanough; Powhatan (Wahunsonacock); Powhatans; Virginia-Indian Treaty (1646); Virginia-Indian Treaty (1677/1680)

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Powhatans

The Powhatans (formally known as the Wahunsonacocks) were a loose confederacy of about 30 Algonquian-speaking Native American groups living on the Virginia coastal plain at the time of the English settlement at Jamestown in 1607. Powhatan territory extended from the southern bank of the James River to the fall line in the west (at present-day Richmond, Virginia), and north as far as the southern bank of the Potomac River. Their lands also included the lower half of the Eastern Shore. In 1607, on first contact with the English, their population numbered at least 13,000 people.

The Powhatans had been organized into a confederacy, often called a paramount chiefdom, by a leader named Powhatan. In the decades preceding English settlement, Powhatan inherited a handful of these native groups from his father. He brought the rest under his control through warfare, intimidation, and persuasion.

The Powhatans were a mostly sedentary people, living in towns surrounded by fields in which women grew corn, beans, and squash. They considered land to be owned communally by the tribe, except when a family was actively farming a portion of it. Most of the land was open to all for hunting and foraging. During parts of the spring and fall, Powhatans left their towns to take advantage of the seasonal bounty in the common woods. The men focused on fishing and hunting while the women gathered edible wild plants and nuts. Both men and women contributed considerably to the family's food supply and to survival in general. As a result, gender relations were fairly equitable, with neither partner holding great authority over the other in the family. Divorce was permitted.

Powhatans were also a very religious people. A class of priests performed rituals individually and on an as-needed basis for the members of their tribe. They did not enforce religious orthodoxy, however. The polytheistic Powhatans could believe in various deities and peacefully disagree with one another about the existence and relative power of different deities.

The Powhatans probably knew of Europeans a century before the English established Jamestown. Europeans of various nationalities had explored the eastern coast of North America in the 16th century, meeting and trading with the native inhabitants as they went. The Powhatans already knew of metal tools, glass, and woven



Contemporary illustration showing Powhatan, principal chief of the socalled Powhatan Confederacy in Virginia during the late 16th and early 17th centuries. (Library of Congress)

cloth, among other items, when the English arrived, because they had sporadically traded with other Europeans for these things for decades. The Powhatans were also already familiar with European diseases, such as smallpox, influenza, and measles before 1607. Finally, the Powhatans knew of two previous attempts at European settlement in their region—the Spanish effort to build a Jesuit mission on the York River in the early 1570s, and the English "lost colony" on Roanoke Island in the 1580s.

The Powhatans initially welcomed the English outpost at Jamestown. A permanent English presence meant easy access to desirable trade goods. The Powhatans also believed the English might be useful allies in their wars against the Siouan-speaking Monacans west of their territory. But relations with the English soon grew tense. The English insisted on exploring up the rivers into the territories of Powhatan enemies, and demanded or stole supplies of corn from native towns. The English also offended Powhatan sensibilities when they arrogantly pushed their own religion and culture on them. These tensions resulted in the first Anglo-Powhatan War (1610–1614), which ended when the English captured Powhatan's favorite daughter, Pocahontas. Following this embarrassment, Powhatan's power waned, and although he remained paramount

chief until his death in 1618, his younger brother Opechancanough and others hostile to the English began to dominate Powhatan foreign policy thereafter.

During the next three decades, relations between the Powhatans and the English vacillated between war and uneasy peace. The Second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622–1632) and the Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1644–1646) decimated the Powhatans. After 1646, the Powhatans were a conquered people. Some were enslaved; others were confined to well-delineated areas and compelled to pay the English an annual tribute. For the remainder of the 17th century, the Powhatans suffered declines in both population and cultural cohesion, as the land and rights granted to them in the Virginia-Indian Treaty of 1646 were gradually eroded away by the English. By the end of the 18th century, their few remaining descendants retained little of their language and traditions.

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See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, First; Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Anglo-Powhatan War, Third; Jamestown; Opechancanough; Pocahontas; Powhatan Confederacy; Powhatans; Virginia; Virginia-Indian Treaty (1646); Virginia-Indian Treaty (1677/1680)

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Praying Towns and Praying Indians

Algonquins who lived in New England and converted to Protestant Christianity became known as "praying Indians," and many of them lived in segregated communities known as "praying towns." Unlike the French or the Spanish, for whom Christianization of the natives was conceived of as a sacred duty, English Christianization efforts had as much to do with strategic and economic concerns as religious imperatives.

Systematic efforts to Christianize the natives did not take place until after 1644 in New England. In other areas of English North America it did not occur until the end of the 17th century. But all English missionaries shared the desire to "reduce" the Native Americans to civilization—meaning the destruction of their native identities and reconstruction along English lines. Simultaneously, English missionaries attempted to teach European political philosophy as a means to impose order in an uncertain colonial environment. That served the dual purpose of rendering the natives as harmless dependants and preventing English settlers from adopting native "lawlessness."

To accomplish this, the English adopted the French practice of segregating native converts in the praying towns. There they were immersed in the English manner of living as they were instructed



John Eliot, a Puritan missionary in Massachusetts Bay Colony and leader in the establishment of Praying Towns. (Chaiba Media)

in Christianity. Devised by the Puritan missionaries John Eliot (1604–1690) and Daniel Gookin (ca. 1612–1687), the praying towns were never very successful, however. Natick, Massachusetts, established in 1650, had a population of only 145 at its height in 1674. Unlike neighboring white towns and villages, the praying towns were governed according to far stricter legal and social codes. This rendered them essentially theocracies.

Sachems (chiefs) were the preferred leaders for the praying towns because natives were accustomed to paying tribute to them. The loss of tribute from those who refused to convert was most prohibitive, and praying Indians were barred from paying tribute to "pagan" sachems. The English offered bribes to sachems, which in native eyes were simply the requisite gifts exchanged before and after all negotiations. This critical misunderstanding constituted yet another disincentive for natives to convert and sachems to live in the praying towns. The settlements also served as staging areas for the application of pressure on nearby Native American villages to conform to English standards of diplomacy at the very least. In the ideal, it was hoped that they would convert to English civilization by means of emulation. Often times, lands successfully cleared and cultivated by praying Indians were appropriated by neighboring whites, using both legal and illegal means. Such scheming added to the natives' frustration and reinforced the unattractiveness of conversion.

Gookin complained on the eve of King Philip's War (1675–1676) that "many" of the praying Indians had "not yet come so far

as to be able or willing to profess their faith in Christ and yield obedience and subjection to him in his church." Indeed, he estimated that only 1,100 praying Indians inhabited Massachusetts' 14 praying towns. And only 45 of them had been baptized and fewer than 74 were in communion. It had been hoped that praying towns would act as buffers between Puritan towns and hostile natives. The English hoped, too, that praying Indians would inform them of impending native attacks. More often than not, however, they served neither mission particularly well. The outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675 dealt a virtual death blow to the praying towns and their residents, who were widely distrusted.

JOHN HOWARD SMITH

See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Captivity of Indians by Europeans; King Philip's War; Massachusetts

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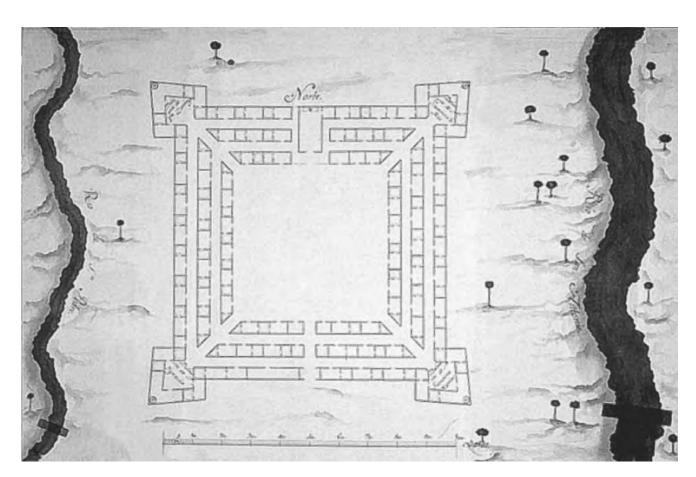
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Presidio

Spanish fort erected in the borderlands in the Americas. The presidio was the basis of Spanish defensive strategy in the New World. Presidios were most prevalent in Mexico, what is now the southwestern United States (Texas, California, Arizona), and Florida. The concept of the presidio came from Spain's struggle with the Muslim Moors, who occupied Spain from 711 to 1492. In the New World, presidios were meant to serve as a bulwark primarily against Native Americans, but they also were intended to defend against the incursions of European foes.

The first presidios were simple, four-walled adobe structures. As time wore on, presidios grew in size and complexity. They were built along trade routes, near settlements, mines, and other strategic locations. The first presidios went up in the mid-16th century in response to the Chichimeca Revolt in the silver-rich Mexican province of Nueva Vizcaya. Discovery of silver in the province led to the opening of a large number of mines and towns outside the protection of Mexico proper. As was often the case, contact between natives and Spaniards led to conflict. The Spanish built a string of presidios in the region and along the roads to protect travelers and silver caravans.



Plan for the frontier presidio constructed on the orders of Captain Antonio, Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, at San Antonio de Abejar in Texas, 1722. (Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico)

Garrison troops at the presidios were not part of the regular Spanish Army. For most of their existence, they were a separate branch of the Spanish armed forces. The troops often came from the surrounding region and were responsible for buying and maintaining their own horses and equipment. Such troops were equipped with swords, long lances, a heavy armored coat of layered buckskin, a shield of bull hide, and, in the case of infantrymen, a musket. Pay was poor and for many years it was paid out in goods, not in currency. Troops suffered from a deluge of deductions in their wages to pay for the aforementioned equipment as well as for food and other expenses.

Presidios served a multitude of purposes, some by design and others by accident. In many cases, the erection of a presidio led to the founding of a nearby small town or settlement. If a presidio were built in an existing town, that settlement's population and economy tended to grow. The founding of a presidio gave merchants a stable market, as the garrison had to purchase provisions. Settlers often moved to an area near a presidio because it promised protection from native raiders and desperadoes. Presidios also served as Indian agencies as natives came to trade at the presidios and parley with authorities. Missions also sprang up near presidios for protection and the opportunity to reach out to native trading and diplomatic parties.

The major weakness of the presidio system was the isolation of each structure from the other and the lack of a unified command. Presidios were separated by many miles. For that reason, they were unable to support each other in times of attack, a problem that was never appropriately addressed. Spain attempted to remedy the weaknesses of the presidio system with three major reforms: the Reglamentos (Regulations) of 1729 and 1772, and the Instrucción (Instruction) of 1786. These various reforms tried to set uniform regulations for presidios and attempted to create uniform policies in regard to command, armaments, provisions, soldiers' pay, and defensive strategies. The Spanish government also responded to changing strategic situations by closing or moving presidios as threats and population concentrations shifted.

RICK DYSON

See also

Lance; New Mexico; Presidio Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Tejas (Texas); Presidio San Antonio de Béxar (Texas); Presidio San Francisco de Xavier (Texas); San Antonio; Spain; Spain, Army; Spanish Mission System, Southeast; Spanish Mission System, Southwest; Texas

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Presidio Nuestra Señora de Loreto (Texas)

See Fort La Bahía (Texas)

Presidio Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Tejas (Texas)

First Spanish presidio in Texas, built in 1716 and situated on the east bank of the Niches River, 15 miles west of Nacogdoches, Texas. Presidio Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Tejas, also known as Presidio de los Dolores and Presidio de los Tejas, sat opposite to Mission San Francisco de los Tejas.

In 1716, Captain Diego Ramon and Louis Juchereau de St. Denis led an expedition from Mobile Bay to establish way stations between the missions in eastern Texas and the Rio Grande. During their expedition, the two men determined that the missions in eastern Texas were too distant from military establishments and were thus practically defenseless. Ramon believed that if the Native Americans revolted, the missionaries would have no protection and would not survive even a small attack. In response, Ramon established Presidio Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Tejas in 1716.

In 1718, the Spanish found it necessary to abandon the fort and surrounding missions because the French had invaded eastern Texas. By 1721, however, the Spanish forced the French out of their territory. That same year, Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo reestablished the presidio and moved it to the banks of the Angelina River, near Mission Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de los Hainai (modern-day Nacogdoches County). Here the presidio functioned until March 1728, when Brigadier General Pedro de Rivera y Villalon inspected the Texas presidios for the Spanish government. Villalon determined that the Native Americans in eastern Texas were peaceful and recommended that Presidio de los Tejas be abandoned. Once the Spanish left the fort in 1728, the government relocated the surrounding missions, San Francisco de los Niches, Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de los Hainai, and San José de los Nazonis, to the Colorado River. After France ceded Louisiana in 1763, the Spanish moved them to San Antonio.

See also

Aguayo Expedition; Presidio; Spanish Mission System, Southwest; Texas

CHARLES D. GREAR

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Presidio Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes (Louisiana)

Spanish fort established in 1721 by the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo near present-day Robeline, Louisiana. The garrison was established to protect Spanish missions in the area from French attack. A similar outpost, Presidio Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Tejas, guarded the western portion of the Spanish mission field in East Texas. In 1717, a Spanish Franciscan mission, San Miguel de los Adaes, was founded in the same area as the presidio, some 21 miles from a French fort at Natchitoches. San Miguel was the easternmost of the Spanish missions in Texas.

In 1719, having learned of the French declaration of war against Spain during the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718–1720), Philippe Blondel, a French lieutenant with approximately a dozen soldiers, captured the mission and took two prisoners—a soldier and a lay brother. The brother escaped, supposedly because the French were more interested in securing chickens from the mission than their prisoners, and made his way back to Spanish territory. Consequently, in Spanish Texas the conflict became known as the "Chicken War."

Given the French capture of Pensacola, the few soldiers available, and poor relations with local American Indians, the Spanish chose to retreat. In doing so, they abandoned six missions and a presidio in East Texas and western Louisiana.

The governor of Coahuila and Texas, Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, led an expedition to take back the Spanish territory in East Texas. He left in 1720 with 500 men, but by the time he arrived in East Texas, his nation was no longer at war with France. Thus, in 1721 Aguayo simply refounded the six missions and built Presidio Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes near the San Miguel de los Adaes mission, in order that it would not be taken so easily again. He garrisoned the new presidio with 100 men. In the coming years, Los Adaes would serve as the capital of Texas.

In 1727, General Pedro de Rivera ordered that the garrison at Los Adaes be reduced from 100 men to 60. This was part of a generalized reexamination of colonial outposts along New Spain's northern frontier. Given improving relations between Spain and France, the lack of success of the missions in east Texas, and the need to economize, maintaining a strong Spanish presence there did not make sense. A similar inspection in the late 1760s found the presidio's garrison in poor condition, and it was recommended that the presidio be abandoned. The transfer of Louisiana to Spain after the French and Indian War in 1763 had removed the primary need for the presidio. Thus, in 1772 the presidio was abandoned, and the capital of Texas was relocated to San Antonio.

MICHAEL BEAUCHAMP

See also

Aguayo Expedition; Presidio; Presidio Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Tejas (Texas); Spanish Mission System, Southwest; Texas

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Presidio San Antonio de Béxar (Texas)

Spanish presidio founded on May 5, 1718, by Martin de Alarcon and located on the west bank of the San Antonio River near the San Antonio de Valero Mission (present-day Alamo). Of the early presidios built in western Texas during Spanish rule, Presidio San Antonio de Béxar was one of the most important.

In 1722, Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo decided that the presidio was too far from the Valero Mission and had it relocated on the other side of the San Antonio River. When moved, the presidio consisted of one adobe house as the main building, with huts made of brush to house the garrison's soldiers. Throughout its history, the Spanish built no permanent fortifications at the site. Instead, they relied on its well-disciplined soldiers for protection.

From this location, the presidio was able to serve many purposes. Some of them included protection, escort duties, communications, and logistics. The main function of the presidio, however, was to protect the five surrounding missions: San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, Nuestra Señora de la Purisima Concepción de los Hainai, San Juan Capistrano, San Francisco de la Espada, and San Antonio de Valero. In addition to protecting the missions, the presidio also sheltered the civilian settlements in the surrounding San Antonio area during attacks. The presidio created a barrier between the Lipan Apaches and the Spanish settlements on the Texas coast and discouraged trade between the French and natives. Besides protecting the surrounding area, the presidio had the responsibility of providing escorts for officials and missionaries arriving at and departing from San Antonio. Because of its central location, Presidio San Antonio de Béxar helped relay communications from mission to mission and to the colonial government in Mexico. Since travel on the surrounding roads was dangerous, the presidio was also a major stop for convoy trains heading to settlements in the east.

The duties of the presidio changed significantly after 1772. In that year, Marqués de Rubi recommended that San Antonio become the new capital of Texas. He then reinforced the presidio with soldiers from other forts north and east of the area. With the designation as capital of Texas and a stronger force in Presidio San Antonio de Béxar, the captain of the presidio also became governor of Texas. The responsibilities of the presidio's soldiers increased with the greater need for communications and protection for the increasing number of civilians that moved there from the north and east. Although this increased the importance of the presidio, the local government never built walls or stockades to fortify the structure. Captains at different times planned to fortify the site but decided in 1806 to move the garrison across the river to the newly named Alamo. The Alamo ceased to be a mission, and its walls looked more formidable than the unimproved adobe house of Presidio San Antonio de Béxar.

CHARLES D. GREAR

See also

San Antonio; Spanish Mission System, Southwest; Texas

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Presidio San Augustín de Ahumada (Texas)

Spanish presidio erected in 1756, near present-day Wallisville, Texas (outside present-day Houston). Presidio San Augustín de Ahumada was situated on the site of an old French trading post to protect the nearby mission Nuestra Señora de la Luz. The Spanish government named the presidio in honor of Spanish viceroy Augustín Ahumada y Villalon, Marqués de las Amarillas.

Commonly called El Orcoquisac, the presidio created more problems for the missionaries than it solved. Conflicts between the soldiers and Native Americans began in 1759. The Orcoquizas rebelled that year when a Spanish soldier killed a member of the tribe. The only means the garrison had to quell the uprising was the execution of the guilty Spanish soldier.

Besides existing as a military fortification to protect missionaries from hostile Native Americans, the presidio created a barrier between Spanish Texas and French Louisiana. The Spanish government hoped to prevent trade between French traders and Texas natives and any French incursions into Texas. El Orcoquisac indeed proved effective in keeping French encroachers from settling in Texas. With the French defeat in the French and Indian War in 1763, France ceded Louisiana to the Spanish. This eliminated the main purpose of San Augustín de Ahumada. Although obsolete, destroyed by a hurricane, and rebuilt farther east, the fort continued to function. In 1767, Marques de Rubi made his inspection of the northern provinces of Spanish Mexico and officially reported that the presidio was no longer needed. With no major menace in eastern Texas, the garrison received orders to participate in the fight against the Apache uprisings. By 1771, the last soldier had left the presidio and the Spanish had abandoned the military fortification, never to return.

CHARLES D. GREAR

See also

Spanish Mission System, Southwest; Texas

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Presidio San Francisco de Xavier (Texas)

Spanish post built in 1751 along the banks of the San Xavier River (known today as the San Gabriel River) in present-day Rockdale, Texas. Presidio San Francisco de Xavier de Gigedo operated from 1751 to 1758.

Planning for the presidio began in early 1750. That year, Captain José Joaquin de Ecay Muzquiz began laying plans to protect the nearby San Xavier missions. Sponsored by the College of Santa Cruz de Queretaro, the Spanish viceroy established the three San Xavier missions—San Francisco Xavier de Horcasitas, San Ildefonso, and Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria. The purpose of the missions was to create a barrier between the Lipan Apaches and the Spanish settlements on the Texas coast. The Spanish also hoped that they would discourage trade between the French and area natives.

In December 1751, Captain Felipe de Rabago y Teran finished building the presidio. Rabago, however, disliked the location of the presidio and the missionaries. His lewd behavior and the violation of the sanctuary at Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria created tension among the missions. Worse yet, Rabago's actions led to serious tensions between the missionaries and the soldiers garrisoned at the presidio. Eventually, this led to the excommunication of all the soldiers at San Francisco de Xavier. In addition to the tension between the Spaniards, the soldiers did not always treat the missions' natives well. This in turn led to a significant drop in the number of natives living and learning at the missions.

In 1753, the presidio received a new commander, Miguel de la Garza Falcon. Because of the dwindling number of natives living in the missions and a mysterious attack on Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, which took the lives of a priest and a soldier, Falcon recommended relocating the missions and presidio. He recommended either San Antonio or San Saba, where the climate was better and where there was a larger native population. While waiting for royal approval of the transfer, Falcon moved the missions and presidio to the San Marcos River in 1755. Within a short time, the Apaches signed a peace treaty with the missionaries. This all but ended the need of a military garrison around the missions at San Marcos.

With no potential converts for the missionaries and nothing for the garrison to protect, the San Francisco de Xavier missions and presidio were transferred to the mission built along the San Saba River. The transfer ended the service of Presidio San Francisco de Xavier de Gigedo in 1758. The only remnants of the missions and presidio were the San Francisco Xavier Mission on the Guadalupe River. That site consisted of a small group of Mayeyes natives who did not want to move to the missions at San Antonio.

See also

Spanish Mission System, Southwest; Texas

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Presidio San Miguel de los Adaes (Louisiana)

See Presidio Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes (Louisiana)

Printz, Johan Björnsson

Born: July 20, 1592 Died: May 3, 1663

Swedish military officer and governor of New Sweden (1643–1653). Born the son of a Lutheran minister in Bottnyard, Sweden, on July 20, 1592, Johan Björnsson Printz was educated for the ministry in Sweden and in Germany. While he was pursuing his studies in Germany, a troop of mercenaries forced him into service. Unexpectedly, he proved to be well suited to military life, and subsequently served with Austrian, French, and Danish forces, among others. Printz voluntarily joined the Swedish Army in 1625 and rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. About 1640, Printz underwent a courtmartial in connection with his surrender of a Saxon city. Although cleared of wrongdoing, Printz had been removed from command and was without a post when he was offered the governorship of New Sweden in 1642.



Woodcut of Johan Printz, governor of New Sweden during 1643–1653. Printz did his best to expand the colony but could never overcome the lack of Swedish settlers. (North Wind Picture Archives)

640 Privateering

Accompanied by his wife and five of his six children, Printz was 50 years old when he arrived in the New World as governor of New Sweden in February 1643. Contemporary accounts describe Printz as weighing over 400 pounds. The Native Americans called him a name that translated to "Big Tub."

Printz's orders gave him absolute power over the colony's government and business interests, and he exercised that power quite liberally. Printz imposed strict rule on the colony. He purchased additional land, promoted tobacco farming, and improved crop and livestock production. He also undertook the construction of a number of forts and settlements.

Printz also presided over the criminal justice system and ordered the execution of a man who led a protest against his rule. Printz wrote home pleading for more settlers, but to no avail. The population of New Sweden fell to fewer than 200 people, in no small part due to settlers deserting to neighboring Dutch and English colonies.

New Sweden under Printz endured numerous setbacks, including poor harvests, encroaching neighbors, and lack of support from Sweden. Queen Christina lost interest in the colony and stopped sending supplies. No ships or communication from Sweden arrived between 1647 and 1653. The fur trade collapsed from lack of trade goods. New Sweden no doubt survived as long as it did thanks to Printz's diplomatic skills. He maintained peace with the native peoples and with New Netherland and the English. Nevertheless, the Dutch established Fort Casimer on New Swedish territory in 1651.

Finally, in 1653 Printz sent his son to Sweden to plead for help. Although the younger Printz soon secured a promise of relief, news of it did not arrive in New Sweden until after Printz himself had departed for Sweden. Embarking on a Dutch ship, he left behind a struggling colony supervised by his son-in-law. After Printz returned to Sweden, he undertook other official assignments, and eventually became governor of his home district. Printz died on May 3, 1663, in Gunillaberg Manor, Sweden.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Fort Casimer (Delaware); New Netherland; New Sweden; Sweden; Swedes in America

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Privateering

Privateers were privately owned ships licensed by their governments to seize on the high seas the ships, cargoes, and crews belong-

ing to nations with which their own state was at war. Privateersmen were free to dispose of the prizes and their cargoes for their own financial benefit. The motive for privateering was pursuit of wealth.

Privateering was widely practiced between the 16th and 19th centuries. In the Mediterranean, both the Muslim privateers of North Africa and the European Christians, were known as corsairs. The English who pursued the Spanish treasure ships were called buccaneers, the Dutch were known as sea rovers, and the French were called filibusterers.

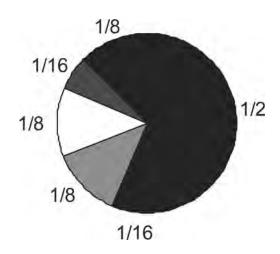
The difference between piracy and privateering is tenuous but boils down to the fact that privateers plied their trade in the name of a nation while pirates were out purely for their own interest. In practice, the privateer and pirate were not much different and were often the same individuals. Privateers were common in times of war, as these ships acted as an important supplement to a nation's navy, or even as a substitute for one. Nations with small navies relied heavily on privateers to fight a guerrilla-style war on the high seas at minimal cost.

Privateers sailed alone or in packs to capture ships and raid or temporarily capture and loot isolated settlements. Captured settlements might be ransomed by their inhabitants to save their communities from destruction. Privateersmen outfitted their own ships and crews, and the crewmen were paid from the booty secured in their raids. In many cases, privateersmen secured financial backing from private investors who shared in the wealth derived from captured ships and towns. Many of these backers were prominent traders, merchants, politicians, and in some cases, kings and queens. Many privateersmen were themselves prominent seamen looking for profit during times of war. The risks were great but the rewards could be substantial. Because of this, during war it was often difficult for regular navies to recruit seamen, many of whom were drawn to the more lucrative privateering.

Privateers possessed important documents that set them apart from common pirates. These were known as letters of marque and reprisal and were issued by the national governments to privateersmen who made application for them. The letters authorized privateersmen to capture vessels, and search and, if necessary, destroy them.

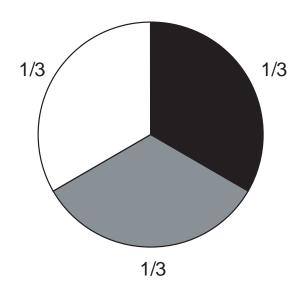
Throughout much of the colonial period, English and French privateers sought out and attempted to capture Spanish treasure ships traveling from the New World to Spain. The most successful privateers were the English privateers of the Elizabethan era. These men, encouraged and backed financially by the English government and royals, preyed on Spanish shipping and colonial outposts during the 16th and 17th centuries. The Elizabethan privateers prowled the shipping lanes of the Caribbean and struck at Spanish shipping off the Pacific Coast of Central and South America. They hit trade convoys between Mexico's Pacific ports and Spain's Philippine colony as well. This raiding was part of the grand conflict between England and Spain that ended in the ascendancy of the British Empire. The most successful English privateers were Sir Francis Drake, Henry Morgan, and John Hawkins. These men led large-scale privateering operations that included fleets of ships and the capture and ransacking of colonial Spanish cities.

Warships



- Naval Command
- Ship's Captain
- Midshipmen and Marine Sergeants Enlisted Crew
- Squadron Flag Officer
- ☐ Ship's Senior and Junior Officers

Privateers



■ Shareholders/Owners ■ Ship's Captain and Officers □ Enlisted Crew

Drake, operating in the 1570s, led forays into the Pacific and attacked Spanish shipping there. In 1585 he roamed the Caribbean, capturing Spanish ports and shipping almost at will. Morgan achieved the most spectacular success, however. He captured and sacked the rich city of Portobello and other Panamanian cities in 1688. In 1689, he terrorized towns in Spanish Venezuela.

Many of the early privateers were Frenchmen. Complicating matters was the fact that many of them were Huguenots (French Protestants), which added a religious tone to their predations. Ultimately, the French corsairs and their successors were so successful that they enabled the French government to wrest away part of the island of Hispaniola from the Spanish. The small island of Tortuga, off the northern coast of Hispaniola, became a de facto French colony even though it was officially part of the Spanish empire. From this base, the French raided Spanish fleets and encroached on western Hispaniola (Haiti). The French even named a governor general of Tortuga who actively recruited colonists and settled them on Tortuga and the western reaches of Hispaniola. Belatedly, the Spanish attempted to expel the French but failed. The Treaty of Ryswick of 1697 that concluded King William's War (1689–1697) ceded the western third of Hispaniola to France. In this instance, French privateers made a critical difference in the French land grab.

In later years, the Dutch employed privateers in the Caribbean. American privateersmen carried the brunt of the Patriot effort at sea in the American Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. The Declaration of Paris of 1856 in effect ended privateering. All the maritime nations signed the declaration, save for Mexico, Spain, and the United States. This decision came back to haunt the U.S. government during the American Civil War, for the Confederacy sent privateers to sea that captured a number of Union ships at the beginning of the war.

RICK DYSON

See also

Drake, Sir Francis; France, Navy; Great Britain, Navy; Naval Warfare; Piracy; Sailors; Smuggling; Spain, Navy; Triangular Trade; Warships

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Prize Doctrine

The rules of practice under which licensed warships seized enemy vessels, crews, and cargoes in wartime for the financial benefit of

their sovereign and themselves. These rules were established under the law of nations, as international law was formerly called, and were followed from the 15th through the 19th centuries.

Licensed predators might be either naval vessels or privately owned fighting ships. If a naval vessel, its commission as a vessel of the national navy authorized its crew to seize enemy ships as prizes. If privately owned, it required a document from the sovereign called a "letter of marque and reprisal," which constituted it a privateer.

Licensed predators enjoyed substantial financial benefits. The officers and crew of a ship victorious at sea could expect to share the proceeds of a prize at least equally with their sovereign. Privateers, who were motivated solely by financial expectations, were not expected to share the proceeds of their prizes with the nation. The sovereign's share was waived from the outset in order to induce private parties to make the investments and take the risks necessary to aid the national war effort against a maritime enemy.

In the beginning, prize-taking resembled a modern act of mugging, but by the 18th century a body of more civilized regulations, the maritime law of nations, had evolved and achieved international acceptance. The law of nations sprang from two main sources. On the theoretical side there were the theologians and philosophers of natural law, men who argued that even kings ruling by divine right were subject to the limitations imposed by nature's God, especially in their warlike acts. They derived the theoretical basis of an international system to regulate warfare at sea from Greek philosophy, the Roman legal code of the Emperor Justinian, and the theology of the Roman Catholic Church. They supplied their ideas to a post-Renaissance community of European and Mediterranean powers eager for certainty and reciprocity in maritime affairs.

The other sources of the law of nations were neither scholarly nor philosophical. They were the local officials and judges who administered the maritime codes and customs of medieval seaports such as Barcelona, Visby, and Oleron. These givers of law dealt with the practical, everyday problems of thriving commercial ports: the rights of seamen and of shippers, prizes, salvage, wrecks, lost or damaged goods, and the like. But they did their jobs with such consistency, fairness, and devotion to the fostering of international trade that the laws they gave earned respect among mariners, shippers, and shipowners everywhere. The civil laws of these port cities blended with the philosophical foundation of the natural law scholars to produce a body of international law of surprising clarity and consistency and of widespread international acceptance.

As with any body of law, the doctrine of maritime prize evolved continually over the years of its principal vitality. It is best understood as it was generally accepted among maritime nations during the last great century of prize practice, from the mid-18th to the mid-19th centuries.

The proceeds from prizes captured by naval vessels were distributed in rigidly calculated proportions among the squadron commander, the captain, his lieutenants, and the lower ranks, all in accordance with naval statutes adopted by the sovereign. The divi-

sion of prize proceeds among privateering crews was controlled by contracts drawn up and signed before the voyage. In the absence of such a contract, half the proceeds went to the vessel's owners, and the other half was divided among the officers and crew in accordance with the statutory naval formula. In many maritime nations of Europe, the king or his admiral claimed a 10 percent share in the proceeds of prizes he had otherwise waived.

The Norman conquerors of England did not maintain a substantial fleet of public vessels of war. Instead, they relied for defense against invasion from the Continent primarily on private vessels commissioned in the English Channel ports. Initially the warden of the Cinque Ports and later officials called "admiral" had responsibility for marshaling and controlling these vessels as needed. In the 14th century other responsibilities were added, including the hearing and adjudication of maritime claims. By the 17th century, courts of admiralty had attained exclusive jurisdiction in England over all prize cases. The reasons for this development were twofold. There was the sovereign's desire to protect the royal share of the proceeds for the king or the admiral. In addition, the prize court sought to prevent the monarch's being embarrassed by the complaints of neutral nations that their shipping was despoiled.

On sighting a strange sail, the predator vessel approached warily in an effort to ascertain whether the stranger was of superior force or was flying false flags—normal practice to confuse an enemy. Once identified as a possible prize, the vessel, from then on referred to as the "chase," was rapidly pursued and forced to halt, a process called "bringing the chase to." The predator either signaled by flag, used a speaking trumpet, or fired a warning shot—this last requiring the predator to raise its national flag and reveal its true colors, as the rules of the prize court dictated. Should the chase come to voluntarily, the captor was required to remain beyond cannon range while inspection of the vessel took place.

All maritime nations supported the right of belligerents to halt and inspect neutral merchant vessels. But whether dealing with a neutral or enemy vessel, the law of nations clearly defined rules to be followed during the process. The inspecting officer was empowered to do the following:

- 1. Receive and review all documents of every nature found onboard the chase.
- 2. Inspect all areas of the ship other than those closed, battened, or locked. If a request to open such areas was refused the use of force was forbidden.
- 3. Speak to the captain and crew, and any passengers to verify their nationality and decide whether their accounts agreed with the ship's papers.
- 4. Require that every man on the muster roll be accounted for.
- 5. Transport the master of the chase and all the ship's papers to the captor vessel for examination by its captain.

The master of the predator, having considered the evidence, then decided whether the chase was a vessel of his own nation, an ally or a neutral engaged in inoffensive commerce, or an enemy vessel under license to the captor's nation for the duration of the present voyage. Such vessels were allowed to continue on their voyages.

Should it be discovered that the chase was a neutral vessel engaged in blockade running, or carrying enemy troops or contraband, or should the ship's papers appear fraudulent, then the captor could assume he had a valid prize. In that case, he had the right to transfer all or some of the crew of the chase to his own vessel and to replace them with a prize crew of his own men who would then sail the chase to the most convenient port of his own nation for adjudication in a prize court. The law of nations stipulated that the captain or mate of the chase plus one or two crew members were to appear at the prize court where the judge took their testimony independently.

If the chase proved to be an actual enemy vessel, the captor also was legally allowed to do the following:

- 1. Take from the chase water, provisions, ships' tackle, weapons, and ammunition if his vessel had need of them.
- 2. Transfer all the crew with their dunnage, imprison them on his vessel, and sink or burn the chase.
- 3. Create a "sea cartel" by not interfering in any way with the chase except for unloading onto its prisoners from earlier captures, all of whom would be required to sign a paper promising not to participate in the present war until formally exchanged for prisoners of the captor's nation. (In this way, the captain relieved himself of the necessity to feed and guard extra numbers of men.)
- 4. Ransom the chase. The two captains could agree on a sum of money promised to be paid as ransom whereupon the chase was released and sent on its way. It was usual to keep the captain or other valuable crew member aboard the captor as a "ransomer," for example, a hostage for payment of the sum promised.
- 5. Break off and abandon the prize. This usually only happened in face of a growing storm or if superior enemy vessels appeared on the scene.

The question of which prize court would adjudicate the case was under control of the captor's master, since he would choose a port to which the prize would be ordered. In making this decision, the captor enjoyed considerable discretion to consider the condition of the chase, the weather, and the danger of enemy interference. In addition, he was required by the law of nations to take into consideration the convenience of other parties having an interest in the captured vessel, such as owners or cargo shippers who might wish to appear in court as claimants against the condemnation of their ship or cargo. A flagrant disregard for the convenience of claimants could result in a loss of the prize in court and in extreme cases an actual finding of damages against the captor.

A great many of the prizes that were taken and sent off to port under the control of prize crews never reached their destination because they were recaptured en route by an enemy vessel, either naval or privateer. This was particularly true of British merchant ships during the 19th century, when that nation's control of the seas had become pervasive.

Thus many British ships reverted to their original owners when recaptured, and the recaptors could not make prize of them. But the owners did not recover their property free. The maritime law of nations, ever mindful that money motivates men, and wishing to encourage all sailors to help their countrymen recover their property from the enemy, decreed that recaptors should receive a financial reward from the owners. The law employed the analogy of a ship, at peril of the sea, saved from destruction by volunteers, called salvors. Immemorially, maritime courts imposed on the owner the obligation to pay to the salvors a share of the value of the ship and cargo saved, judicially determined to be proportionate to the labor performed and risks taken. So in the case of recapture, prize courts or legislatures imposed a similar charge on the owner, called "military" salvage.

Military salvage could also be earned by a process called "rescue." In this situation, prisoners of war aboard a prize and under the guard and control of a prize crew staged an uprising, overthrew their captors, and brought the vessel to a home port.

Recaptures, rescues, and military salvage could occur only with respect to a vessel that had not yet been condemned by a prize court and sold to a new owner. A judicially sanctioned sale of a vessel cut off all rights of prior owners and any vessel capturing it had a whole new prize of its own with no strings attached.

Since their origins in the medieval ports of Europe, maritime courts have dispensed justice with extraordinary dispatch, conscious that their witnesses and litigants were often eager to settle matters and sail on the next tide. Prize courts were held close to the wharves for the convenience of mariners. The English High Court of Admiralty sat at Doctors' Commons, in the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral, or in an abandoned church at Southwark, across London Bridge. Both locations were close to the banks of the Thames River. Prize judges, concerned for the innocent neutral forcibly diverted from his voyage and for the deterioration of cargo, expected captors to prosecute their claims with diligence. Woe unto the captor who, having reached the convenient port of his choice, failed to promptly prosecute his libel against the prize.

Prize court procedure under the law of nations was carefully designed to permit mariners to play their role and leave early in the proceeding. The first and foremost question was prize or no prize. The law intended, whenever possible, for this key question to be decided promptly and exclusively on the basis of the ships' documents and on the rapid testimony of members of both crews. In the interests of expedition, crew members were not interrogated orally before the prize judge. Instead, their testimony was procured in the form of standing interrogatories, approved forms of judicial questionnaires, which were read aloud to the mariners and their answers recorded. Witnesses were required to sign each page, and a refusal to testify could result in confinement for contempt.

The interrogatories and ships' papers were then gathered up and delivered to the prize judge, who sought to decide the question of prize or no prize on the sole basis of the documents before him. If, from the evidence, the judge found that the chase was not a good prize, but that the captor had probable cause for suspicion, the captive was immediately released, and the parties went their separate ways. If the judge found that the captor's suspicions were unwarranted, the captive was entitled to immediate release, and to a judgment for damages against the captor. If, from the documents submitted, the judge found the chase to be a good prize, she and its cargo were sold, and the proceeds held by the court, first, for the satisfaction of valid claims by neutral claimants, especially cargo shippers, and thereafter, for distribution among the captor's sovereign and crew in accordance with the national statutes then in force. On the order of sale, neutral officers and crew members were free to depart, but the proceeds were held in the registry of the court for a year and a day to allow claimants time to appear.

Only when the documents submitted to the court raised serious questions which could not be answered to the judge's satisfaction was further evidence admitted in the case, and then it generally took the form of sworn affidavits rather than oral testimony.

Cargoes, as well as the vessels that carried them, were subject to condemnation as prize under the law of nations. The question became more complicated, however, when neutral goods were found on board an enemy ship, or enemy goods on a neutral ship. During the last great century of prize taking no problem was more vexatious to the uniform administration of the maritime law of nations.

It was always a major policy of the maritime law of nations to preserve the rights of neutrals to continue their accustomed trade, while other nations were at war, subject to belligerents' three superior rights: the right to halt and inspect, the right to confiscate military supplies (contraband) intended for the enemy, and the right to blockade. The interpretation and application of these principles was the major concern of prize courts during the last great century of prize taking. Of major interest was the issue of nationality. What was a neutral? The law of nations did not equate nationality with citizenship in the modern sense of the word. Rather, it concerned the nation within whose borders one resided, and to whose economy one contributed. A merchant or shipowner who remained in a nation at war, accepted its protection, and contributed to its economy was, for purposes of prize law, no longer a neutral but a national of that country.

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See also

Admiralty Law; Piracy; Privateering

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Proclamation of 1763

Event Date: October 7, 1763

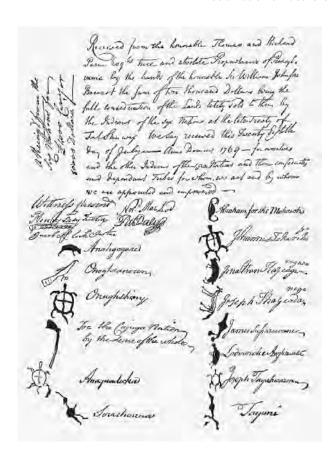
A direct consequence of the English victory in the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the Proclamation of 1763 closed western lands to colonial expansion. The population of British North America had been ecstatic with the outcome of the war, which removed the French threat and, they believed, would open the western lands to settlement. They were thus profoundly disappointed with the royal proclamation. King George III and his council, however, saw the proclamation as a means to calm Native American anxieties and to secure the frontier and protect the colonists from Native American attack. The English settlers perceived it as a direct infringement of their land rights.

The Treaty of Paris, signed by Britain, France, and Spain in February 1763, recognized New France (Canada) and all North American lands east of the Mississippi River as British territory. Colonial administrators, assured of England's dominant position in North America, responded by implementing postwar policies designed to reduce the expense of imperial administration.

Native American uprisings attributed to Neolin, a Delaware prophet, and Pontiac, an Ottawa war chief, necessitated immediate action on the part of London. The king's ministers responded quickly to the reports of frontier hostilities. Their plan provided for the orderly settlement of all lands recently acquired from France and Spain. The Royal Proclamation, issued in the name of King George III on October 7, 1763, defined the boundaries and intentions for civil government in four new colonies: Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada. In addition, the measure prohibited English governors and military commanders from issuing warrants for survey or patents for lands beyond the crest of the Appalachians, beyond which settlement was now forbidden. English colonists living in the so-called Indian Country were ordered to leave at once.

The Proclamation of 1763 reflected the Crown's awareness that frontier hostilities between Native Americans and colonists would continue indefinitely unless the colonists were confined to the Atlantic seaboard. The pacification program, however, was offset by throngs of colonists who defied the demarcation line. To complicate matters, royal officials in the colonies often connived with land speculators in schemes involving tribal lands. Illegal land grants, surveys, and private purchases of lands from the Creeks and Cherokees, tribes that did not recognize the right of the English government to demarcate boundaries, also occurred.

British agents, particularly Sir William Johnson of the Northern Department, sought to ease tensions through diplomacy. Johnson and the Iroquois fixed the northern boundary line by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. Additional treaties and land purchases occurred. In particular, the Treaty of Hard Labor negotiated by John Stuart with the Cherokees in October 1768, extended the reach of the king's boundary line farther north, south, and west.



The 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix. Negotiated by Sir William Johnson, in it the chiefs of the Six Nations ceded Native American lands south and east of the Ohio River to Great Britain. (North Wind Picture Archives)

The Proclamation of 1763 promised Native Americans a barrier to English expansion that was never fulfilled. Not surprisingly, the intrusion of westward-moving settlers beyond the Appalachians and Alleghenies sparked frequent retaliatory raids. By 1768, frontier hostilities became commonplace. Angry Shawnees, Wyandots, Delawares, and Mingos fought to retain their ancestral lands, particularly after the settlement of eastern Kentucky. Those tensions later culminated in Lord Dunmore's War of 1774. The repeated violations of the proclamation's prohibition against western settlement also persuaded several western tribes to cast their lot with the British during the American Revolutionary War.

Jon L. Brudvig

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Johnson, Sir William; Lord Dunmore's War; Neolin; Paris, Treaty of; Pontiac (Obwandiyng), Chief; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Province Fort (Maine)

Fort built in 1743 by Massachusetts to protect frontier settlements in and around New Marblehead (present-day South Windham, Maine, then part of Massachusetts). Massachusetts officials ordered Province Fort's construction in reaction to Native American (mainly Abenaki) raids on settlements in Maine and as a general strengthening of the frontier. During the first half of the 18th century, English settlements in Maine often came under attack by native raiding parties. They were sometimes accompanied or inspired by French soldiers. Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) and Dummer's War (1722–1727) had resulted in heavy losses among both settlers and Native Americans.

As tensions between France and England increased in the 1740s, the Massachusetts General Court considered the question of building fortifications in areas of threatened attack. In the summer of 1743, the assembly voted £100 to pay for a fort at Salmon Falls, to protect the settlement of New Marblehead (now the modern town of South Windham, Maine). Construction began soon afterward, and the fort was completed in the summer of 1744. The timing was right, because King George's War (1744–1748) had erupted that spring. Province Fort was also known as Salmon Falls Fort.

The fortification had palisaded walls forming a square 50 feet on each side. The hemlock logs that made up the walls were one foot thick and were pierced with loopholes for the garrison to fire on attacking Native Americans. Two watchtowers at opposite corners allowed soldiers to fire along the walls to prevent attackers from setting fire to or scaling the walls. A number of buildings within the fort served as barracks and storehouses.

Raiding parties attacked Province Fort five times between 1744 and 1756, but they never captured it. The fort provided a key refuge for the local settlers. One popular story described how these fortifications could deter attack. At one point, most of the garrison and local male settlers were away trying to apprehend a Native American raiding party. Their families were gathered in Province Fort for protection when a messenger brought word that natives were near the fort. Ruth Elden, wife of the fort's commander, Captain John Elden, donned her husband's uniform and took charge of the situation. She had the other women dress like men and watch the walls with muskets ready. The natives were thus dissuaded from mounting an attack until the men had returned.

After King George's War ended in 1748, the settlers continued to prepare for conflict. Province Fort was maintained in good condition. Indeed, settlers built five additional palisaded blockhouses

after the war. Raids during the French and Indian War (1754–1763) failed to capture any of the fortifications. By 1759, however, the threat from Native Americans had been reduced, and the fort eventually became unnecessary.

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See also

Abenakis; Dummer's War; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns; Maine; Massachusetts; Raiding Party

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Provincial Troops

Troops raised in Britain's North American colonies for service alongside British regulars and separate from colonial militiamen. The British adopted the designation "provincial" to differentiate these troops legally from the British regulars. The system of raising provincial troops evolved over a long period out of the various colonial militia systems. Infantry composed the bulk of provincial troops, and they were armed and equipped accordingly.

Often, colonial governments raised provincial troops to perform missions that were longer in duration than the militia could legally be called on to undertake. As time went on, provincial troops were recruited specifically for more distant enterprises. These were generally on the frontiers of their home colony, extracolonial expeditions, or even part of joint intercolonial enterprises.

Organizationally, provincial units for the most part resembled those of regulars. Thus, the regiment was the main unit, composed of a varying number of companies. The social composition differed markedly from British regular units, however. Officers were not of noble birth, and were often drawn from local elites, whose wealth and/or political connections as well as previous martial experience served as a means of recruiting men to follow them. The men who served in provincial units often came from the younger and less affluent parts of the community.

When a prospective commander recruited a provincial unit, he did so under the authorization of the colonial government. This support often came in the form of a bounty, which was used to induce enlistments in the ranks. The bounty, along with the better pay and less severe discipline that exemplified these units, made them more popular among the colonists than service in the British Army.

By the same token, British officers in the regular establishment often commented that the provincial troops were of inferior quality. Among their grievances were that provincial officers would not respect the authority of British regular officers. The British expected senior provincial officers to follow orders issued by their juniors in the regular service. While this practice was modified slightly by the Rule of 1755, which made generals and field officers

of provincial units equal in rank to senior captains in British regular units, it nonetheless remained a point of contention.

Provincials were also quick to point out that often orders given by regular officers contradicted the terms under which they had been recruited. British officers maintained, for the most part correctly, that provincials were poorly trained and of low quality, and that the men were likely to break and run under fire.

Colonial governments were determined to maintain control over their home military units. At the same time, men serving in provincial units were equally zealous of not exceeding the terms of the contracts. This exacerbated tensions with British officers, who had to plan and conduct operations accordingly. If a campaign did not conclude on time, the British commander might loose substantial numbers of men, for the provincials would simply leave the field when their contracts expired.

Provincial troops saw service in a number of colonial conflicts between 1690 and 1763. They served prominently in campaigns against Port Royal, Louisbourg, Quebec, and Montreal. British prime minister William Pitt's policy of using subsidies to attract colonial recruits led to the employment of provincial troops on an unprecedented scale during the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

Such service revealed the many practical problems regarding such troops. Units from one colony often refused to cooperate with those from another, while officers often squabbled over seniority in rank and chain of command. Nonetheless, provincial service helped serve as a training ground for many who later fought in the American Revolutionary War.

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See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Great Britain, Army; Infantry; Infantry Tactics; Louisbourg Expedition; Militias

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Pueblo Revolt

Start Date: August 10, 1680 End Date: August 21, 1680

Revolt of the Pueblo Native Americans against the Spaniards in New Mexico. The Spanish conquest of New Mexico began with Francisco Vásquez de Coronado's 1540–1542 quest for the mythical Seven Golden Cities of Cíbola. Intermittent Spanish forays into New Mex-

ico occurred thereafter, although permanent European settlements were not begun until Don Juan de Oñate y Salazar formally established New Mexico in 1598. Franciscan missionaries, eager to convert the sedentary horticulturalists they called *Indios de los pueblos* (village Indians), soon took up residence in the scattered pueblos.

Relations between the Spanish and the Pueblos took a turn for the worse in 1675, when Gov. Juan Francisco Treviño imprisoned 47 Native Americans he termed "sorcerers." These men were shamans who were perpetuating their sacred ceremonies. Three of the detainees were executed. Another committed suicide before angry Pueblo warriors forced the zealous governor to release those remaining.

Nearly a century of colonial encroachments, smallpox outbreaks, prolonged drought, forced conversions, demands for tribute, and the suppression of traditional practices led most Pueblos to long for an end to the Spanish oppression. Popé, a Tewa shaman from San Juan, made this wish reality after experiencing a powerful vision that had followed his 1675 detention.

The Pueblos' plot to drive out the Spanish unfolded on August 9, 1680, when runners carried knotted cords and instructions to two dozen villages as far south as Isleta in New Mexico, a distance of some 400 miles. Tribal leaders receiving the knotted yucca cords were instructed to untie one knot each day until none remained. After the last knot was untied, the warriors would attack the Spanish.

Gov. Don Antonio de Otermín downplayed the seriousness of the planned uprising on learning about it from native informants. The rebellion, Otermín had learned, was to begin during the night of the new moon. In addition, the attacks would coincide with the arrival of the triennial Spanish supply caravan dispatched from Mexico City. The governor then ordered the torture of Nicolás Catua and Pedro Omtua, captured runners from Tesuque, for further details. Confident that the uprising would not commence until August 13, 1680, Otermín adopted a strategy of watchful waiting.

Pueblo raiders, however, attacked unsuspecting Spanish outposts on August 10, 1680, after learning that the Spaniards had captured the two runners. The stunned Otermín responded by dispatching soldiers to subdue the warriors. In addition, Otermín ordered all Spanish colonists to gather within the safe confines of Santa Fe's defenses.

Spanish settlements in northern New Mexico as far west as the Hopi mesas in present-day Arizona felt the fury of war. The uprising claimed the lives of 19 Franciscan friars and 2 assistants. In all, some 380 Spaniards, including women and children, perished. Alonso García, New Mexico's lieutenant governor residing in Ro Abajo, learned about the devastation on August 11. On the receipt of false reports that all Spanish settlements had been destroyed in the attack and that no colonists had survived, García organized a withdrawal of all remaining Spaniards in the region to El Paso del Norte (modern Juárez) instead of marching north to the settlers' relief.

Governor Otermín, waiting at Santa Fe for reinforcements that never arrived, prepared for a long siege. Nearly 500 Pueblo warriors attacked the capital of New Mexico on August 15, 1680. Within two



Photograph of the ruins of the Spanish mission at Pecos Pueblo, seat of the 17th century Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico. (North Wind Picture Archives)

days more than 2,500 Pueblos had joined the fight. Otermín, severely wounded in a desperate counterattack designed to drive off the attackers, abandoned Santa Fe on August 21 after the attackers cut off the city's water supply. The Spaniards then withdrew down the Rio Grande River Valley.

After the Spanish had departed, Popé and other leaders of the rebellion launched a purification campaign, destroying Catholic churches, statues, and relics. All Pueblos who had received the sacraments were ordered to cleanse themselves by scrubbing their bodies with yucca fibers while bathing in the Rio Grande. Pueblo traditionalists constructed kivas (partially subterranean ceremonial chambers) to replace those that the Spanish colonizers had earlier destroyed.

Otermín attempted to reclaim New Mexico for Spain in November 1681, but Pueblo warriors repelled his invading forces. Spain's interest in New Mexico waned until French explorers visited the lower Mississippi River Delta. Eager to secure the Southwest lest it fall to France, Spanish officials dispatched soldiers there in 1688 and 1689. Although unsuccessful, these expeditions revealed fissures in Pueblo civilization. Officials also learned that Ute, Apache, and Navajo raids, combined with drought and famine, had created severe hardship for the

Pueblos. On August 10, 1692, 12 years to the day of the Pueblo Revolt, Gov. Diego José de Vargas vowed he would retake New Mexico.

By September 13, 1692, a force of 40 Spanish soldiers, 50 Mexican natives, and 2 missionaries reached Santa Fe. Vargas, anxious to assure the defenders that he meant them no harm, pardoned Tewa leaders for their past transgressions. Amazingly, the governor eventually entered the city without having to fire a shot. Maintaining constant vigilance, Vargas also visited the outlying pueblos to assure villagers of his desire for peace.

Despite the governor's efforts, violence returned to the region in 1693, when hostile Pueblos recaptured Santa Fe. A furious Vargas retook the city on December 29, 1693, after cutting off the defenders' water supply. The governor's reconquest of New Mexico ended in December 1696, when Vargas secured a lasting peace. Although the Spanish colonizers and missionaries returned, they had learned an important lesson. After 1696, the villages were allowed to govern themselves and the missionaries tolerated residents' traditional practices. Thus the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 had succeeded in ensuring the perpetuation of cherished tribal languages, dances, and ceremonies for centuries to come.

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See also

Franciscan Order; New Mexico; Oñate, Juan de; Popé (El Popé); Pueblos; Spanish Mission System, Southwest

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Pueblos

Native American groups that lived along the upper reaches of the Rio Grande Valley in the American Southwest (principally in modern-day New Mexico). The Pueblos had prospered for thousands of years prior to European contact. Population estimates vary, but their numbers probably reached as high as 60,000, divided into 80 towns, by the end of the 16th century. With sufficient water to sustain agriculture, the Pueblos cultivated maize, beans, and squash and used artificial means to irrigate their crops. They dwelled in terraced apartment-like buildings built of adobe and stone, which were usually two to three stories high. Towns were often situated on elevated terrain (cliffs and mesas), offering ideal security for the community. The group was called "Pueblo" because it resided in permanent settlements, or *pueblos* in Spanish.

Pueblo government was theocratic, and ceremonial life dominated community affairs. Each pueblo was politically autonomous, with leadership originating from the community's priesthood. This reality, along with the presence of multiple languages and dialects (Keresan or the Tanoan tongues: Tano, Tewa, Tiwa, or Towa), made collaboration between pueblos very rare.

In the early 16th century, the viceroy of New Spain authorized expeditions north of Mexico in hopes of discovering riches rumored to be found among the adobe towns scattered across the landscape. Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, governor of the province of New Galicia in northern Mexico, led the largest of these expeditions from 1540 to 1542. With approximately 300 Spanish cavalry and infantry and more than 1,000 Tlaxcalan warriors, Coronado journeyed up the Rio Grande into the land of the pueblos. He found none of the anticipated opulent cities. Instead, the Spanish conquistadors discovered desert towns of stone and mud-plastered dwellings whose stores of maize and beans offered inviting targets for raids and consumption.

Despite the efforts of the Pueblos to welcome the strangers, conflict was commonplace. Resistance to Spanish incursions proved

futile at Zuñi Pueblo, where Spanish horses, lances, and guns overwhelmed Zuñi attempts to protect their foodstuffs. At the Tiwa Pueblos, the approaching winter led Coronado to commandeer buildings, clothing, and food supplies for the benefit of his soldiers. Tiwa resistance to these demands instigated three months of merciless Spanish reprisals. When Coronado's expedition returned to Mexico in 1542, after venturing all the way to present-day Kansas, it left behind a wide swath of brutality and devastation among the pueblos it had encountered.

Coronado's accounts of his profitless expedition dissuaded further forays into pueblo country for more than half a century. In 1595, Don Juan de Oñate, the son of a wealthy silver mine owner, was charged by the Spanish court with leading an expedition up the Rio Grande to spread the Catholic faith, pacify the natives, and establish a permanent colony in the northern provinces of New Spain. In 1598, Oñate and 500 men, women, and children entered New Mexico near present-day El Paso, Texas, and claimed dominion over the land and its people. By late May 1598, Oñate reached the upper Rio Grande and encountered the first of many pueblos he would formally claim for Spain. Despite the expedition's habit of requisitioning food from the pueblos it encountered, the indigenous population generally welcomed the newcomers—choosing to suppress the memory of Coronado and any desire for retribution.

In July 1598, Oñate arrived at the confluence of the Chama River and the Rio Grande and established his headquarters at Ohke Pueblo, which he renamed San Juan—the capital of the new colony. From San Juan, Oñate inaugurated his missionary program by dispersing friars to the pueblos while he personally conducted a reconnaissance of the province. Native hospitality turned to resistance at Acoma Pueblo in January 1599, leaving 11 Spanish soldiers dead. In retaliation, Oñate sent a punitive expedition against the town, which killed 800 men, women, and children and took another 580 captive. Adolescents were sentenced to 20 years of servitude while adult men were subjected to public mutilation to be conducted in the plazas of pueblos along the Rio Grande. In 1601, Oñate moved the capital across the Rio Grande to Yunque Ouinge Pueblo and renamed it San Gabriel. Nine years later, the capital was moved again, this time to its permanent location in Santa Fe.

By 1610, the realization that there were few riches to be found among the pueblos led many colonists to return to Mexico and offered little incentive for new colonists to venture northward. Those who remained in New Mexico lived in scattered settlements along the Rio Grande and profited from the exploitation of native labor.

For the Pueblos, the 70 years following the establishment of the Spanish capital at Santa Fe proved intolerable. Spanish labor demands on native people were burdensome. Native children were placed into permanent servitude, Franciscan friars strove to abolish Pueblo religious icons and ceremonies, epidemic diseases became rampant, and, to make matters worse, Apache, Ute, and Navajo raiding parties preyed on Pueblo livestock. Sporadic revolts against the Spanish materialized on occasion in isolated pueblos

but were easily put down mostly because of the lack of cooperation between the native towns.

All this dramatically changed in 1680, when Popé, a spiritual leader from San Juan Pueblo, led one of the most effective native revolts in American history. Popé successfully overcame obstacles created by distance and language barriers to unify at least 24 pueblos in a coordinated revolt against the Spanish in early August 1680. His 8,000 followers killed more than 400 Spanish colonists and 21 of the 33 Franciscan friars. Those Spaniards who were not killed or wounded fled back to Mexico while the victors destroyed the vestiges of Spanish rule.

The success of the Pueblo Revolt kept the upper reaches of the Rio Grande free from Spanish control for 12 years. The Pueblos' alliance was short lived, however, as native towns soon returned to their familiar practice of autonomy. When the Spanish under Diego de Vargas returned to New Mexico in 1692, the Pueblos responded with minimal resistance. What opposition the Spanish did encounter was quickly suppressed. Effective Spanish control of the province resumed in 1694, but with a decidedly different approach toward the Pueblos.

Natives were now allowed to retain their religious icons and ceremonies. Labor and food requisitions were moderated. Spanish officials went so far as to arm the pueblos to help them ward off raiding tribes. Throughout the remainder of the colonial period, the land of the Pueblos was spared the repressive policies of the pre-1680 colonists and quickly evolved into a military buffer zone protecting Mexico's northern provinces from native and European incursions. Ironically, what emerged, in effect, was a Pueblo-Spanish alliance that helped to preserve Pueblo culture for generations to come.

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See also

Coronado, Francisco Vásquez de; New Mexico; Oñate, Juan de; Popé (El Popé); Pueblo Revolt; Spanish Mission System, Southwest

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Puritans

Term, originally an epithet, referring to individuals who sought to rid the Church of England of any vestiges of Catholic ritual and hierarchy. The term "Puritans" refers variously to wings of radical 16th-and 17th-century English Protestants who adhered to the rigid doctrines of John Calvin. Indeed, they sought to "purify" the Anglican Church of all things Catholic. A few branches of Puritanism did emerge with slightly differing ideas about church governance. But all agreed on the diluting of ecclesiastical authority, ranging from radical independence to Presbyterianism. They were also broadly divided between a mainstream that never disavowed its connection

to the Church of England and a Separatist fringe eventually led by Robert Browne (1550–1633).

The Separatists became known by their contemporaries as "Brownists." Many of them fled England for the Netherlands and other parts of Europe during the reign of Queen Mary (1553–1558), a Catholic. Some found their way to Geneva, Switzerland, where they sought to refine their Calvinist theology under the tutelage of John Calvin.

On Queen Mary's death and the accession to the throne of Elizabeth I in 1558, all but the Puritans returned to England in order to participate in the process of Reformation begun by Henry VIII. Nevertheless, Elizabeth made it clear that she was not favorably disposed to their religious opinions. A steadily mounting atmosphere of official persecution ensued and accelerated during the reigns of James I (1603–1625) and Charles I (1625–1649).

The Separatists in Holland, concerned that their children were gradually losing their English identity, became determined to reestablish themselves in the New World. Thus, they formed the Plymouth Company under the leadership of William Bradford, which was granted a charter in 1619. Aboard the *Mayflower*, the "Pilgrims," as they called themselves, landed at Cape Cod in modern-day Massachusetts in 1620. There they established Plymouth Plantation.

Encouraged by this example and frustrated by their straitening circumstances, the Puritans began considering the prospect of founding an American colony of their own. Their effort was spearheaded by John Winthrop, who founded the Massachusetts Bay Company and secured a royal charter for a colony in New England in 1629. Carried to the New World in the *Arabella*, Winthrop's settlers sailed in the Massachusetts Bay area in 1630 and founded a colony by that name that he hoped would be a "city on a hill" for the rest of the world—primarily England—to emulate.

To that end, the initial form of government in the Puritan colonies of New England was dependent on its congregational church organization. That governance established strict standards for achieving church membership and the sociopolitical perquisites conferred by it. Most important in that regard was the right to vote and hold elective office in the towns and the assembly. Although clergy were barred from elective office, thus avoiding the creation of a theocracy, neither were the Puritan colonies democratic. Magistrates, for example, did not believe that they represented voters or the general population. Bradford and Winthrop both envisioned a holy commonwealth, but that never precluded a robust commercial activity. That, along with the New Englanders' shared sense of religious purpose and demographic balance, created healthy and economically successful communities in relatively short order.

These success stories resulted in the "Great Migration" of Puritans and other Britons to New England throughout the 1630s. Growing through natural population increases and steady immigration, towns and villages sprung up quickly. Encroaching white settlements pushed inexorably westward into lands claimed by the Massachusett, Pawtuxet, Pequot, Narragansett, and Wampanoag



Illustration showing Puritans barricading their house against Native American attackers. Conflict between Native Americans and New England colonists was common in the early colonial period. (Library of Congress)

peoples. In short order, the American Indians of the region had been decimated by disease and wars between themselves and the English over land and trade.

The Pequot War (1636–1638) brought the Pequots to the edge of extinction, and King Philip's War (1675–1676) swept away what little Southern Algonquian resistance still remained. By the 1680s, New England's frontiers stretched into French-allied Abenaki lands in New Hampshire and Maine. And territory claimed by the Dutch-allied Mohawks and Mahicans in western Massachusetts and Connecticut inevitably enmeshed the Puritan colonies in international imperial rivalries. These tensions sparked a series of colonial wars for over a century between 1652 and 1763.

Although New England Puritanism moved away from the radical Calvinism and idealism of the founding generation, it never relinquished its eschatological sense of purpose as the "New Canaan" in the 18th century. The revivalism of the Great Awakening (ca. 1735–1745) served to reinforce this mentality. Such was especially the case with the interpretive influence of the "New Light" theologian Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) of Massachusetts, among others. The French and Indian War (1754–1763) against Catholic France and pagan natives took on a critically apoc-

alyptic significance in New England, as the clergy exhorted their male parishioners to enlist in provincial regiments. Indeed, they were exhorted to combat the "Enemies to God, to Religion, Liberty, and the pure Worship of the Gospel," in the words of Sylvanus Conant. The victorious conclusion of the war in 1763 inspired Puritan thinker Jonathan Mayhew to envision "mighty cities rising on every hill," thus evoking the language and ideals of Winthrop.

JOHN HOWARD SMITH

See also

Abenakis; Connecticut; King Philip's War; Maine; Massachusetts; Narragansetts; New Hampshire; Pequot War; Pequots; Pilgrims; Plymouth; Praying Towns and Praying Indians; Rhode Island; Wampanoags; Winthrop, John

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Pynchon, John

Born: ca. 1622

Died: January 17, 1703

Influential politician and military leader in Massachusetts Bay Colony. John Pynchon was born around 1622 in Essex, England. In 1630, Pynchon's family migrated to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Pynchon was educated by his father, William Pynchon, founder of Springfield, Massachusetts. The younger Pynchon worked in the fur trade and other mercantile pursuits. He was first elected to local public office in 1650, took over the leadership of Springfield when his father returned to England the following year, and went on to hold nearly every local position during his lifetime.

In 1657, Pynchon was appointed commander of all military forces in western Massachusetts with the rank of captain. He oversaw construction of the Old Fort at Springfield in 1662. He was promoted major for western Massachusetts in 1669 and oversaw its defenses until 1695.

Pynchon's military career was uneventful until King Philip's War (1675–1676). As commander of a combined force of Massachusetts and Connecticut troops, he sought to defend a vast area from native attack. On October 5, 1675, the natives struck Spring-

field. Forewarned of the attack, Pynchon and his men marched back from Hadley to relieve the town. Arriving in mid-afternoon of the same day, they forced the native attackers to withdraw, but by then most of the town had been destroyed. A few days later, Pynchon received word that Massachusetts officials had granted his earlier request to resign his command, which he turned over to Captain Samuel Appleton.

On the formation of the Dominion of New England in 1685, Pynchon participated in the new government, serving on the council headed by Sir Edmund Andros until the dominion came to an end in 1689. Pynchon's association with the unpopular dominion government ended his political influence. Pynchon died in Springfield, Massachusetts, on January 17, 1703.

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See also

Andros, Edmund; Dominion of New England; King Philip's War; Springfield, Burning of

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Quaker Pacifism

Religiously based aversion to war and violence as practiced by the Religious Society of Friends, or Quakers. Pacifism among the Quakers has been considered a fundamental tenet of the sect, although such was never exactly the case. George Fox (1624–1691), the founder of the pietistic sect in England, only preached Christian meekness and humility. That, however, led to an inclination toward pacifism espoused by later 17th-century Quakers. British Quakers gradually adopted pacifism as a spiritual requisite for membership. Pacifism, as part of their avoidance of worldliness and materialism, was consistent with a theology that resonated deeply with the poor and the dispossessed.

Quaker missionaries traveled to the North American colonies, where they faced resistance, harassment, and persecution, most notably in New England. Those Quakers who followed William Penn (1644–1718) to the founding of West Jersey and Pennsylvania in the 1680s went to flee persecution, to capitalize on economic opportunities, and to Christianize the natives. In Pennsylvania, they prospered. Some became quite wealthy as businessmen and merchants, gradually abandoning many of their religious principles in the first decades of the 18th century. They tended to spurn their religious beliefs as they came to control the colony's assembly. They also indulged in epicureanism (withdrawal from the world to pursue self-interest), which drew the sharp criticism of reformers who led a movement to reform American Quakerism and bring it back to its roots.

Quakers found themselves conflicted over serving in the colonial government, for the obvious reasons that it could—and often did—violate their pacifist and Christian beliefs. Nonetheless, a stable Quaker political faction arose in the 1720s, which William

Penn's son Thomas ardently opposed. Quaker ethics against war caused problems with regard to defending Pennsylvania's frontier. And Thomas Penn became exasperated with Quaker grandees in the assembly who continued to be elected by German and Scots-Irish settlers in the west. These Quakers had discarded their pacifism, thus creating an internal schism that caught the attention of the reformers. Soon, the reform faction successfully campaigned to reduce Quaker involvement in colonial government.

The French and Indian War provided the most potent catalyst for the Quaker withdrawal from government, though it was never total. Friends in the assembly had been appropriating funds that they knew were being used for fighting wars. This exposed the divide between pacifist and nonpacifist Quakers in the assembly. Penn and the proprietary faction were able to turn Quaker obstruction of war appropriations bills to their advantage in London. There Quakers were made to look like inveterate pacifists unwilling to defend frontier settlers. The influence of the reformers in Pennsylvania was too great, however, and thus began the Quaker exodus from political domination of the colony.

What occurred between 1755 and 1758 was, under the influence of the Quaker reformers, an assertion of pacifism and the shift from its being a personal and communal pledge against violence to the rejection of any advocacy of violence in any direct or indirect form. Quaker control over Pennsylvania politics collapsed at this point under reformist pressures, though they were soon embroiled in the contentions that brought on the American Revolutionary War in 1775.

JOHN HOWARD SMITH

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Pacifism; Pennsylvania

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Quapaws

Native Americans whose territory covered the lower Mississippi River Valley near its confluence with the Arkansas River in present-day Arkansas. Quapaw territory abutted that of the Osages in north-western Arkansas. Their Algonquin neighbors referred to the Quapaws as the Akanseas, leading the French to call them Akensas or Akansas. It is believed that the Quapaws had once lived east of the Allegheny Mountains but, pressed by other native groups, moved first west and then down the Ohio River.

The Quapaws' first contact with Europeans occurred in 1541, when Spaniard Hernando de Soto came upon their palisaded and moated principal town, which reportedly contained several thousand people. The Quapaws' next contact with Europeans was in 1673, when Frenchmen Louis Jolliet and Jacques Marquette visited Quapaw settlements near the juncture of the Mississippi River and Arkansas River. When French explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, passed by in 1682, the Quapaws had five villages situated along both waterways. La Salle negotiated a treaty of peace with the Quapaws and claimed the territory for France, and other Frenchmen tried to convert the Quapaws to Christianity.

For the most part, Quapaw-French relations were cordial. Indeed, because of the strategic location of their territory, the French went to considerable lengths to assure the Quapaws' allegiance. The French realized early on that a key to controlling the Mississippi Valley was cordial relations with its native peoples.

The Chickasaws were perennial rivals of the Quapaws. When they fought the Chickasaws, the Quapaws actively advanced French interests. Indeed, keeping the British-allied Chicaksaws on the defensive helped alter the Franco-British balance in the region. During the Natchez War (1729–1733), in which the French practically destroyed that tribe, the Quapaws fully backed the French. In 1739–1740, the French set out to decimate the Chickasaws and lay exclusive claim to their territory. Toward that end they amassed an army of up to 3,600 men, including several hundred eager Quapaw warriors. Several months into the campaign, however, the Quapaws left the expedition, which had failed to make contact with the Chickasaws. During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the Quapaws remained steadfast French allies, although their small numbers meant they had little impact on the outcome.

The Quapaws numbered between 5,000 and 10,000 people at first European contact. A virulent outbreak of smallpox in 1698 killed a large majority of them, however. Subsequent wars, reloca-

tions, epidemics, and general decline reduced Quapaw numbers to 3,200 in 1687, 1,600 in 1750, and just 700 in 1763. Indeed, by 1763 the Quapaws had dwindled to the point that they inhabited only three tiny settlements along the Arkansas River. Nevertheless, their sliver of territory proved rich in zinc and lead deposits. By the 1920s, the few surviving Quapaws were enjoying substantial royalties from the lease of mining rights.

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See also

Chickasaws; Chickasaw Wars; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; La Salle, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de; Mississippi River; Natchez War; New France; Osages; Soto, Hernando de

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Quartering

The housing of military forces either in publicly or privately owned civilian quarters. In Europe, large standing armies became commonplace in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. To reduce the financial strain of housing these troops, governments quartered soldiers in taverns, public halls, vacant buildings, and private residences. In the latter case, such troops might either fraternize with or alienate the householder. Government reimbursement, if it came at all, was often slow and usually inadequate to cover all costs.

Desperately in need of funds to finance his unpopular foreign policy, England's King Charles I (1625–1649) had resorted to forced loans and the quartering of troops in private homes. Arrests and imprisonments that had followed opposition to these policies caused great anger in Parliament, which then forced the king to sign the Petition of Right in 1628. Based on earlier statutes and legal precedents, it provided there could be no taxation without consent of Parliament, that no citizen could be imprisoned without just cause (reaffirming the writ of habeas corpus), there could be no martial law in time of peace, and that no troops could be quartered in private homes. In return for Charles's acceptance in June 1628 of the Petition of Right, Parliament agreed to grant the king subsidies. The practice of quartering continued on the continent of Europe, however

In North America, most military forces were militia, but the lack of public facilities and a paucity of barracks meant that there was more or less a constant need to quarter regular troops in private homes, especially in wartime. Colonists balked at the practice, however, and worried aloud that it would lead to the usurpation of civilian authority. Quartering became a major issue during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), when large numbers of British troops were sent to North America. For example, in 1755, the attempt of

the British commander in America, Major General Edward Braddock, to quarter troops in Philadelphia encountered fierce opposition in the province's assembly and roused the ire of Benjamin Franklin, among others. During 1756–1757 the residents of Albany, New York, objected en masse to British plans to quarter up to 2,000 troops in the town.

In the decade after the French and Indian War, the British government was heavily in debt. At first, Parliament clumsily attempted to revive the practice of quartering as a way to get the colonies to help reduce the costs of maintaining a force in America to provide for defense against the natives. The British colonists objected vociferously.

The Quartering Act took effect in March 1765. Under this decree, the colonial legislatures had to furnish British soldiers with barracks, bedding, firewood, cooking utensils, staple provisions, and cider. In 1766, Parliament required billeting in inns, taverns, and vacant buildings. No specific mention of housing troops in private residences was made. Nevertheless, many colonists objected, and the legislature of New York overtly refused to comply with the act.

Ill will persisted on both sides, but there were no new quartering acts passed until 1774, when Parliament enacted the Coercive Acts, known to the colonists as the Intolerable Acts. Primarily directed at Massachusetts, these included a new quartering measure. The decree restated the older acts and added that troops would be quartered in occupied dwellings as well as empty ones and in commercial establishments. Colonists objected bitterly to the lack of privacy as well as to the general concept of standing armies, which they tended to see as instruments of government repression. Thus, the issue of quartering would become an issue worth citing in the Resolves of the First Continental Congress. Indeed, the quartering controversy was one of the fuses that set the American Revolution afire.

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See also

Golden Hill, Battle of; Great Britain, Army; Militias; Quartering Act Crisis

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Quartering Act Crisis

Start Date: March 1765 End Date: October 1767

Showdown between New Yorkers and British Army regulars over the quartering of troops that lasted from March 1765 to October 1767. Following on the heels of the Stamp Act Crisis, the Quartering Act Crisis brought New York colonists and British regulars to the brink of armed conflict in the summer of 1766.

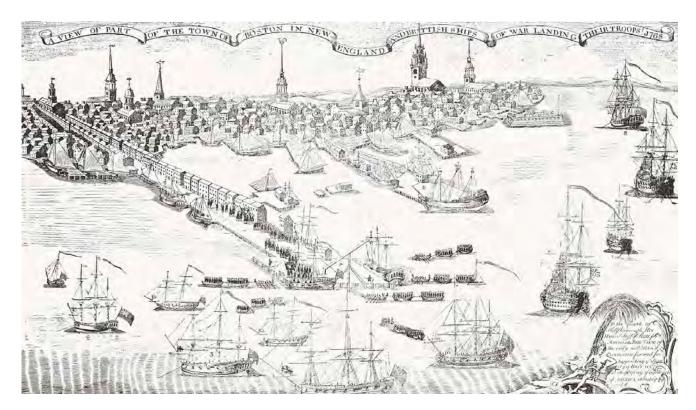
In March 1765, at the request of the British commander in chief in North America, Major General Thomas Gage, Parliament enacted the Quartering Act to provide organization for the provision and housing of regular troops in North America. Previously, troops had been billeted and supplied by local magistrates, who placed them in public buildings, taverns, and occasionally even private homes. Instead, London officials mandated that troops be supplied with a specific list of provisions and shelter, omitting any reference to billeting troops in private homes. All arrangements for housing and supplying the troops had to be authorized by colonial legislatures rather than local authorities.

In 1765, most of the British regulars stationed in America occupied forts along the western edge of British settlement. The British government's reorganization of its administration in the American colonies, however, resulted in the deployment of more troops to the well-settled towns along the eastern seaboard, with New York (Gage's headquarters) containing a full battalion by the spring of 1766. Despite tension over the Stamp Act and disgruntlement that a standing army was stationed among them in peacetime, all of the colonial assemblies made adequate provisions for the troops under the new law. None of them, however, followed the letter of the law precisely or openly acknowledged the new law.

In New York, though, trouble was brewing between the swelling ranks of British soldiers and the colonists. Gage had already been stymied by the legislature in the matter of housing troops stationed in Albany in the winter of 1765–1766, although adequate facilities were eventually found for these men. In June 1766, the legislature once again balked at complying with the Quartering Act, stating that the high number of troops stationed in New York placed an unfair burden on the colony. By the end of the month, the legislature had voted to appropriate nearly £4,000 for military supplies, although legislators evaded any explicit acceptance of the Quartering Act. Gage accepted the money out of necessity, but he warned his superiors in London that the colonists were displaying an alarming degree of independence.

Meanwhile, tensions between colonists and troops ran even higher in New York City. After the legislature refused outright compliance with the Quartering Act, New Yorkers erected a liberty pole, which had been such a symbol of defiance to the Crown during the Stamp Act Crisis. On August 10, 1766, a group of soldiers tore down the pole, sparking a riot the following day between the soldiers and more than 2,000 colonists. Although British officers and local officials managed to restore order, the liberty pole remained a point of contention between the troops and colonists through much of the fall.

In December, the New York legislature refused to allocate more money for troop support. Gov. Henry Moore cajoled the group, however, and in June 1767 the legislature finally appropriated Gage another £3,000. By this point, the ministry in London had



The landing of British troops at Boston, October 1, 1768. Line engraving from the same year by Paul Revere. (The Granger Collection)

decided to make an example of New York. Parliament enacted the Restraining Act, disallowing any legislation from the New York Assembly passed after October 1, 1767. The assembly voted another £1,500 to support the troops in a bill with a conciliatory preamble that still never explicitly accepted the Quartering Act. Moore painted the grant in the best possible light to his superiors in London. The whole issue died down quietly after October 1767, particularly as the ministry found itself occupied with enforcing the newly enacted and much-hated Townshend duties.

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See also

Gage, Thomas; Golden Hill, Battle of; Great Britain, Army; New York; Quartering

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Quartermaster General

The individual assigned to oversee the supply system for an army. During the colonial era, the supply system used by European armies underwent revolutionary changes. In part, the changes were spurred by a massive growth in the size of European armies. At the height of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and Albrecht von Wallenstein of Bohemia each commanded armies of more than 100,000 men. Under Louis XIV, the French peacetime army numbered more than 150,000; and field armies greater than 100,000 became routine. Keeping such large armies fed, clothed, and sheltered required a sophisticated and extensive logistical system. Huge armies simply could not forage or plunder for subsistence in the manner of smaller forces. Commanders who could not supply their troops also could not maintain discipline or prevent desertion or mutiny.

Wallenstein revolutionized the supply system by enforcing cash contributions on the inhabitants of a region through which his army passed, which could then be used to provision the army and be repaid by the treasury at a later date. This streamlined the supply system, but an army still needed to remain in motion lest it exhaust the resources of the countryside. Because armies fed themselves as they moved rather than relying on a base, there was no way to cut the supply lines of an army in motion.

The quartermasters of each army oversaw the collection and distribution of supplies. In the event that sufficient resources could not be found in the area of operations, as happened during virtually every siege, quartermasters coordinated the transportation of supplies to the army. These circumstances made control of waterways vital to any army. By the 1640s, the use of magazines, prestocked supply depots arranged along an army's planned route, became prevalent in Europe.

In the North American colonies, the armies were much smaller than those found in Europe in the same time period. As such, the supply difficulties were of a much smaller magnitude. This did not exempt colonial forces from logistical problems, however. Maintaining an army in the field was beyond the capability of all but the most gifted commanders, and the failure of supply systems doomed many expeditions. During King William's War (1689–1697), New England colonists successfully besieged Port Royal in Acadia, relying on water transportation to keep the army supplied. During Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), English advances on St. Augustine and Pensacola failed for lack of supplies, as did the Spanish counterattack at Charles Town (present-day Charleston), South Carolina.

During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the British and French governments each attempted to increase colonial participation by reimbursing colonies for their expenditures in the war. English colonists insisted on maintaining separate supply systems for provincial troops as a means of maintaining autonomy from royal authority. The supply situation prolonged the conquest of Canada, forcing the cancellation of a planned assault on Montreal in 1759 and almost preventing the campaign of 1760. The increased size of armies in the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783) only increased the pressure on North American quartermasters, and troops on each side of the war suffered from the lack of a well-organized supply system.

PAUL JOSEPH SPRINGER

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Logistics; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns

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Quebec

The capital of New France and its principal port. Quebec is situated on a vitally strategic location astride the St. Lawrence River. The city's commanding promontory, Cap-aux-Diamants, affords an unrestricted view of the St. Lawrence and serves as a natural fortification. As the military, civil, and ecclesiastical center of New France, Quebec played a pivotal role in the exploration and settle-

ment of French North America. It also figured prominently in each of the colonial wars between Britain and France.

Quebec's origins date to 1534, when French explorer Jacques Cartier sailed from St. Malo, France, with orders to enter the Bay of Castles (between Labrador and Newfoundland) and search for a water route to Asia. While exploring the region and taking Native American captives, Cartier discovered the mouth of what he named the St. Lawrence River. He then returned to France for supplies. On another voyage the next year, Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence and anchored at a place the local Iroquois called Stadacona, which translated as "narrowing." The village sat on the northern shore of the St. Lawrence, below the impressive heights on which Quebec City was eventually built. It was also at the junction of the St. Lawrence River and the St. Charles River. The site was ideally located for both transportation and defense.

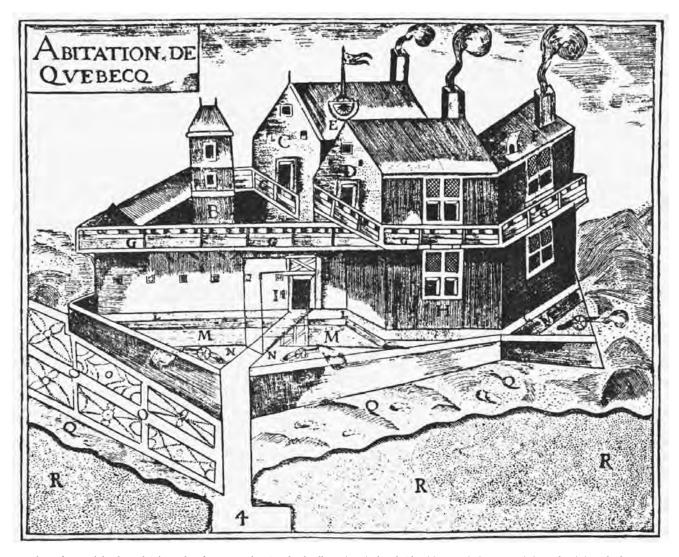
Cartier left his main party at Stadacona before pushing upriver to a village called Hochelaga, which he renamed Mount Royal (and which eventually became Montreal). Above Hochelaga, Cartier turned back in the face of the Lachine Rapids. He returned to Stadacona to winter in a fort built by his expedition, which he dubbed St. Croix. The fortification was the first military structure in New France, and it featured both a defensive ditch and artillery.

Unfortunately, the site became a winter nightmare when the St. Lawrence froze over. Twenty-five of Cartier's 60 men died of scurvy before local Native Americans showed him the secret of boiling cedar bark to produce vitamin C. The French responded by kidnapping 10 natives and sailing for home in 1536. War between France and Spain prevented Cartier's return until 1541. He then attempted to found a colony at Stadacona, but ultimately it failed.

French efforts to build on Cartier's exploits languished until the early 1600s, when Samuel de Champlain established Quebec City on the heights above Stadacona in 1608. The city totally commanded the St. Lawrence River, which Champlain realized was the key to the entire inland water system of northern North America. It quickly became the primary port city and trading post in French Canada. It was also a center for French settlement and the lucrative fur trade. At the same time, the unparalleled strategic location and economic importance of Quebec made it a prime military position. As such, the French fortified both the landward and river approaches to the city throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.

Although the city grew slowly, boasting a population of only 3,418 people in 1666, it was the export center for the vast fur-trading empire of New France. It also served as a base of operations for an expanding number of Recollet and Jesuit missionaries. When Quebec became the capital of New France in 1663, it added further political, civil, and ecclesiastical dimensions to its already unsurpassed economic and military importance. And it became an even greater focal point during all of the wars between Britain and France in North America.

The English attacked Quebec successfully in 1629, but subsequent attacks in 1690 and 1711 failed. The decisive battle for Quebec and New France occurred on the Plains of Abraham just



Woodcut of Samuel de Champlain's Quebec fort, 1613, showing the dwellings (C, D), drawbridge (I), moat (M), cannon (N), garden (O), and other features. (North Wind Picture Archives)

above the city in 1759. It ended in the British capture of Quebec, the decisive point in the French and Indian War. When the war concluded in 1763, Great Britain demanded virtually all of New France, and Quebec became part of the British Empire.

Following the English conquest, most of the French settlers in New France and in Quebec elected to stay. In the Quebec Act of 1774, they were guaranteed rights and privileges for the Catholic Church, a return of French civil law, representative government, and boundaries for their territory that extended to the Ohio River and the Mississippi River. These rights served as a major antagonism for British colonists in the lower 13 colonies of North America. In the end, the act played a not insubstantial role in triggering the American Revolutionary War in 1775.

Lance Janda

See also

Champlain, Samuel de; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Jesuits; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; New France; Quebec, Attack on (1629); Quebec, Attack on (1690); Quebec, Attack on (1711); Quebec, Battle of; Quebec, French Attempt to Recapture; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns

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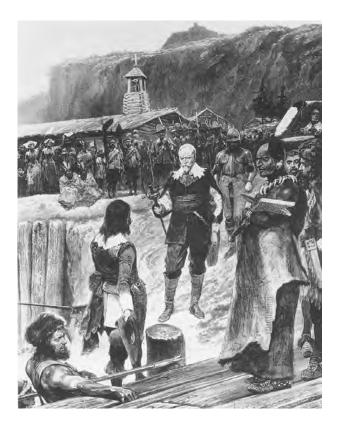
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Quebec, Attack on

Event Date: 1629

Assault on Quebec by English paramilitary forces in 1628–1629 and an extension of the Third Huguenot War between England and



Samuel de Champlain surrendering Quebec to the English, July 19, 1629. (The Granger Collection)

France. In the wake of this religious conflict, King Louis XIII's minister, Armand Jean du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu, prohibited all non-Catholic immigration to New France. He also reorganized and recapitalized French holdings in North America through the formation of the Compagnie des Cent-Associés (Company of 100 Associates). Richelieu named Quebec's founder, Samuel de Champlain, as chief administrator.

Early in 1628, Richelieu amassed a convoy at the port of Dieppe to carry supplies to New France as well as several hundred settlers to serve as the advance element of an accelerated colonization plan. At the same time, however, and empowered by a letter of marque from English king Charles I, the Huguenot turned London merchant and privateer Gervase Kirke set out to capture Quebec from the French.

Kirke's flotilla, led by his sons David, Lewis, Thomas, John, and James, consisted of three ships carrying in all 200 men. It set sail for Canada well ahead of Richelieu's convoy. On the way, the Kirkes captured several French warships and fishing vessels. The expeditionary force then continued up the St. Lawrence River, taking the trading outpost of Tadoussac on July 10, 1628. This they accomplished with the help of local natives and disaffected French traders put off by Champlain's brusque administrative style.

David Kirke then sent several envoys upriver to deliver a surrender demand to Champlain, who responded with defiance. Kirke in turn informed Champlain that his force would return early the next year. He also said that he would cut off French supplies during the winter, expecting that this would make Champlain amenable to surrender. Departing for the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Kirke's ships then imposed a naval blockade for the remainder of the season, in the process seizing Richelieu's convoy of 11 ships with 600 crewmen and colonists. In the autumn of 1628, with the St. Lawrence River about to freeze over, thereby cutting off Quebec from waterborne resupply, Kirke and his men sailed for England.

The winter of 1628–1629 was severe, and Champlain and inhabitants of Quebec, who numbered fewer than 100 people at the time, avoided death by freezing or starvation only through the charitable actions of France's Native American allies, the Hurons. In the spring as promised, Kirke returned with an enlarged fleet and again blockaded the St. Lawrence. With Quebec having fewer than 20 men under arms, Champlain was forced to capitulate on July 19, 1629. Having ostensibly achieved the conquest of Canada, the Kirkes garrisoned the fort and then took Champlain and the rest of Quebec's inhabitants back to England.

On his arrival in London on October 29, 1629, Champlain sought out the French ambassador, from whom he learned that war between England and France had ended with the Treaty of Susa on April 29, 1629. By December, Champlain was in Paris, lobbying Richelieu and Louis XIII for the return of Canada to French control. However, because of diplomatic hurdles following the peace, Quebec was not officially returned to France until the signing of the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye on March 29, 1632.

In July 1632, a French ship carrying some 40 settlers, as well as the Jesuit priest Paul Le Jeune and the new French governor, Emery de Caen, arrived at Quebec. After handing the settlement over to de Caen on July 13, the remaining Kirke brothers and their men returned to England, but not before pilfering a large stockpile of beaver pelts as well as furniture, window frames, and anything else they could pry from the ruins. As Le Jeune later noted, all that was left of the nearly 30-year French effort to colonize Canada was a ransacked fort and some dilapidated stone walls.

The 1629 capture of Quebec was highly significant for the future development of North America. French dreams of colonization were set back decades by the destruction wrought by the Kirkes. Although returned to France almost as an afterthought, Quebec in French hands proved to be a threat to English America for the remainder of the colonial period. Furthermore, the events of 1629 led Richelieu to replace the Recollet order with the Jesuits as the primary Catholic proselytizing force in North America. This was a development that would deeply affect the course of North American colonial warfare and have far-reaching consequences for native groups and European settlers alike. Finally, the native alliances that had been formed by the English and French respectively were thrown into disarray by Champlain's capitulation, leading to all-out war between New France and the Iroquois Confederation.

See also

Black Robes; Champlain, Samuel de; Franciscan Order; Hurons; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Jesuits; New France; Privateering; Quebec; St. Lawrence River

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Quebec, Attack on

Start Date: October 18, 1690 End Date: October 25, 1690

The first major English campaign during King William's War (1689–1697), in October 1690. In response to French frontier raids, New York and New England organized a two-pronged invasion of New France. It combined a seaborne assault against Quebec with a secondary force advancing on Montreal from Lake Champlain. Massachusetts appointed Major General Sir William Phips commander of the Quebec expedition.

The New England colonies raised more than 2,300 men, but Phips waited in vain for additional supplies from England while the campaign season slipped away. Finally, on August 9, 1690, Phips and his army set sail for Quebec aboard 34 vessels. It was the largest colonial military expedition to that point.

In New France, Governor-General Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, had left Quebec virtually undefended in order to stave off the English attack against Montreal. On October 10, when he learned of Phips's departure, he raced back to Quebec with reinforcements, hoping to beat the English to the city. Fortunately, the British Army on Lake Champlain disbanded. This allowed Frontenac to shift nearly all his forces and call out the militia throughout the St. Lawrence River Valley.

Frontenac and the first reinforcements reached Quebec on October 14. Phips's fleet arrived two days later. Quebec's defenses grew stronger every day. Soon they boasted nearly 3,000 men.

Phips sent Major Thomas Savage ashore to demand Quebec's immediate surrender. The French escorted the blindfolded officer into a main hall where Frontenac and an impressive retinue received him. An angry Frontenac rebuffed the English ultimatum, vowing that his cannon would bear his response.

French defiance presented a dilemma for the English. Colonial leaders had assumed the fleet's mere presence would lead to capitulation. Phips and his officers then quickly improvised a plan to land forces east of Quebec and march overland to attack the city's

weak western defenses. Meanwhile, a small diversionary force would attack from the St. Lawrence.

On October 18, Major John Walley and 1,200 New Englanders landed along Beauport Flats on the St. Lawrence River's north shore. They encountered little resistance, but illnesses, especially smallpox, kept the remaining troops on the transports. The only major obstacle, the St. Charles River, was fordable only for a few afternoon hours during low tide. Rather than attack the English across the river, Frontenac massed troops on the western shore. He planned to allow the English to cross the river, and when the tides rose cutting off reinforcements and retreat he would strike.

Four ships were to support the river crossing, but at dawn on October 19, Phips's vessels dueled with French batteries instead. The exchange accomplished little except to expend most of the ships' ammunition. Boats that were supposed to assist the crossing never arrived.

When a French deserter reported that the English were significantly outnumbered, Walley reassessed his situation. His men were exhausted, sick, frostbitten, and out of provisions. On October 20, Walley requested that his force be withdrawn. That night, as boats arrived to evacuate the provincials, panicked soldiers mobbed them and prevented an orderly withdrawal. Walley's men would have to remain until the following evening.

After skirmishes on October 20 and 21, the English withdrew, leaving behind five of their six cannon. Unaware at first of the New Englanders' flight, Frontenac missed a potential opportunity to destroy the provincial force. Nevertheless, his defensive strategy had succeeded, with minimal French losses.

Phips and his officers debated another landing, but a storm scattered the fleet. Facing serious food and ammunition shortages, smallpox, and the coming winter, Phips negotiated a prisoner exchange. On October 25, he sailed for home. Both sides had suffered about 30 casualties. But a series of shipwrecks and disease pushed the English casualty total to well over 400, not including the smallpox outbreak triggered by the fleet's return. Even worse, the venture was a financial disaster because the colonies planned to recoup the over £50,000 investment through the looting of Quebec. With little effort, the French had repulsed the poorly planned, indifferently led English expedition. The failure soured many colonial leaders on future ventures that lacked significant support from the Crown.

STANLEY J. ADAMIAK

See also

Canada, New England Expedition against; Frontenac, Louis de Buade de, Comte de Frontenac et de Palluau; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Phips, Sir William; Walley, John

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Quebec, Attack on

Start Date: June 25, 1711 End Date: August 23, 1711

Abortive English campaign during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) that took place during the summer of 1711. The plan called for a seaborne assault on Quebec and a simultaneous, diversionary attack by colonial forces from Albany against Montreal. Frustrated by the lack of Crown support for a failed 1709 attack on Canada, however, colonial leaders doubted reports that a new British expedition, led by Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker, would join provincial forces in Boston for the seaborne operation. The colonial governments cautiously made preparations, nonetheless.

Walker arrived from Britain on June 25, 1711. His force included a dozen warships and numerous transports. They carried seven regiments of regulars and a marine battalion. Brigadier General John Hill commanded the land force that numbered more than 4,000 men. This impressive force, bolstered by thousands of provincials, held great promise, but neither Walker nor Hill proved up to the task.

Walker faced numerous problems. French agents sowed distrust among colonists with rumors that his ultimate purpose was to reassert centralized royal authority. To confuse enemy agents as to the fleet's destination, the Admiralty outfitted Walker's ships with only limited provisions, making colonial support crucial. Unfortunately, Boston already faced a food shortage and had difficulty feeding its populace.

Provisioning several thousand soldiers and sailors seemed out of the question. As a result, profiteering was rife. Lacking adequate specie, Walker's agents tried to negotiate credit, but New England merchants refused or demanded exorbitant interest rates. This crisis forced Gov. Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts to intervene. Boston also became a haven for more than 200 British deserters hidden by sympathetic Bostonians. Lacking an understanding of colonial society or sensibilities, Walker saw only intransigence.

For all these difficulties, Walker departed Boston on July 30, 1711, with 9 warships, 2 bomb ketches, and more than 60 transport and supply vessels. Despite commanding more than 12,000 soldiers and sailors—the largest armed force ever seen in the colonies—Walker had serious doubts about the prospects for success. He feared the coming winter, unpredictable weather, and supply shortages that had doomed the New Englanders' 1690 campaign. With only three months' food supplies, Walker could not support a lengthy siege and he feared being trapped by winter ice. His force would also have to navigate without adequate charts or pilots some 400 miles up the St. Lawrence, a river known for fog, dangerous shoals, winds, and currents.

Tragedy struck the expeditionary force on the night of August 23 as the fleet neared Île-aux-Oeufs, some 100 miles from Quebec. Off course and blinded by fog, the ships blundered toward the north shore. Seven transports and a supply vessel foundered, leaving nearly 900 men dead.

Following two days of salvage efforts, and even though he still possessed a sizable force, Walker's spirit was broken. He persuaded a council of war to abandon the operation. When the fleet rendezvoused at Cape Breton Island, near the mouth of the St. Lawrence, both Walker and Hill rejected suggestions of a more limited operation against Placentia, Newfoundland. While Walker's force returned to England, the provincials sailed for Boston. Without Walker's attack, the campaign crumbled.

Critics on both sides of the Atlantic sought scapegoats. Walker and Hill blamed colonial obstructionists, claiming New Englanders had sabotaged the campaign to preserve the lucrative wartime trade with New France. Colonial leaders countered that they had raised the necessary forces under difficult circumstances and faulted Walker's inept leadership. Whatever the cause, the failed expedition reinforced the poor relationship between the New England colonies and the Crown.

STANLEY J. ADAMIAK

See also

Canada, British Expedition against (1709); Canada, British Expedition against (1711); Canada, New England Expedition against; Quebec, Attack on (1690); Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; St. Lawrence River; Walker, Hovenden

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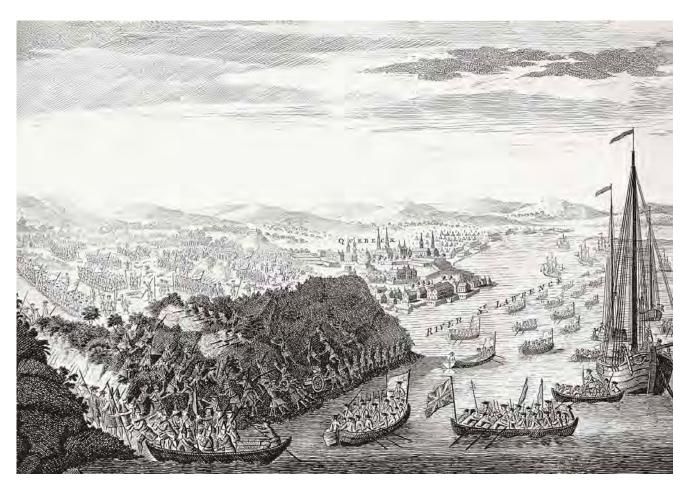
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Quebec, Battle of

Event Date: September 13, 1759

Decisive battle of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Fought on September 13, 1759, the Battle of Quebec was the most important military engagement in the century-and-a-half struggle between Britain and France for control of North America east of the Mississippi River. Indeed, it was probably the most important battle in the history of colonial North America.

The French stronghold of Quebec was the capital of New France and a long-standing primary British military objective. Situated on a peninsula towering above the northern bank of the St. Lawrence at a point where the river narrows, Quebec was known as the



Contemporary print showing British forces under the command of Major General James Wolfe in battle with the French before Québec, Canada, on September 13, 1759. This was perhaps the most important battle in the history of North America. (Library of Congress)

"Gibraltar of the Americas" for its natural as much as manmade defenses. High cliffs made bombardment from below almost impossible and a direct amphibious assault suicidal. Subsidiary rivers blocked attacks on either flank, and a landward approach faced strong walls and would be, in any case, possible only if supporting ships moved upriver and ran a gauntlet of gun batteries.

If Montreal to the southwest, farther up the St. Lawrence, remained secure, Quebec could be supplied indefinitely by water. Siege operations were also complicated by the tides and treacherous currents of the St. Lawrence, and winter made the river impassable with ice.

In spite of these obstacles, British prime minister William Pitt recognized that taking Quebec was the key to the defeat of New France. In 1758 British forces seized the fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island that guarded the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and Pitt approved plans for a strike led by Brigadier General James Wolfe, who held a local commission as a major general. Wolfe, the youngest officer to hold that rank in the army, had distinguished himself in the attack on Louisbourg, and he sailed from England with the naval commander, Vice Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, in February 1759. In all, the force earmarked for opera-

tions against Quebec included 49 warships, 119 transports, and 9,000 troops.

The British force moved up the St. Lawrence toward Quebec to face some 12,000 French forces assisted by local militia and some Native Americans, all under the command of Lieutenant General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm. Wolfe established a base near Quebec on the Île d'Orléans on June 26, 1759. The French dispatched fire ships in a failed attempt to burn the British ships the following night. Meanwhile, the British sent gunners ashore at Point Lévis, directly across the St. Lawrence from Quebec itself. Those gunners established a battery of six 32-pounder cannon and five 13-inch mortars that opened fire on July 12 and battered the city for the next seven weeks.

Wolfe landed troops north of Quebec at Beaupre on July 9 and assaulted Beauport on July 31. Both attacks failed to provide a clear avenue of advance, and they left Wolfe deeply frustrated. All efforts to draw the defenders out of the fortress proved futile. Throughout August, Wolfe struggled to approach Quebec without success, while his naval officers endeavored to chart the difficult estuary around the city. The stress of command left Wolfe bedridden with kidney stones and rheumatism. Many of his men thought he was dying.



British troops prepare to fight the French near Quebec on the Plains of Abraham, September 13, 1759. (North Wind Picture Archives)

Wolfe's spirits improved only slightly when Vice Admiral Saunders slipped some ships past Quebec in July and August and began landing light infantry upriver to destroy French farms and supplies. Montcalm reacted by detaching his aide-de-camp, Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, and 3,000 men to patrol the cliffs south of the city. Then Wolfe saw an opening. On September 3, he quickly moved his headquarters and most of his men to the south shore beyond Quebec. He personally scouted a landing place at L'Anse du Foulon, only two miles from the city, and sent British naval units upriver and then ordered them to drift back with the tide to test Bougainville's reaction.

The French shadowed the fleet each time, but slowed as they grew tired and suspected the movement was a ruse. Wolfe also mounted feint assaults to keep the French off balance. On September 10, he learned from deserters that Quebec was short on food, that Montcalm feared the British would interdict supplies coming from Montreal, and that no landing was expected near the city. Time was running out for Wolfe, however. With winter only a few weeks away, Saunders feared his ships would be trapped in winter ice and threatened to depart with them.

Wolfe sent his ships up and down the river again and again to pull Bougainville away from Quebec and tire his men. Taking advantage of intelligence provided by Captain Robert Stobo, a British captain who had been held prisoner in Quebec and knew the city well, Wolfe then ordered an assault just north of the city at 4:00 a.m. on September 13 at Anse du Foulon, where a narrow footpath angled up the steep cliffs.

In a lucky stroke, Wolfe learned from more deserters that this was the same night the French expected to be resupplied by boats from Montreal, giving the British a perfect cover for their landing. He sent Saunders to bombard and launch a feint attack on Beauport, then took 4,800 men upriver and drifted back in the darkness. Bougainville did not follow closely. At 2:00 a.m. on September 13, Wolfe led his men in boats across the St. Lawrence. They landed two hours later, scrambled 180 feet up the narrow path to the top of the cliffs, overwhelmed the French sentries there, and captured a nearby French camp.

By 6:00 a.m. the British had approximately 4,500 men deployed in line of battle on the Plains of Abraham above the city. The next move belonged to Montcalm. The French commander discounted reports that the British had successfully landed. Nevertheless, he dutifully rode out with Governor-General Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil to see for himself. He was astonished when he found Wolfe's men and immediately decided to attack. This decision provided endless fodder for historians. Indeed, Montcalm

advanced without waiting for Bougainville, without most of his provincial troops or militia, without Quebec's garrison, and with only three artillery pieces. Moreover, with winter approaching, Montcalm had excellent reason to play for time. His defenders have argued that Quebec was short of supplies, that artillery above the city could command the lower town, and that the French had to strike before Wolfe was reinforced. But the decision to offer battle outside the city while outnumbered seems so impulsive it may have had more to do with emotion than anything else.

Whatever Montcalm's motive, the battle of less than half an hour that followed featured no cavalry and very little artillery. It was purely an 18th-century black powder infantry duel, in which British discipline carried the day. Both sides deployed across the Grande Allée, the main road leading toward Quebec's St. Louis bastion. Six British battalions faced five regiments of French regulars in the center on a tabletop battlefield whose sloping sides prevented maneuver. Wolfe had one battalion in a second line, a battalion on each flank, and one in reserve. In contrast, the outnumbered Montcalm placed marines, militiamen, and Native Americans on his flanks and had no second line or reserves of any kind.

The battle began with sniping and skirmishing on the flanks. At 8:00 a.m. Montcalm's artillery opened up with grape shot. Wolfe ordered his men to lie down to protect themselves, until 10:00 a.m. when the French infantry came on at a run. Their hasty advance opened gaps in their lines, and when some units fired early and began to reload much of their cohesion was lost.

Wolfe had ordered his men to load an extra ball in their muskets and wait until the French were at close range. As they neared his position he ordered them to stand and fire. Legend has it the British unleashed only one volley, which is almost certainly not true. Some redcoat battalions probably fired as the French closed, but at some point there was one great final volley that sent Montcalm and his men into headlong retreat. French losses were reported as 644 killed and wounded, compared to 658 for the British. Yet the psychological shock for the French was total. Wolfe, already wounded at least once, was mortally struck as the French broke and ran. Wolfe died quickly. Death also claimed Montcalm, who was hit by British grapeshot during the retreat and lingered a day before dying.

Surviving French forces under Vaudreuil ran all the way to Beauport, then turned and fled toward Montreal, picking up Bougainville and his men along the way. Quebec surrendered on September 18, and remained in British hands thereafter. French efforts to resupply their forces in Canada were stymied by a British victory in the naval Battle of Quiberon Bay on November 20. The French did mount an offensive to retake Quebec in April 1760 and defeated British forces under Brigadier General James Murray on the Plains of Abraham after the British commander impulsively gave battle much as Montcalm had done. But the British fell back into the city and withstood the ensuing siege. Montreal succumbed to the British in 1760 and, when the French and Indian War ended in 1763, France relinquished Canada for good.

Lance Janda

See also

Bougainville, Louis Antoine de, Comte de Bougainville; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Quebec, French Attempt to Recapture; Wolfe, James

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Quebec, French Attempt to Recapture

Start Date: April 27, 1760 End Date: September 8, 1760

French counterattack on Quebec during the French and Indian War (1754–1763) in the spring of 1760, also called the Battle of Sainte Foy and Second Battle of Quebec. The French expedition followed Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm's, infamous loss to Brigadier General James Wolfe's British forces the previous autumn.

The September 13, 1759, engagement between British and French forces on the Plains of Abraham at Quebec is often portrayed as the decisive encounter of the French and Indian War. However, this was by no means apparent at the time. Wolfe's decision to attempt a landing directly in front of the heights, rather than on the road to Montreal farther west, indeed had led to Quebec's capitulation on September 18. But it also allowed the French Army to escape upriver and live to fight another day.

Before the month was out, more than 7,000 French regulars, Canadian militiamen, and native warriors had been gathered at Montreal under Montcalm's replacement, Major General François-Gaston de Lévis. Ships had also been dispatched to France requesting thousands more troops for a spring counteroffensive. Combined with the October 26 departure of the bulk of the Royal Navy from Canada because of the impending freeze of the St. Lawrence River, the end of the year saw the military advantage swing decidedly to the French.

Following their victory, the British had left a sizable garrison of 7,300 men at Quebec under a junior brigadier, James Murray, who replaced the deceased Wolfe. However, this number was quickly halved by hunger, scurvy, and unusually bitter weather. Had the French decided to attack during the winter of 1759–1760, not only

could they have snowshoed over Quebec's perimeter walls, but they would have faced a starved and disease-ravaged British force.

As it worked out, the earlier ice-out near Montreal enabled Lévis to mobilize his forces by mid-April. The French flotilla essentially moved with the melt in the St. Lawrence from Montreal toward Quebec. By comparison, the few British ships left at Quebec were still encased in 14 feet of ice as of April 9. This fact significantly compromised Murray's intelligence-gathering ability as well as his military readiness.

On the morning of April 24, Lévis's men landed and began moving inland. By the evening of April 27, they were skirmishing with the British outside the parish church at Sainte Foy, about five miles to the west of Quebec. The next day Murray marched out of the fortified town center leading those still fit to bear arms. This force, numbering about 3,800 men, charged the French lines. Murray's forces initially drove the French back, but the core of Lévis's troops, until now hidden in the nearby woods, came up on both flanks and began to surround the British. Murray then ordered artillery brought up. But the muddy, snowy ground and the fact that the gun carriages were of necessity propelled not by horses but by the walking wounded caused the guns to bog down long before reaching the front lines. With the French encirclement nearly complete, Murray ordered a retreat that quickly devolved into a panicky flight and saw the British leave behind a large number of muskets, cannon, and entrenching tools. Having essentially fought the 1759 battle of Wolfe and Montcalm in reverse, Lévis continued to follow the script by laying siege to Quebec.

The Battle of Sainte Foy now rested on whether a British or French ship would be the first to navigate the St. Lawrence with supplies and troops. On the morning of May 9, 1760, both Lévis and Murray strained to discern the colors of the season's first vessel to draw within sight of Quebec. Much to the relief of the British, it was the Royal Navy ship *Lowestoft*, which brought word that the British had reinstated their naval blockade of New France.

Soon British ships moved upriver to bombard Lévis's position on the heights. Meanwhile, those remaining downstream destroyed the French reinforcement fleet in Restigouche Bay. Lévis could only fall back to Montreal, where three British armies advancing from the south, west, and east surrounded his forces and secured their surrender on September 8. Although peace would not officially arrive until the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1763, the Battle of Sainte Foy and its aftermath signaled the end of more than 150 years of French imperial presence in Canada.

Steve Bunn

See also

French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Lévis, François Gaston de, Duc de Lévis; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Montreal; Murray, James; Paris, Treaty of; Quebec; Quebec, Battle of; St. Lawrence River; Wolfe, James

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Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns

Start Date: May 1702 End Date: April 1713

A series of engagements fought in North America and tied to the greater European conflict known as the War of Spanish Succession (1702–1713). Charles II, the Habsburg king of Spain (1661–1700), was childless. On the urging of King Louis XIV, French diplomats worked to secure the inheritance for Louis's grandson, Philippe d'Anjou. The French were successful, and on his death in November 1700, Charles left his considerable European and overseas possessions to Philippe on the condition that they not be divided. European leaders had long dreaded the Spanish succession and there were discussions of possible partition plans (along the lines of the eventual settlement in 1713). A diplomatic solution would have averted a long and costly war, but Louis rejected any such arrangement.

France united with Spain and its possessions would be a formidable power bloc. To prevent this, the threatened powers put together a coalition, and fighting began in March 1701. The war has sometimes been called the first world war, for the fighting took place around the globe, in Europe, India, and North America. England became a leading player in the coalition to stymie French ambitions, allying itself with Austria, the Netherlands, Prussia, and most of the other German states against France, Spain, and Bavaria. In May 1702, England formally declared war and John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough, arrived in Holland as captain general of English and Dutch forces.

In North America, the war became the second of four conflicts fought for control of the continent. The English colonists there knew it as "Queen Anne's War," for the English ruler, Queen Anne (1702–1714). They saw the war as an opportunity to break the ring of French and Spanish settlements extending in a great arc from Canada (New France) to the Gulf of Mexico.

The first fighting in the New World occurred in 1702, when the English moved against French and Spanish holdings in the Caribbean. English forces moved from their possessions in the Leeward Islands to occupy the French portion of the island of Saint Kitts. This early success led to the unsuccessful siege of French Guadeloupe in the spring of 1703.

British North American colonists viewed the war as an opportunity to raid and plunder French and Spanish colonial holdings. South Carolina raised a force of militia and native warriors, Under



A treaty between the "Eastern Tribes" of North America and the British following Queen Anne's War (1702–1713). In it, the representatives of the tribes agree to "forbear all acts of Hostility towards all the Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain." (Library of Congress)

the command of Gov. James Moore Jr., this force raided southward against Spanish Florida in October 1702. Moore destroyed several outposts along the St. Johns River, and then moved on St. Augustine. The Spanish abandoned the town and withdrew to the Castillo de San Marcos. Moore's forces burned the town and returned to their ships on the approach of Spanish warships. Moore mounted another expedition to strike at the Spanish outposts in western Florida. Moore used the promise of plunder to enlist native allies to participate in attacks against Spanish missions. This expedition proved a success, with all but one of the 14 missions taken, and nearly 1,000 mission natives taken as slaves. The Carolinians were unable to push through the Choctaws, however, to get at the French gulf settlements.

In June 1703, the French colonial government enlisted the help of the Abenaki Native Americans for a series of raids along the northern frontier of New England. The purpose of the attacks was to prevent the expansion of the British colonists into the interior near New France. With French assistance and leadership, nearly 500 warriors

swept into the English settlements in Maine (then part of Massachusetts). Towns such as Wells and Saco were destroyed, and a number of their inhabitants either killed or carried off into captivity.

During these attacks, the New England colonies were left to their own devices to protect their settlements. Britain was heavily committed in fighting on the European continent, and the New York colony had made a separate peace with the natives and was not subject to native raids. The New England colonies therefore continued to suffer severe losses, amid increasing rumors regarding New Yorkers' trade with the local natives.

During the night of February 29, 1704, a force numbering 48 Frenchmen and Canadians and 200–250 native allies attacked Deerfield, Massachusetts. They were able to achieve complete surprise. The raid resulted in the death of 50 English colonists and the capture of 112 more. Twenty-one of the captives died during the 300-mile trek back to Montreal. Eventually, the survivors were ransomed and returned to Deerfield.

In response to the numerous French and native raids on New England, Massachusetts raised troops to carry the war to the French in the spring of 1704. In June of that year, Colonel Benjamin Church led a force of 500 New Englanders north to destroy the Abenaki supplies and to control the Acadian fisheries. They destroyed Abenaki villages at Minas and Beaubassin in July, then besieged the French Acadian fortress of Port Royal. Unable to take it, they then voted to return home. In Newfoundland, a force of French and Native Americans mounted a raid from Placentia against an English settlement at Bonavista during August 18–29, 1704.

In 1705, there was a lull in the fighting in North America, and the French governor proposed a prisoner exchange with the New England colonies. Both sides had taken large numbers of captives over the previous two years in raids along the frontier, but the negotiations yielded only a small number of exchanges. The governments of New France and Massachusetts actually considered a separate peace, but the negotiations failed.

In 1706, a commissioner from Massachusetts, Samuel Vetch, sailed for Britain to obtain military assistance from the Board of Trade to settle the conflict. That same year, the French and the Spanish combined their forces to strike at the British in the American South and in the Caribbean. A combined force of Spanish troops and French privateers sailed from Havana, Cuba, and St. Augustine, Florida, to raid Charles Town (present-day Charleston), South Carolina. The South Carolinians were able to defeat the poorly led landing force and then raised a naval force to defeat the French ships.

South Carolina then attempted to enlist native allies to attack Spanish holdings around Pensacola and Mobile. An attack was mounted on Pensacola in 1707, but it was not successful.

New England again attempted to mount an attack against the seat of the French colonial government in Acadia by attacking Port Royal in the spring and summer of 1707. Colonel John March led a force of roughly 1,500 men funded by the government of Massachusetts. The forces landed and drove the French back into their defensive works. A lack of discipline and poor colonial leadership,

Name in North America	Name in Europe	Dates in North America	Dates in Europe	Treaty Ending Hostilities
King William's War	War of the League of Augsburg	1689-1697	1688-1697	Treaty of Ryswick (Sept. 1697)
Queen Anne's War	War of the Spanish Succession	1702-1713	1701-1714	Treaty of Utrecht (Apr. 1713)
King George's War	War of the Austrian Succession	1744-1748	1740-1748	Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (Oct. 1748)
French and Indian War	Seven Years' War	1754-1763	1756-1763	Treaty of Paris (Feb. 1763)

however, enabled the French to reinforce the garrison. By August the attempt to take Port Royal had failed and the troops returned to Massachusetts.

In summer 1708, the French took the initiative by launching another series of raids along the New England frontier. A large force of 400 French Canadians and their native allies set out, but a growing number of the Native Americans left the expedition. On August 29, 1708, the now-reduced force attempted to strike at Haverhill, Massachusetts. The raiders faced a spirited defense and were forced to withdraw on the arrival of Massachusetts reinforcements. The French did succeed in capturing St. Johns on December 21, 1704, bringing all the eastern shore of Newfoundland under their control.

Throughout 1706–1709, colonial representatives worked to obtain military assistance from the Board of Trade in Britain. In 1709, Queen Anne granted approval for a military force to be sent to New England, which would move in concert with a colonial military force commanded by Colonel Francis Nicholson. Provincial troops gathered in Albany, New York, in preparation for an advance on Montreal to assist the planned British advance on Quebec and Port Royal. In October, however, word was received that continental demands had led the British to cancel their participation and send the forces to Portugal instead, whereupon the entire operation was called off. The colonial representatives then dispatched another team of delegates to plead their case before the Board of Trade.

Representatives of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island petitioned Queen Anne for a new British military operation against the French in 1710. The representatives also voted to assemble their own expedition to take Port Royal as soon as possible. Toward that end, in September 1710, a colonial force of 3,500 men under the command of Nicholson sailed from Boston for Port Royal. This time the British supplied a naval force of 36 vessels, including a bomb ketch. Captain George Martin had command. The British also contributed a regiment of Royal Marines. The siege of Port Royal opened on September 24, 1710, and the badly outnumbered French surrendered the citadel on October 1. Port Royal became Annapolis Royal.

In 1711, the British government approved plans to send a military force to New England for an invasion of New France. The colonial representatives agreed to raise provincial troops to assist in this invasion. The British force of more than 60 ships and 5,000 men arrived in June 1711. A fractured British command structure prevented any rapid movement northward, however. By August 1711, the force sailed for the St. Lawrence River. At the mouth of the St. Lawrence, an incompetent pilot led some of the British ships onto the rocks, with the loss

of 8 transports. More than 700 soldiers and 200 sailors were lost. British admiral Sir Hovenden Walker abandoned the operation, and returned with his remaining ships to England. With the loss of British military assistance, the colonial forces again disbanded.

A new Tory government in London opened negotiations for peace with the French in December 1711, and in April 1713, the warring parties agreed to peace in the Treaty of Utrecht. Philippe, Duc d'Anjou, became King Philip V of Spain, with the proviso that the French and Spanish Crowns could never be united in one person. Spain was also forced to cede territory in Europe to the Austrian Habsburgs. In the New World, the English received recognition of their claim to Hudson's Bay, and received control of both Acadia and Newfoundland. The French retained both Cape Breton Island and the islands of the St. Lawrence. The French then moved to build an even stronger fortification than Port Royal. Located on Cape Breton Island, it was later known as Louisbourg.

Although many New England colonists were unhappy with the settlement, it considerably advanced British fishing, fur-trading, and commercial interests in North America, and it opened up new lands for British settlement. The failure to define the frontiers precisely led to renewed conflict, however. In 1744, the English and French colonists in North America were again at war.

WILLIAM H. BROWN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Acadia, British Conquest of; Canada, British Expedition against (1709); Canada, British Expedition against (1711); Charles Town, Attack on; Church, Benjamin; Deerfield, Massachusetts, Attack on; France; France, Army; Great Britain; Great Britain, Army; New France; Nicholson, Sir Francis; Pensacola, Attacks on; Port Royal (Nova Scotia); Quebec, Attack on (1711); Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Spain; St. Augustine, Siege of; Utrecht, Treaty of; Vetch, Samuel

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Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns

Start Date: 1702 End Date: April 1713

During Queen Anne's War (1702–1713, known in Europe as the War of the Spanish Succession), England for the second time fought France for control of North America. In the naval sphere, the combatants devoted most of their strength to the larger contest in Europe. For Great Britain and the other powers of the Grand Alliance fighting France and Spain, the New World was decidedly a secondary theater. Moreover, European strategists saw the West Indies as far more important than the colonies in North America. Consequently, duty in European waters received first claim on naval resources, securing the West Indies trade had second claim, and operations in the North Atlantic and North America were a distant third.

When the war began, the Royal Navy and the Dutch Navy outnumbered the combined French and Spanish fleets by roughly two to one. The Royal Navy alone possessed 206 ships, ranging from powerful first rates carrying 100 guns or more and displacing almost 2,000 tons to 8-gun yachts displacing less than 100 tons. About half of all vessels mounted at least 50 guns and were considered fit to participate in the line of battle that characterized fleet actions of the period.

A sizable expedition of 30 British and 20 Dutch warships under Admiral Sir George Rooke failed to take Cádiz, Spain, in 1702, but then seized the Spanish treasure fleet at Vigo Bay in October. The Royal Navy dominated the war in the Mediterranean. Rather than conduct massed fleet actions against the more powerful English and Dutch navies, France pursued a commerce-raiding strategy in an effort to disrupt the vital English and Dutch oceangoing trade. French privateers operating from Martinique preyed on the colonial trade with the West Indies. In response to privateering in the Caribbean and off the North American coast, the majority of English naval vessels assigned to the North American station spent the war protecting trading convoys. Ships of the Royal Navy also escorted troop convoys across the Atlantic. From bases in Newfoundland, Boston, New York, and Virginia, ships also performed coast defense duties for the colonies and supported a limited number of amphibious raids on French territory.

In America, colonial forces struck both French and Spanish targets by sea and by land. In 1702, Gov. James Moore of South Carolina

mounted an amphibious attack against the Spanish at St. Augustine, Florida. After an eight-week siege, the arrival of two Spanish warships caused Moore's force of 50 colonists and 1,500 Yamasee warriors to withdraw. The Spanish vessels cornered Moore's fleet, forcing him to order his ships burned and retreat overland. Moore followed his expensive failure at St. Augustine with a privately financed campaign against the Spanish missions and American Indians of the Gulf Coast. This devastating campaign served to unite the French and Spanish colonists. They collaborated in a 1706 action in which French privateers carried Spanish troops from Cuba and Florida to attack Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina). Carolina colonel William Rhett assembled a squadron of ships and repulsed the Franco-Spanish attack, capturing a ship and hundreds of prisoners in the process.

In New England, meanwhile, after an especially bloody French-Abenaki raid on Deerfield, Massachusetts, the colonial government authorized Colonel Benjamin Church to organize a naval expedition against Port Royal, Acadia. Church and some 550 men set sail from Boston on May 11, 1704. They burned villages along the coast and took some 100 prisoners but failed to capture Port Royal. Three years later, more than 1,500 inexperienced New England militiamen and seamen led by Colonel John March again sailed for Port Royal. The May 1707 expedition also ended in failure when the officers and men fell into squabbling and insubordination.

As French and native raids continued to terrorize the frontier, Gov. Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts dispatched a delegate, Samuel Vetch, to London to request military assistance. In 1709, Vetch returned with a promise of five regiments and naval support for an attack on Canada. Vetch raised three colonial regiments under command of Colonel Francis Nicholson. The colonials then waited months for the British to arrive. They finally learned in October that the ships, under command of Rear Admiral John Baker, had—in May—been sent to deal with a European emergency instead. New Englanders talked of attacking Canada with the British ships already stationed in American ports, but the ships' captains refused to cooperate. Nicholson sailed to London to make another appeal and secured yet another promise of marines and ships, which finally reached America in July 1710.

The joint New England–British expedition finally attacked Port Royal on September 25, 1710. A British flotilla comprising three 50s, two frigates, and a bomb vessel provided fire support for Nicholson's 3,500 provincials and a regiment of British marines. On October 2, the French garrison surrendered Port Royal and the surrounding area. Nicholson renamed the post Annapolis Royal in honor of the queen and returned to London to secure the promise of additional support for an attack on Quebec. The capture of Port Royal proved the only enduring naval success of Queen Anne's War.

In June 1711, some 70 British naval vessels arrived in Boston under the command of Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker and accompanied by the inexperienced General John Hill in command of 5,000 British regulars. A force of about 12,000 men, including New England militiamen and British regulars, marines, and sailors,

embarked for Canada on July 30, 1711. Some three weeks later, befuddled by darkness, fog, and wind in the St. Lawrence, Walker relied on a captured French pilot for guidance. Eight transports and two other ships ran aground, drowning more than 900 men. Walker and Hill hastily abandoned the mission and returned to England, leaving the New Englanders no choice but to return home. In disgust Nicholson disbanded his troops, who had been waiting near Lake Champlain for orders to march on Montreal. The war ended in 1713 in the Treaty of Utrecht without further major action.

JAMES R. ARNOLD AND ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Abenakis; Acadia; Charles Town, Attack on; Church, Benjamin; Deerfield, Massachusetts, Attack on; France, Navy; Great Britain, Navy; March, John; Moore, James; Nicholson, Sir Francis; Port Royal (Nova Scotia); Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Rhett, William; Spain, Navy; St. Augustine, Siege of; Vetch, Samuel; Walker, Hovenden; Yamasees

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R

Raiding Party

A customary warfare tactic employed by Native Americans. The raiding party, often referred to as a war party, was the basic American Indian tactical military unit. Raiding parties figured prominently both in clashes among various native groups and in native conflict with Europeans. Raiding parties varied greatly in size. Membership was voluntary, and the leadership was generally based on merit. Raiding parties numbered as few as 5 or 6 warriors and as many as 100.

Typically, a raiding party consisted of tribal members who chose to follow a particular individual bent on going to war. There were several ways an individual might do this, including a warrior striking the war post with a war club or tomahawk or placing his weapons at a prominent space in the village, facing in the direction of the enemy. If the call for war went out to a number of tribes, war belts transmitted the appropriate message.

The leader of the raiding party was sometimes referred to as a war chief, although not all raiding parties required the leadership of such a prominent figure. Once the party assembled, it traveled with as much stealth as possible, moving only at night, and avoiding the use of fires in camp. The warriors marched single file to avoid disclosing their numbers, and the last men in line would try to cover the tracks of the group.

Once in the vicinity of its objective, the raiding party usually chose to attack at dawn, hoping thereby to achieve surprise. The goal was to kill enemy warriors and take their scalps. Women and children were taken captive and sometimes adopted in accordance with the practice of the Mourning War. Another common tactic of the raiding party was to lay in wait and ambush an enemy in what was known as the "skulking way of war."

The European colonists quickly adopted many of the tactics used by raiding parties, and employed them against Native Americans. The colonists also came to rely on ambushes and surprise attacks against native villages. Although both the British and the French colonists adopted native tactics, the French seemed especially adept at this style of warfare. As time progressed, some raiding parties consisted of both natives and Europeans. English colonist Robert Rogers was one of the most successful practitioners of this type of warfare. A daring and resourceful leader in the field, he excelled in raiding and ambushes.

JAMES R. McIntyre

See also

Mourning War; Native Warfare; Rangers; Rogers, Robert; Scalping; Skulking Way of War; War Belt; War Club

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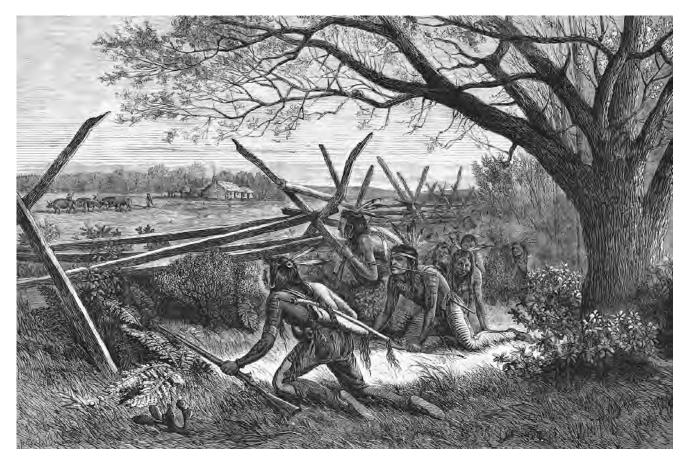
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Râle, Sébastien

Born: January 4, 1657 Died: August 23, 1724

French Jesuit priest, missionary, and agent among the Abenakis. Sébastien Râle was born on January 4, 1657, at Pontarlier, France. Râle arrived in New France in October 1689 and was sent to minister



Woodcut of a Native American raiding party preparing to attack a homestead. (North Wind Picture Archives)

to the Abenakis, first in Quebec and then in Acadia. In 1694, he established the mission at Norridgewock on the Kennebec River in present-day Maine, then part of Acadia. There he would spend most of the rest of his life. During Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), the Abenakis sided with France and fought alongside Canadian and French soldiers in a series of raids on the New England frontier. New Englanders blamed Râle for stirring up the Abenakis and, during the winter of 1705, they mounted an expedition against his mission. Although the troops failed to capture the priest, they burned his church. For the next five years, Râle was engaged in ministering to Abenaki refugees at a new mission at Beçancour in Quebec.

Although Râle was able to return to Norridgewock in 1710, he soon found himself in a new and more vulnerable situation. When the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1713, ending Queen Anne's War, the part of Acadia where his mission was located was ceded to England and became part of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The English undertook to rebuild Râle's church for use by a Protestant missionary, but this effort failed. Still, in 1720, a Rev. Joseph Baxter arrived on the Kennebec River to proselytize among the Abenakis, which led to acrimonious exchanges with his Catholic counterpart. More ominous was the arrival in the area of large numbers of English settlers and the growth of trade in English goods with the Abenakis. When forts to protect the settlers and traders

began to go up, Râle informed his superiors in Canada that he soon would be forced to leave his post.

Matters came to a head in 1721, when Râle led a movement among the Abenakis to resist English encroachments on their lands. Mobilizing members of the tribe in Canada to support their brethren in Maine, he appears to have authored a petition to Gov. Samuel Shute of Massachusetts, demanding the withdrawal of English settlers from Abenaki lands. The British authorities now called on the French government to remove Râle and, when this failed, 100 New England soldiers surrounded the mission in January 1722. When Râle again managed to elude capture, the soldiers pillaged his home and church. The attack on Norridgewock led to Abenaki reprisals, and in July 1722, Massachusetts declared war on the Abenakis, resulting in what is known as Dummer's War.

On August 23, 1724, a New England force of 200 men under the command of Johnson Harmon and Jeremiah Moulton descended on Norridgewock. In the ensuing attack, Râle was killed. He was scalped so that proof of his death could be offered, thus allowing those who had killed him to collect a £100 reward.

BRUCE VANDERVORT

See also

Abenakis; Black Robes; Dummer's War; Harmon, Johnson; Jesuits; Moulton, Jeremiah; Norridgewock, Battle of; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns

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Raleigh, Sir Walter

Born: ca. 1552

Died: October 29, 1618

English soldier, explorer, and writer. Born about 1552 in Devonshire, Walter Raleigh (also spelled Ralegh) was a fervent Protestant from his youth. Believing that Catholicism on the European continent presented a mortal threat to English Protestantism, in 1569 he joined French Huguenot forces fighting against Catholics in France. By 1572 he had returned to England, where he attended Oriel College at Oxford before studying law in London.

Influenced by his half brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Raleigh became interested in American colonization. Raleigh saw the great wealth and power that Catholic Spain had derived from its American empire and believed that an English empire in the New World would provide the resources that could allow England to withstand the threat from its political and religious rival. In 1578, Raleigh accompanied Gilbert on the latter's ill-fated attempt to explore North America.

After his return to England, Raleigh resumed his military service in 1580 as a captain in the Irish garrison. His services came to the attention of Queen Elizabeth I, and Raleigh attached himself to her court, soon becoming one of Elizabeth's favorites. The queen granted him an estate at Durham House for his services; there, Raleigh assembled others interested in colonization to plan ventures in North America.

From Simon Fernandes, a Portuguese seafarer who had served for the Spanish in America, Raleigh learned of the existence of Chesapeake Bay. Deciding that the bay would provide an ideal location for an English colony, Raleigh set about preparing an expedition. He believed that a Chesapeake colony would be fairly secure from Spanish attack and provide a convenient base for raids against Spain's American treasure fleets. Aware of how Spanish cruelty had alienated the Native Americans, Raleigh advocated a policy of fairness that would make the North American natives allies of England. He hoped that their assistance would help defend the colony from the Spaniards, and believed that an English-native alliance might eventually oust the Spanish from some of their holdings.

Elizabeth approved Raleigh's plans and in 1584 granted him a patent to the lands he intended to colonize in North America. He dispatched an expedition that year, which reached the coast of present-day North Carolina. The queen knighted Raleigh for this success, and the following year he sent a larger expedition that did not find Chesapeake Bay but established a colony at Roanoke on the barrier islands of North Carolina. However, the settlers abandoned the colony in 1586 because of a shortage of provisions.



Contemporary print showing Sir Walter Raleigh ordering the standard of Queen Elizabeth I erected on the Virginia coastline in 1585. (Library of Congress)

Raleigh mounted another attempt in 1587. A second group of settlers arrived at Roanoke. However, Raleigh was unable to send further expeditions until 1590 because he was involved in efforts to defend England from threatened attack by the Spanish Armada. When Captain John White's expedition finally reached Roanoke, he found the colony inexplicably abandoned and returned to England.

Raleigh's colonization efforts were interrupted when he lost the queen's favor after she discovered that Raleigh had impregnated and secretly married one of her ladies in waiting without her permission. Elizabeth ordered Raleigh imprisoned. After his release, he made a further effort to explore the New World, sailing to South America in 1595 in search of the fabled city of El Dorado. In 1600, Elizabeth appointed him governor of Jersey, a post he held until 1601, when Elizabeth's successor, King James I, came to the throne.

James suspected Raleigh of plotting against him and confined him to the Tower of London. Briefly released, in 1616 Raleigh journeyed once more to South America seeking El Dorado. During the voyage, some of Raleigh's men plundered the Spanish town of San Thome. The Spanish ambassador to England insisted that Raleigh be punished, and shortly after Raleigh's return, James ordered his execution. Raleigh was beheaded on October 29, 1618.

WILLIAM J. McCarthy and Jim Piecuch

See also

Roanoke Island (North Carolina)

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Rangers

Specialized troops that developed in the British North American colonies. The rangers' distinctiveness lay in the fact that their training focused on the emulation of Native American methods of combat. Rangers first developed in the 17th century as specially trained troops whose primary function was to patrol between outposts on the frontier in the English colonies. Very quickly, these troops began to take on an offensive role as well. Several different patterns of service developed regionally in the colonies. Ranger units that developed in New York and New England, however, eventually came to stand as the most commonly recognized. By the time of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), rangers had formed an important auxiliary to British forces in North America, and some British regular army officers even received training in their techniques.

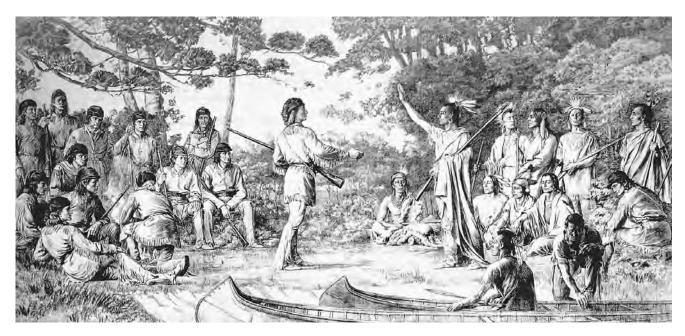
Initially, some colonial militias received training from Native Americans in their fighting methods. These men then served alongside native allies on patrols between frontier outposts. They also raised the alarm when hostile incursions began. These men can be

considered as the forerunners of the rangers. In New York and the New England colonies, rangers were strictly infantry troops. In the southern colonies, however, where a strong tradition of horsemanship had already manifested itself, rangers were mounted.

Generally speaking, the early rangers differed from militias in two main ways. First, they were recruited for longer periods of service and for a bounty. Second, they served across greater distances even while patrolling defensively. By the end of the 17th century, the rangers began to act offensively by initiating raids on Native Americans. A key figure in pushing forward the development of the rangers was Benjamin Church, famed New England frontiersman and soldier. He was particularly enamored with the adoption of Native American war tactics, or the "skulking way of war." Additionally, Church was the first to advocate the concept of using rangers against Europeans as well, specifically the Acadians.

In an offensive capacity, the rangers often employed tactics that were much more akin to those of the Native American raiding party than to those of the European battlefield. The methods the rangers used included the use of concealment, stealth, and ambush. In addition, rangers were known to attack noncombatants, including women and children. They sometimes killed prisoners and scalped enemies as well. They were rewarded with bounties for the latter practice. By the late 17th century, in addition to Native Americans, the rangers' adversaries included the French troupes de la marine (provincial regulars) and Canadian militia.

In the 18th century, the English colonists relied less on mixed units of settlers and Native Americans, and the composition of the ranger units became more homogeneous. Rangers reached their peak of activity in the French and Indian War. Robert Rogers led the most famous unit of ranger troops to see service in this conflict.



Meeting between Native Americans led by Ottawa chief Pontiac and Rogers' Rangers. Established during the French and Indian War, the rangers were specialized military units practicing Native American techniques of warfare. (Library of Congress)

Although many British commanders who witnessed them disliked the methods practiced by the rangers, they could not debate that their methods achieved results. Some British commanders, therefore, recognized the value of training their men how to survive in the wilds, and sent their junior officers through training with Rogers.

JAMES R. McIntyre

See also

Church, Benjamin; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Infantry; Infantry Tactics; Raiding Party; Rogers, Robert; Rogers's Raid on St. Francis; Scalp Bounty; Skulking Way of War; Troupes de la Marine

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Rappahannocks

A small, Algonquian-speaking Native American group that lived on the Rappahannock Peninsula in the Tidewater area of eastern Virginia. The Rappahannocks' principal village was at Cat Creek Point on the north side of the Rappahannock River. The Rappahannocks had a lifestyle similar to that of other eastern and northeastern woodland American Indians. They lived in small villages built in clearings that contained about 200 people. The men engaged in hunting and fishing, and the women grew corn (maize) and other vegetables. Crops were gathered and stored in hand-woven baskets. The men used flint knapping to create arrowheads for hunting and for war.

In the late spring and summer of 1608, Captain John Smith sailed west from the new English colony at Jamestown to explore, going up the great rivers that empty into Chesapeake Bay. One of these tributaries was the Rappahannock River. Smith explored the Rappahannock roughly 130 miles from Chesapeake Bay to the fall line. On his journey, Smith was entertained by a group of friendly natives called the Moraughtacunds. They advised him not to go to the Toppahanocks (Rappahannocks), who were deemed a dangerous people. Furthermore, they claimed that the Rappahannocks would kill the Moraughtacunds if they discovered that they had helped Smith. Smith ignored the Moraughtacunds' warnings, and he sailed to a place where some Rappahannocks were located. The encounter turned violent. Smith recorded that one of the Rappahannocks was killed and one colonist was shot with an arrow.

The Rappahannocks were at the time a member of the Powhatan Confederacy, put together by Chief Powhatan. He had inherited dominion over 6 native peoples—the Arrohattocs, the Appomattocs, the Mattaponis, the Pamunkeys, the Powhatans, and the Youghtanunds. He had then by various means added 25 more tribes to the confederation. Each of the 31 tribes forming the Powhatan Confederation was ruled by a *werowance*, or chief. They in turn were subject to Powhatan.

The Rappahannocks participated in the native attacks on the colony of Virginia in 1622 and again in 1644. In addition, there was specific trouble with the Rappahannocks in 1655. By then, English

settlers had begun to encroach on Rappahannock lands. In 1656, the Virginia House of Burgesses ordered a march against the Rappahannocks. One hundred seventy men took part in the raid. The attacks caused serious damage to Rappahannock villages. That same year, the English signed a treaty with the Rappahannocks, delineating territories. It was almost immediately ignored, however, by settlers moving west. By the late 1660s, the Rappahannocks had been forced to give up their lands guaranteed by the treaty and began to move toward the falls of the Mattaponi River.

In the 1670s and 1680s, war between the Rappahannocks and white settlers resulted in many deaths and a forced migration of the Rappahannocks even farther west. The Virginia-Indian Treaty of 1677/1680 made the Rappahannocks tributaries to the English Crown and subservient to the Pamunkeys. That arrangement lasted for less than a year, however. By the 1680s, the Rappahannocks had retreated to a reserve along the Portobago Bay. By the beginning of the 18th century, the Rappahannocks had dwindled to perhaps fewer than 50 families, nearly all of whom were living in Virginia's Essex County.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Anglo-Powhatan War, Third; Pamunkeys; Powhatan (Wahunsonacock); Powhatan Confederacy; Powhatans; Virginia; Virginia-Indian Treaty (1677/1680)

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Rasle, Sebastien

See Râle, Sébastien

Recruitment

Recruitment refers to the enlistment of individuals into military service, through voluntary or forcible means. Prior to the creation of standing armies in Europe, all free men were expected to serve when necessary to defend their particular state. This often included a mandatory form of annual training or drilling and, in some countries, indefinite service during wartime. With the rise of standing armies, a larger number of recruits were needed for full-time employment in military forces. Voluntary enlistment was often encouraged by the offer of a bounty, a cash payment in exchange for enlisting.

Volunteers almost never provided sufficient numbers to fill the military ranks, even with the incentive of bounties. European forces thus turned to compulsory service, through impressment, to fill manpower needs. Impressment consisted of forcing individuals to

join the military, and usually included drawing recruits from the lowest classes of society. It was eventually superseded by conscription, when locales were required to provide a quota of recruits for the military forces. In Prussia, conscription was regionalized. Each Prussian regiment drew conscripts from a particular canton as necessary, ensuring a shared bond among the members of the unit.

Compulsory military service, through impressment or conscription, typically lowered troop morale and provoked higher desertion rates among enlisted personnel than in all-volunteer forces. However, when conducted equitably, conscription proved more popular than the arbitrary process of impressment. Under both impressment and conscription, individuals chosen to serve were typically given the opportunity to hire a substitute to take their place in the ranks. The ranks were further swelled by the court system, which in many European countries gave convicted criminals the option of volunteering for military service to avoid imprisonment. It is not surprising that colonial military forces were often considered to be filled by the dregs of society, men who could not obtain employment in any other capacity.

In the North American colonies, the legacy of compulsory service was manifested in mandatory militia service for all free adult males. In each colony, whether English, French, or Dutch, free men were expected to serve as a defensive or reactionary force in times of emergency, but militias rarely served outside their colonial borders. Militia forces in the colonies often served as recruitment pools for European military forces, who found the militia members a convenient target for impressment. Although the regular forces tended to be filled by recruits from the lowest segment of society, the militia contained men from all walks of life and economic classes, which only increased the resentment associated with forcible recruitment into regular military service.

Paul Joseph Springer

See also

Desertion, Army; Desertion, Navy; Impressment, Army; Impressment, Navy; Militias; Mutiny, Army; Mutiny, Navy

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Redoubt

Relatively unsophisticated defensive field fortification employed both in Europe and North America during the 17th and 18th centuries. Usually intended to be temporary, redoubts were generally compact, fully enclosed, and designed to be defended by no more than a few hundred men. They had no set shape or size and were constructed to exploit natural advantages in terrain. Despite their lack of specified design, redoubts frequently incorporated many of the elements common to more complex and permanent Europeanstyle fortifications.

Typically North American redoubts of the late colonial or revolutionary eras were constructed primarily of earth. They might boast a stone foundation and be faced with timber or dry-stacked masonry to provide support and prevent erosion. The defenders fired over the parapet from a banquette or raised firing step. A ditch or dry moat with stone scarp and counterscarp surrounded the works as an obstacle to attackers. Redoubts might also include platforms and embrasures for the mounting of light artillery.

Although many redoubts were of a simple, square construction, some possessed reentrant angles. These allowed the defenders to employ interlocking fields of fire. Redoubts did not contain barracks or other facilities common in larger fortifications, as they were used strictly as defensive works.

Engineers often constructed redoubts as standalone fortifications to guard key pieces of terrain, forts, or avenues of approach. In a late-18th-century treatise on field fortifications, the author suggested that a redoubt could be used "to defend a defile, a bridge, [or] a ford."

Redoubts might also serve as outworks to larger fortifications. The designers of a fort could position a redoubt outside of the principal defensive works to cover an avenue of approach that could not be observed or fired on from the main fortification. A redoubt might also be constructed to deny advantageous terrain to an enemy attempting to besiege the main fortification. When the British began construction of their massive fortification at Crown Point on Lake Champlain in 1759, for example, they erected three redoubts to protect the southern and eastern approaches to the main fortress.

A network of redoubts might also serve in lieu of a single, large fortification. Fortress West Point, used by the Continental Army to deny the British access to the upper Hudson River during the American Revolutionary War, was fundamentally a collection of mutually supporting redoubts. Because of the numerous, commanding heights in this part of the Hudson Highlands, one single fortification would have been easily dominated by nearby high ground. A series of redoubts, capable of interlocking fires, and constructed on various prominent terrain features not only denied this terrain to potential attackers but made the space in between the redoubts susceptible to deadly musket and cannon fire.

THOMAS A. RIDER II

See also

Abatis; Blockhouses; Crown Point (New York); Fort; Garrison Houses; Presidio

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Red Shoe

Born: ca. 1705 Died: June 23, 1747

Choctaw war chief who lived in present-day Mississippi, also known as Soulier Rouge, Soulouche Oumastabé, and Shulush Homa. The term "Red Shoe" was a title given to all Choctaw war chiefs, but the name has been linked historically to one particular leader.

Red Shoe was born around 1705 into a common family in the village of Couechitto. While still a warrior, Red Shoe was named speaker for the Choctaws' civil chief, Mingo Tchito, an office that required him to explicate the chief's positions. Such a position ultimately testified to his persuasiveness, and persuasiveness (and generosity) were key qualities expected of a Choctaw leader. Through his success in the Chickasaw Wars, Red Shoe rose to the rank of war chief, the highest position to which someone of his status could normally aspire. Although war chief was normally a temporary position, he appears to have retained it on a permanent basis.

Mingo Tchito, the head chief of Couechitto, had been recognized by the French (if not by all Choctaws) as the leader of the Choctaw Nation. The French cemented their alliance, as was the custom, with a stream of trade goods as gifts, which Mingo Tchito and other civil chiefs redistributed to bolster their positions as tribal leaders. Mingo Tchito occasionally played the colonists against each other and sent Red Shoe to contact English traders whenever corruption, mismanagement, or accidents made French gifts scarce. In 1729, Red Shoe advocated a permanent alliance with the more reliable—though distant—English. Mingo Tchito, however, who was content to use the English to keep the French pliable, ignored the advice.

Also in 1729, the French called on the Choctaws to help suppress the Natchez, who had revolted with English and Chickasaw support. Red Shoe managed to recover women, children, and African slaves whom the Natchez had seized, and returned them to the French in exchange for a substantial quantity of trade goods. This act provided him, for the first time, with the wherewithal to establish his own generosity and build a faction within the tribe.

In 1732, after Mingo Tchito resisted French entreaties to attack the Chickasaws, Red Shoe led 30 young warriors against a Chickasaw hunting party. Essentially, Red Shoe had plunged his people into war on his own initiative. In doing so, he earned the gratitude of the French and became the only war chief to receive gifts regularly. He also disrupted the traditional Choctaw social and political hierarchy, and alienated Mingo Tchito and the other civil chiefs, who refused to accept him as an equal.

During the 1730s and 1740s, Red Shoe was preoccupied with warfare and the search for European trade goods. The French would reward him for attacking the Chickasaws, and the English for making peace with the Chickasaws. These gifts made it possible to hold his faction together despite the resentment of the traditional chiefs and the distrust of virtually all sides. He also manipulated a grow-

ing gulf between the common warriors and the civil chiefs, whom he accused of not redistributing goods sufficiently.

In 1743, Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, the new governor of Louisiana, restructured the gift-giving system, eliminating Red Shoe from it. Red Shoe then sought to forge an alliance with the Chickasaws, the Creeks, and the English. Meanwhile, the French tried to form an alliance with the Chickasaws, the Creeks, and the Choctaw civil chiefs. The outbreak of King George's War (1744–1748), however, disrupted the flow of French goods. Support among the Choctaws shifted toward Red Shoe as the supply of French gifts and trade dried up. But Red Shoe's killing of three Frenchmen initiated a crisis in French-Choctaw relations and among the tribal factions. In response, Vaudreuil put a price on Red Shoe's head, and on June 23, 1747, just as Red Shoe had achieved an alliance with South Carolina, he was assassinated. The intratribal code of revenge, triggered by the assassination, added to the already growing divisions within Choctaw society and sparked the Choctaw Civil War, which lasted until 1750.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Chickasaws; Chickasaw Wars; Choctaw Civil War; Choctaws; Creeks; Natchez War; Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Pierre de, Marquis de Vaudreuil

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Requisition System

Means by which troops and military expeditions were supplied in colonial North America. The system for providing supplies to troops in colonial North America involved a combination of private and state interests and institutions. Prominent among items that had to be acquired locally were food, transport, and construction materials. The acquisition of supplies in the field was often difficult because of the sparse and widely dispersed nature of North American settlement.

In New York, which had the longest experience hosting regular British Army troops, supplying the army in the 17th century was the concern of local entrepreneurs. From Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) to King George's War (1744–1748), the governor established his own provisioning monopoly. This made matters more predictable for the local entrepreneurs, who became the governor's subcontractors. But it also meant that most of the profits remained with the governor. After King George's War, and as the scale and profit of the operation increased, influential London-based merchants assumed control and the local entrepreneurs became their subcontractors. That increased the independence of the latter from the governor. Nevertheless, money shortages and unpaid bills for

supplies were constant problems. During the French and Indian War (1754–1763) the troops suffered in abysmal conditions until 1756, when New York's Independent Companies were incorporated into larger units arriving from Great Britain.

Jealousy and competitiveness among colonies could be an added problem to requisitioning. In 1755, the Virginia assembly was reluctant to provide transportation for Major General Edward Braddock's campaign against Fort Duquesne because it believed that Pennsylvania and Maryland had not done enough. Moreover, the transport teams that Maryland did provide refused to cross into Virginia. The expedition might never have begun had not Benjamin Franklin persuaded Pennsylvania farmers to provide 150 wagons with drivers and 259 horses by combining promises of payment, appeals to patriotism, and threats of army retribution should they fail to cooperate.

The British paid cash for supplies when they had it on hand—which was not often the case—and when suppliers were willing. However, they resorted to impressment on other occasions. Colonial troops, rather than British regulars, generally carried out the impressment to minimize the local hostility it often generated. Merchants and farmers complained that the army frequently failed to return the wagons and horses that it borrowed. Obtaining compensation was difficult and frustrating, sometimes requiring lengthy and expensive stays in a provincial capital. Locals sometimes attempted to avoid impressment by concealing supplies or by overusing horses while they still had them. And local officials sympathetic to their predicament would sometimes undermine the execution of such orders.

Originally, for provincial forces each colony appointed a civilian "committee of war" to obtain supplies for its own troops and transport them to the front. Supplies came under military control only on arrival at the regimental commissary. This system complicated matters, especially when troops from several colonies combined for an operation. In 1756, John Campbell, Lord Loudoun, the British commander in chief in North America, brought the provincial supply system under his control, through the regular army commissaries. He did so largely because of his suspicions that colonial officials were trying to undermine the war effort. Before the colonial governments would agree to this, however, Loudoun had to assure them of two things. First, he promised that his control of the supply system did not signify regular army command over the provincial troops themselves. Second, he agreed that the colonies would continue to receive compensation for the provisions that they supplied through him. The result should have been a more standardized, rational, and efficient system; but Loudoun's continued efforts to control provincial officers and even governors and legislatures alienated the colonists to the point of paralyzing the war effort until his replacement arrived in 1758.

New France had a considerably smaller population and agricultural base. In the 17th century, food for the troops had to be shipped directly from France. In the 18th century, much of the wheat and peas and perhaps half the required meat could be acquired locally in Canada, less in Louisiana or on Cape Breton Island. A bad har-

vest or enemy disruption of the shipping lanes would create serious problems. The ninefold increase in the number of troops in Canada during the 1750s contributed to a general food crisis and inflation, yet in the end supplies seem to have been found, sometimes from unscrupulous British colonists.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Braddock's Campaign; Campbell, John, Earl of Loudoun; Contractors, British Army; Impressment, Army; Logistics; Provincial Troops; Quartermaster General; Supplies

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Rhett, William

Born: 1666

Died: January 11, 1723

English-born merchant, planter, politician, and military officer in South Carolina. Born in London in 1666, William Rhett arrived in Carolina in 1694. From about 1699 to 1703 he commanded a merchant vessel. A devout Anglican, Rhett belonged to the faction that dominated local colonial politics. He and his brother-in-law had great influence with Carolina's proprietors, who allowed them to control much of the business and political life of Charles Town (today Charleston).

During Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), in 1706 English seamen sighted a joint Spanish-French expedition en route to Charles Town. Rhett, as lieutenant colonel in charge of the militia, sent out the call to arms on August 24. As the attackers hesitated offshore, Gov. Edward Tynte commissioned Rhett vice admiral, placed him in command of six vessels, and sent him out to engage the enemy. Rhett's small fleet captured one of the enemy vessels and drove off the others.

Between 1711 and 1716, Rhett filled several official posts concurrently: receiver general of the quitrents, naval officer in charge of port records, speaker of the colonial assembly's lower house, and surveyor general of the customs. He failed to win reelection to the assembly in 1716 because of the conflicts of interest engendered by his multiple appointments.

South Carolina called on Rhett's military experience during the Yamasee War (1715–1717), when he served as a militia colonel. Again, in 1718, when pirates preyed on Charles Town's oceangoing trade,

Rhett went to sea, this time in command of two 8-gun privateer sloops. On September 27, 1718, he captured the notorious pirate Stede Bonnet on the Cape Fear River after a fierce six-hour engagement.

Rhett took up arms again in May 1721. A rebellious faction sought to end the proprietors' hold on South Carolina and establish it as a royal colony. When the rebels declared James Moore Jr. as provisional governor, Rhett and the deposed proprietary governor, Robert Johnson, marched on Charleston with a small force of 120 men. They withdrew without a fight, however, when Moore refused to yield.

Rhett continued to resist the change of government. When South Carolina's first royal governor, Francis Nicholson, arrived in Charles Town, he accused Rhett—who remained in his post as surveyor general of the customs—of corruption. Only Rhett's sudden death at Charles Town on January 11, 1723, ended the matter.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Charles Town, Attack on; Nicholson, Sir Francis; Piracy; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; South Carolina; Yamasee War

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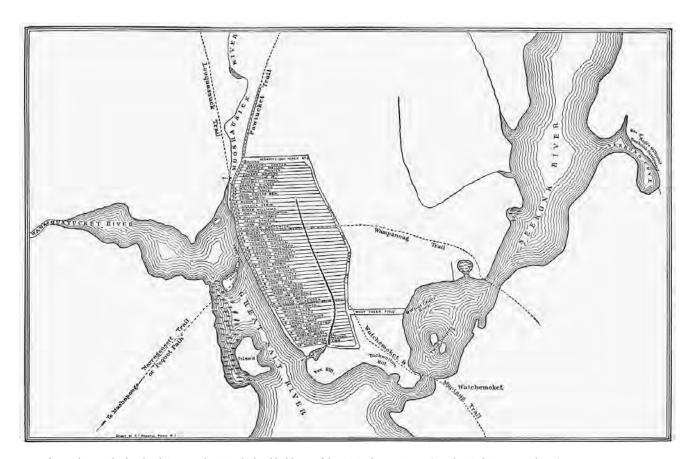
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Rhode Island

New England colony located between Massachusetts to the north and east, Connecticut to the west, and the Atlantic Ocean to the south. A haven for religious dissidents, Rhode Island struggled to achieve a consensus sufficient to govern itself. The leaders of neighboring colonies, especially Massachusetts, tried unsuccessfully to turn the discord to their advantage and expand their borders.

Massachusetts banished first Roger Williams, then Anne Hutchinson, for their religious beliefs. In 1636, Williams and his followers founded Providence, Rhode Island. Within two years, Hutchinson and her followers founded Portsmouth, though William Coddington led a faction that split from Hutchinson's group and established Newport. In 1643, Samuel Gorton and his followers abandoned Newport to establish Warwick. Each new settlement occupied land purchased from the Narragansetts.

The Algonquian-speaking Narragansetts—probably about 5,000 people in the early 1600s—occupied most of Rhode Island. The Narragansetts had driven the Wampanoags from Rhode Island north to Massachusetts. They then allied themselves with the English of Massachusetts to crush the Pequots during the Pequot War (1636–1638). Initially, Narragansett sachems (chiefs) Canonicus and Miantonomo welcomed Williams and the other dissidents as protection from Wampanoag attacks.



Map of Providence, Rhode Island, in 1664 showing the land holdings of the original proprietors. (North Wind Picture Archives)

Although the inhabitants of the four Rhode Island settlements distrusted one another, they gradually forged a joint government based on representative democracy and religious liberty. As a result, Rhode Island found itself an outcast among the other English colonies. In 1644, however, Parliament granted a founding charter to Williams.

Rhode Island's English population gradually encroached on Narragansett territory. When King Philip's War began in 1675 between the Wampanoags and the English of Plymouth and Massachusetts, the Narragansetts at first tried to remain neutral. The Rhode Island government also declared neutrality and declined to provide troops. But it did permit Rhode Island ships to transport fighting men from the other colonies. In December 1675, Rhode Island ships carried some 1,100 New England militiamen and their native allies to attack a Narragansett stronghold in the middle of a Rhode Island swamp. The Great Swamp Fight of December 1675 ended with 240 English and more than 900 Narragansetts killed and wounded.

The Narragansetts immediately abandoned their neutrality and entered the war on the side of their former enemies, the Wampanoags. The Narragansetts burned several Rhode Island towns, including Warwick and Providence. Rhode Island then began allowing outside militias to enter the colony in pursuit of the Narragansetts. Finally, officials looked the other way while Rhode Island men actively fought the natives. King Philip's War ended in 1676 with the Narragansett population reduced to only a few hundred people.

English settlers from neighboring colonies flowed into the vacuum created by the destruction of the Narragansett, threatening Rhode Island's autonomy. Then, in 1687, King James II forced Rhode Island into the Dominion of New England. The governor, Edmund Andros, proved so unpopular, however, that Boston rebels arrested and jailed him in 1689.

In 1690, during King William's War (1689–1697), French vessels plundered Block Island, off Rhode Island's southern coast. Rhode Island sent out two ships to confront them, and in the ensuing battle drove off the attackers. During the remainder of the war, the French attacked Block Island three more times and succeeded in moving ashore twice.

After decades of contention, Rhode Island elected a governor capable of uniting and leading the colony. Samuel Cranston governed Rhode Island from 1698 to 1727. During his tenure, the colony prospered, as oceangoing trade out of Newport powered its economic growth. Rhode Island's traders exported cattle, imported molasses from the West Indies, distilled rum for export, and traded in slaves. Rhode Island had ruled in 1652 that no person of any race could be held in bondage for longer than 10 years. Nevertheless, by the end of the colonial period, Rhode Island's population of 60,000 included an estimated 3,700 African slaves.

Despite Rhode Island's substantial population of Quaker pacifists, Governor Cranston convinced the colony to support England during the wars against the French. During Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), Rhode Island provided ships and militiamen for cam-

paigns against French shipping and possessions. During King George's War (1744–1748) and the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Rhode Islanders again fitted out and manned warships. At the same time, many of its merchants continued to trade with the enemy.

Rhode Island merchants also resorted to smuggling to evade paying duties, and Royal Navy vessels patrolled the coast to intercept such vessels. On the night of June 9, 1772, one of the patrol ships, the *Gaspée*, ran aground near Providence while pursuing a smuggler, whereupon a party of men from Providence attacked the stranded ship and burned it to the waterline. Despite the offer of a generous reward, nobody came forward with information and the raid went unpunished.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Andros, Edmund; Dominion of New England; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; *Gaspeé*, Burning of the; Great Swamp Fight; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; King Philip's War; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Massachusetts; Miantonomo (Miantonomi); Narragansetts; Pacifism; Pequot War; Quaker Pacifism; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Smuggling; Wampanoags; Williams, Roger

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Ribault, Jean

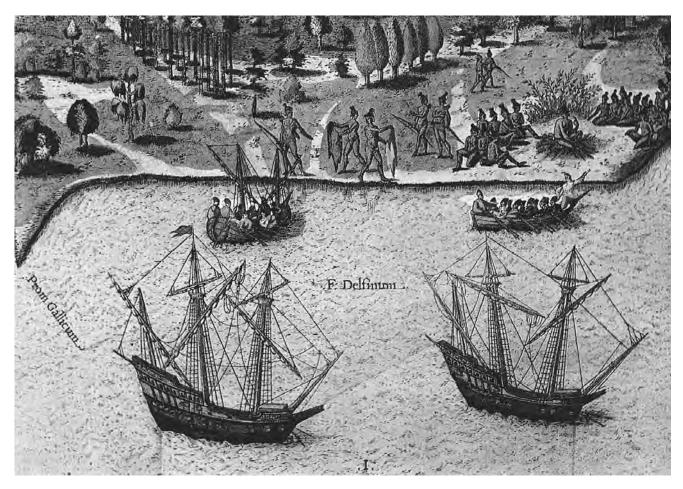
Born: ca. 1520

Died: October 12, 1565

French Huguenot explorer who sought to establish a French Huguenot colony along the southeast coast of North America. Jean Ribault (sometimes given as Ribaut) was born in Dieppe, France, about 1520. Little is known of his early years, but growing up at a seaport on the English Channel, Ribault became an experienced mariner.

In 1562, Ribault was selected to lead an expedition to the New World with the goal of establishing a haven for French Huguenots there. In February 1562, Ribault departed France with a party of some 150 Huguenots in several ships. During the voyage he pioneered a new course to the New World, traveling due west instead of following the southern trade winds. Ribault arrived off the southeast coast of North America undetected by the Spanish, having completed the transatlantic voyage in just 10 weeks.

On April 30, 1562, Ribault and his followers made landfall near present-day Jacksonville, Florida, and explored the mouth of the St. Johns River. They then moved north to establish the colony of Charlesfort (in honor of King Charles IX of France) on Parris Island,



Contemporary print showing the arrival of French Huguenot explorer Jean Ribault in North America. Ribault established colonies on Parris Island, South Carolina, and Fort Caroline, Florida, in the 1560s. (Library of Congress)

South Carolina, near present-day Beaufort, South Carolina. Ribault oversaw the initial settlement of the colony.

In July 1562, Ribault returned to France for more supplies. He found France in chaos. The country was in the midst of religious war with Catholics and Huguenots fighting each other. Ribault fled to England seeking assistance from Queen Elizabeth I, but authorities there arrested him and imprisoned him in the Tower of London in the belief that he was seeking English ships to aid in French colonization efforts.

While Ribault was in Europe, the colony at Charlesfort fell on hard times. Most of the settlers followed Ribault's second in command, René Goulaine de Laudonnière, south to establish a new French settlement near the mouth of the St. Johns River in 1564 at a site named Fort Caroline. Here too there were problems, especially over the shortage of food, no doubt abetted by tensions with neighboring natives.

Released from prison, Ribault again sailed for the New World, this time with some 600 settlers and supplies in seven ships to aid the struggling colony. In September, he arrived at Fort Caroline. By that time the Spanish, who claimed the territory, had learned of the French colony, and Pedro Menéndez de Avilés had arrived in

August with a sizable Spanish force and established a post at St. Augustine. The Spanish then prepared to attack the encroaching French heretics.

Ribault had been moving down the coast in his ships, apparently with the intention to stage a preemptive attack on the Spanish. This plan might have succeeded save for the arrival of a hurricane, which destroyed the French ships. Fewer than 400 of the French, including Ribault, survived. With Fort Caroline poorly defended, Menéndez marched his forces overland and obliterated the settlement. The Spanish soldiers then marched back down the coast to intercept the shipwrecked French soldiers at Matanzas Bay. After fruitless negotiations, Menéndez ordered the execution of the approximately 350 remaining Frenchmen on October 12, 1565, Ribault among them. Laudonnière was one of the few Frenchmen to survive the attack on Fort Caroline, escaping to the coast and eventually making his way back to France. In 1586, Laudonnière wrote a history of the French effort, titled *Histoire notable de la Floride* (Florida's Notable History).

Lisa L. Crutchfield

See also

Florida; Florida, Franco-Spanish Conflict over; Fort Caroline (Florida); Laudonnière, René Goulaine de; Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro

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Rifle

The rifle is an individual firearm. The first muzzle-loading rifles were identical in firing mechanism, means of loading, and general outward appearance to the smoothbore musket. The difference was that the rifle had a spiral twist of lands and grooves on the internal surface of the barrel. Known as rifling, these imparted spin to the round ball and gave it far greater accuracy at much greater distances. Ironically, rifling seems to have been designed not to improve accuracy but rather to collect fouling, which occurred with the black powder, and to ease the loading of the bullet, which had to be pushed down the bore with a ramrod. Rifling proved to be one of the most important inventions in the history of weaponry.

Thus although the range at which an individual with a smoothbore musket would be expected to hit a man-sized target might be only 50–100 yards, the rifle had an effective range of up to 200 or even 300 yards. Such advantage, however, was offset by its much slower rate of fire because of the reduced windage (the difference between the diameters of the ball and of the bore) in order that the soft lead ball would take to the rifling. The difficulty of loading meant that the rifle could fire only about one shot per minute as opposed to three to four shots per minute for a well-trained soldier with a smoothbore musket. Hence, rifles were not suited for the tactics of the day that stressed massed close-in fire.

Rifling was probably invented in Germany as early as the late 15th century, but it came into widespread use in the first quarter of the 16th century. The earliest extant rifle dates from 1547. Although spiral grooves and lands became the most accepted form of rifling, straight grooves and lands also existed. The first centers of rifle manufacture were Scandinavia and north Europe, perhaps because the big game for which these weapons were especially useful in hunting were to be found chiefly in these regions. The Germans first employed rifles for military purposes in 1631. The men armed with rifles were known as jägers from the German word for "hunter." Many riflemen were former gamekeepers and foresters. King Frederick II (the Great, 1740–1786) raised the first permanent corps of jägers in the Prussian Army.

Rifles were especially favored in America, where their long-range accuracy made them ideal for hunting game, especially on the frontier. They probably first arrived in America in the late 17th century and, by the 1740s, were being manufactured in Pennsylvania and other, chiefly southern, colonies. Most colonists, however, preferred the more robust and less demanding musket, which provided sufficient accuracy for most hunting and effective self-defense.

American rifles of the period usually had octagonal barrels of greater than 40 inches in length. Calibers varied widely but most usually were .52 to .65, making them somewhat smaller than those of smoothbore muskets. Their stocks were often of maple with brass furniture. They also featured wooden ramrods and patchbox cover. The rifle was loaded with loose powder from a powder horn, poured down the barrel, followed by the ball wrapped in a greased cloth patch, which was then rammed home. The most common firing mechanism was the flintlock, also employed on the musket.

The importance of rifles in America has been exaggerated, but they were employed by some militias and used in the colonial wars, most notably the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Some Native Americans, notably the Shawnees and the Delawares, also employed them. Rifles were not equipped either with slings or with lugs for mounting the bayonet.

During the American Revolutionary War, the Continental Army boasted special units armed with the so-called Pennsylvania or Kentucky rifle as skirmishers to fire on British officers from long range. More limited numbers of opposing British and German soldiers were also armed with this weapon, although French troops who fought in America seem not to have been similarly equipped.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Firearms Trade; Harquebus; Infantry Tactics; Muskets

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Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Philippe de, Marquis de Vaudreuil

Born: ca. 1643

Died: October 10, 1725

French soldier, strategist, and governor of New France (1703–1725). Philippe Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Marquis de Vaudreuil, was born into the old provincial French nobility about 1643 near Revel in southern France. In 1672, Vaudreuil joined the musketeers of Louis XIV's household and subsequently campaigned with distinction in Flanders and in Germany.

In 1687, Vaudreuil was appointed to command colonial troops in Canada. Arriving in Quebec that same year, Vaudreuil gradually earned the respect of his superiors by leading a number of successful expeditions against the Iroquois. In 1698, the Crown recognized his valor by awarding him the Cross of Saint Louis. Soon appointed governor of Montreal, Vaudreuil became governor-general of New France in 1703. France was then involved in Queen Anne's War, and Vaudreuil faced the challenge of defending the colony against the



Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, the last French colonial governor of Canada. His refusal to release the artillery of Quebec may have cost the French the victory in the battle before the city on September 13, 1759. (Library of Congress)

British while maintaining its alliances with the western tribes and preserving a fragile peace with the Iroquois. Lacking the necessary men and matériel to mount large-scale military operations, Vaudreuil orchestrated a guerrilla offensive against New England, which allowed the Canadians to retain the upper hand until the close of the war.

In an attempt to secure French commercial and strategic interests in the Great Lakes region following the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, Vaudreuil inaugurated a new period of western expansion by garrisoning abandoned posts, establishing new ones, and generally encouraging the fur trade. This, combined with a policy of present giving, was meant to consolidate the American Indian alliances. Such ties were instrumental to France's economic and military survival in North America.

Dealing with the aggressions of the Fox Nation first by dispatching a punitive expedition in 1716 and later by settling for a truce in 1721, the governor increasingly perceived that New France's greatest threat lay in British colonial ambitions. To limit the westward push of New York traders, he ordered the construction of a series of forts on the shores of Lake Ontario. In the East, he secretly supplied the Abenakis and encouraged them to wage war on the colonists of New England.

Vaudreuil died at Quebec on October 10, 1725, convinced that peaceful coexistence between French and British colonies in North American would be impossible. His reputation as a staunch defender of New France and his popularity among the Canadian population were instrumental to the appointment of his son Pierre to the position of governor in 1755.

Jean-François Lozier

See also

Beaver Wars; Canada, British Expedition against (1709); Canada, British Expedition against (1711); Fox; Fox War; Iroquois; New France; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Pierre de, Marquis de Vaudreuil; Utrecht, Treaty of

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Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Pierre de, Marquis de Vaudreuil

Born: November 22, 1698 Died: August 14, 1778

French military officer, governor of Trois-Rivières (1733–1742), governor of Louisiana (1743–1753), and the last governor-general of New France (1755–1760). Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial was born in Quebec on November 22, 1698. He would benefit handsomely throughout his career from the reputation of his father, Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, who served as governor of New France from 1703 to 1725. Commissioned an ensign in the troupes de la marine (provincial regulars) at the age of 10, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant in 1711 and to captain in 1715.

During much of his early career, young Vaudreuil assisted his father. In the process he acquired a firm grasp of colonial administration, military affairs, and indigenous diplomacy. In 1727, a year after having been made major, Vaudreuil took part in Constant Le Marchand de Lignery's punitive expedition against the Fox Nation. Having found a protector in Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, Comte de Maurepas, the French minister of marine, Vaudreuil was shortly thereafter promoted to adjutant. In 1730, he received the Cross of Saint Louis and promotion to the rank of lieutenant commander on the naval list.

Following an uneventful term as governor of the Canadian outpost of Trois-Rivières (1733–1742), Vaudreuil became governor of Louisiana. Over the course of the following decade, he attempted to set that colony's defenses in order and succeeded in solidifying native alliances in the face of the threat from Britain. Leaving Louisiana in 1753, he spent two years in France.

On January 1, 1755, Vaudreuil officially became the first Canadian-born governor of New France. Landing at Quebec in June, he found himself at the head of a colony embroiled in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). As commander in chief of the French armed forces in North America, Vaudreuil firmly held that an aggressive strategy, in which guerilla warfare figured prominently, would compel the British to divert their resources and thus diminish the threat. Not surprisingly, this brought the governor into disagreement with the metropolitan general officers entrusted with the tactical control of the forces—Jean-Armand de Dieskau and Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm—who advocated a more conventionally European style of warfare.

During the early years of the war, Vaudreuil's approach in fact proved judicious, but in 1758 the exterior defenses of the colony began to crumble. The governor's failure to fortify the lower St. Lawrence River allowed a British fleet to reach Quebec during the spring of 1759 and led to the capture of the city. Vaudreuil had also refused to release artillery that formed part of the city's defenses to Montcalm for employment against the English outside of Quebec.

Montcalm's death in the Battle of the Plains of Abraham and his replacement by François Gaston de Lévis at last resulted in a measure of harmony within the French high command. Yet the energetic counteroffensive mounted by both men in 1760 proved insufficient, and the British were soon at the gates of Montreal. On September 8, 1760, overwhelmed and unwilling to risk the safety of the Canadian population, Vaudreuil surrendered Canada, Acadia, and the Western posts as far as Illinois country to Great Britain. Because the terms of the capitulation had not protected the honor of French troops, this effectively put an end to his career. On his return to France, Vaudreuil became a scapegoat for the loss of New France and was briefly imprisoned and brought to trial. Acquitted in December 1763, Vaudreuil spent the remainder of his life in quiet retirement. He died in Paris on August 14, 1778.

Jean-François Lozier

See also

Dieskau, Jean Armand, Baron de; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Lévis, François Gaston de, Duc de Lévis; Louisiana; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; New France; Quebec, Battle of; Quebec, French Attempt to Recapture; Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Philippe de, Marquis de Vaudreuil

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Right of Conquest

The legal precept that a nation, either through military victory or conquest, can assert ownership over territories and their inhabi-

tants that it has captured. Any local residents of the conquered territory automatically lose their right of self-determination to the conquering power. International law generally recognized the right of conquest from the 16th century until the early 20th century.

Inspired by the 16th-century examples of the Spanish and the Portuguese in the Americas, legal thinkers in England justified war on the Irish by arguing that the religious beliefs of the Irish proved their barbarous condition. They also used the right of conquest to rationalize their subsequent subjugation of the Irish. The English expanded these legal doctrines of conquest during the colonization of North America. They argued that the natives of North America, because of their alleged incivility, could not possess territory under international law. Thus, lands belonging to the Native Americans would pass by right to the conquering English. Invoking the "right of discovery," English jurists proposed that the act of "discovering" or settling on a territory populated by a "barbarous" people was sufficient for ownership.

The right of conquest was a way for the English legally to rebuke encroachments by other European powers onto their American colonies. Thus, according to the English, the Native Americans had no right to transfer land that had already been conquered by the English to other European nations. The Spanish and the French were more likely than the English to have engaged in an ethical debate over the rights of the indigenous peoples in the Americas.

There were clear contradictions within the concept of the right of conquest, however. For example, the English colonists, and later the Americans, entered into numerous treaties with Native Americans. This implied that the Native Americans had sovereignty over their land. The English quite often disregarded these treaties, however, when they were no longer expedient.

Primarily, the right of conquest, in upholding the idea of "might is right," justified for the Europeans everything from the enslavement of Native Americans to their brutal displacement from coveted territory. An explicitly imperial doctrine, it was largely accepted until the early 20th century, when the idea of "self-determination" emerged from World War I.

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See also

Frontier, Northern; Frontier, Southern; Intercolonial Relations; Just War Theory

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Rising, Johan Classon

Born: 1617 Died: April 1672

Last governor of New Sweden (Delaware) from 1654–1655. Born in Risinge, Parish Ostergotlandslan, Sweden, in 1617, Johan Classon Rising was the son of a local pastor. He studied history and law and received a doctorate from Uppsala University in 1640. He then traveled through Europe to observe trade and commerce. During 1651–1653, he was secretary of the Commercial College of Sweden. Rising wrote two influential books on economic theory and received a knighthood.

When, after years of neglect, the Swedish government rekindled its interest in New Sweden, it sent Rising and several hundred settlers to revive the colony. The expedition arrived in May 1654. Finding that the previous governor, Johan Björnsson Printz, had departed for Sweden, Rising took over as governor from Printz's son-in-law.



Contemporary print of Johan Classon Rising, the last governor of New Sweden. (North Wind Picture Archives)

Rising's first act as governor, on May 12, 1654, was to capture nearby Fort Casimer from the Dutch, contrary to his orders. He then set to work purchasing land and food and governing the colony. He also wrote to Swedish authorities asking them to send him a good wife, one capable of hard work.

Meanwhile, Rising's capture of Fort Casimer gave Petrus Stuyvesant, governor of New Netherland, a reason for invading New Sweden. Stuyvesant recaptured Fort Casimer on September 1, 1655, and then laid siege to Swedish-held Fort Christina. As he and Rising negotiated the terms of a Swedish surrender, news of a native uprising forced Stuyvesant to hurry back to New Netherland. He offered the Swedish a return to the status quo antebellum. Rising, however, cited various excuses and refused Stuyvesant's terms. Instead, he surrendered New Sweden to the Dutch on September 15, 1655, and embarked for Europe a few weeks later. New Sweden ceased to exist.

After his return, Rising intermittently held a variety of offices as he tried to continue his writings on commerce. He fell into poverty about 12 years before his death in Stockholm in April 1672.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Fort Casimer (Delaware); Fort Christina (Delaware); New Netherland; New Sweden; Printz, Johan Björnsson; Stuyvesant, Petrus

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Roanoke Island (North Carolina)

First English settlement in North America, situated on the Outer Banks of North Carolina off the North Carolina mainland. Known as the "lost colony" because of its mysterious demise in 1590, Roanoke Island signaled the end of English efforts to colonize North America until 1606.

Roanoke Island was actually one of a series of failed settlements stemming from the sporadic nature of English exploration of North America. These began when John Cabot reached the New England coast in 1497. Fishermen soon followed, as did Cabot's son Sebastian, who explored southward in 1508 and 1509. England showed little interest in further discoveries until 1578, when Queen Elizabeth I granted brothers Martin and Sir Humphrey Gilbert a patent to colonize North America. The Crown had hopes of discovering the mythical Northwest Passage to Asia and competing with Spain for control of the Western Hemisphere. Gilbert reached Newfoundland and built a small settlement at modern-day St. John's on his second voyage in



Contemporary illustration of Sir Walter Raleigh and his men encountering Native Americans during their expedition to Roanoke Island in 1585. (Library of Congress)

1585, but he was subsequently lost at sea. His patent passed on to his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, who sent Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe to explore the mid-Atlantic Coast. There they contacted the Roanoke American Indians and took two captives to England. That prompted Elizabeth to knight Raleigh and name the new region Virginia, a reference to her unofficial title of the "Virgin Queen."

Raleigh attempted to colonize Virginia in 1585, sending 108 men in five ships and two boats commanded by Richard Grenville. However, the expedition met with disaster when a supply ship ran aground near the barrier island (called Roanoke) he had selected as the colony's home. Grenville compounded the calamity by burning a local native village and departing, leaving Ralph Lane in command of a poorly provisioned encampment in now-hostile country. Lane also attacked the natives, provoking a series of raids that heightened the danger and worsened the food shortage.

Circumstances grew so dire that when Sir Francis Drake stopped at Roanoke in 1586 after raiding Spanish ships in the Caribbean, all but three of the surviving settlers returned to England with him. Grenville soon returned to Roanoke Island with 600 men, but when he arrived, the three men who had stayed behind were gone. Grenville left 15 settlers to hold the site and returned to England. He then passed the project on to John White, who made a serious attempt at colonization by taking 17 women, 9 children, and 94 men to Roanoke Island in 1587. When he arrived, he found no trace of the 15 men left on the island the year before. Nevertheless, he landed the new settlers and returned to England for more supplies. He hoped to see Roanoke again in 1588, but that was the year of the Spanish Armada, and war with Spain delayed his expedition until 1590.

When White finally returned in August 1590, he found no trace of the settlers, who had included his daughter, son-in-law, and granddaughter, Virginia Dare. The only hint regarding their fate were the words "Croatoan" and "Cro" found carved in a nearby fence post and tree. The Croatoans lived approximately 50 miles to the south, but persistent searches produced no sign of the lost colonists. Their fate remains unknown, though it is likely that they were killed, captured, or assimilated by local Native Americans.

England made no further efforts to colonize North America until the early 1600s. Roanoke Island proved a salutary warning of the need for proper provisions, military equipment, and a significant number of settlers in future colonization efforts.

Lance Janda

See also

Drake, Sir Francis; Raleigh, Sir Walter

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Robertson, James

Born: June 29, 1717 Died: March 4, 1788

British Army officer and governor of occupied New York during the American Revolutionary War during 1779–1783. James Robertson was born at Newbigging near Burntisland, Scotland, on June 29, 1717. Educated in the local parish school, he enlisted in the British Army as a private soldier before 1739. Lacking the resources to purchase a commission, he became an officer based on merit.

Robertson survived campaigning against the Spanish during 1739–1740 in the West Indies that cost his regiment half its strength. Promoted to captain in 1745, Robertson served under John Campbell, Lord Loudoun, during the Scottish rebellion against the English, known as the "Forty-Five" (for 1745), and may have fought in the Battle of Culloden that same year.

Robertson then served with British forces in Ireland, and in 1755 he secured a promotion to major. Not wishing to be sent to the West Indies, he took advantage of the beginning of the French and Indian War (1754–1763) to secure appointment as a staff officer to his mentor, now new British commander in chief in North America, Lord Loudoun. After arranging for supplies, he followed Loudon to America, arriving there in 1756. Within two years Robertson was a lieutenant colonel. He was chief aide as deputy quartermaster general to Loudoun and his two successors, Major General Robert Abercromby and Major General Jeffery Amherst.

Robertson remained in America after the French and Indian War. In all, he served there for 27 years and came to be viewed as an expert on North American affairs. In 1765, he was instrumental in the passage of the highly controversial Quartering Act, which forced colonists to provide barracks for British soldiers. On passage of the act, Robertson became barrack master general, a position that allowed him to increase his personal wealth substantially. He continued to advance in rank during the 1770s, rising to major general by 1776. Robertson, who had spent most of his time in America in New York City, played a key role in the American Revolutionary War. He arranged the details of the British evacuation from Boston in March $1776\,and\,helped\,plan\,the\,British\,campaign\,in\,southern\,New\,York\,that$ same year, commanding a brigade during the Battle of Long Island. In September 1776, he took command of British forces occupying New York City, which post he retained until mid-1777, when he returned to London and reported to Lord George Germain, the secretary of state for the American Department, that he thought that the British commander in America, Major General William Howe, had been too easy on the rebels. In 1778, Robertson testified before Parliament when it investigated Howe's conduct of the war, asserting that three-quarters of Americans were loyal to Britain. He held to this opinion on his return to America as military commander of New York City and civilian governor in May of 1779. In March 1780, he was promoted to lieutenant general. With the end of the war, Robertson returned to Britain in April 1783. He died in London on March 4, 1788.

THERESA L. STOREY AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Campbell, John, Earl of Loudoun; Quartering

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Rogers, Robert

Born: November 7, 1731 Died: May 17, 1795

English militia officer, best known for his service in the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and his leadership of Rogers' Rangers.



English colonist Robert Rogers, who organized Rogers' Rangers, a military unit specially trained to fight on the frontier and in backwoods regions during the French and Indian War. (Library of Congress)

Born in Methuen, Massachusetts, on November 7, 1731, Robert Rogers was raised in New Hampshire, where he received only a rudimentary education but developed keen skills as a woodsman and hunter. Rogers served briefly as a scout for the New Hampshire Militia during King George's War (1744–1748) but did not achieve true military distinction until the French and Indian War.

Following service early in the war with militia forces supporting British regulars in the expedition against Crown Point (New York) and battles around Lake George in 1755, Rogers received a promotion to captain. In 1756, he received orders to raise a company of rangers. Most of the men in the unit were handpicked by Rogers himself and equipped from his own means. In 1758, Rogers was promoted to major and expanded his rangers to include nine companies numbering roughly 200 men.

Rogers' Rangers, as his outfit became known, specialized in scouting and reconnaissance missions. Working in small groups, the Rangers often operated behind enemy lines gathering intelligence or engaging in raids and ambushes. All of Rogers's men were accomplished woodsmen, adept at moving swiftly through rough terrain and living resourcefully off the land. They even wore green jackets as an attempt at camouflage. The rangers demonstrated their unique mobility during the Battle on Snowshoes in 1758,

where they launched raids against enemy encampments in the dead of winter using snowshoes. Rogers became so skilled at such irregular operations that he authored a manual called *Rogers' Ranging Rules*, which detailed his tactical methodologies.

After taking part in Major General Jeffery Amherst's capture of Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point in July 1759, Rogers achieved his greatest military success to date by executing a daring surprise attack on an Abenaki village near St. Francis, Canada, in October 1759 as retribution for the Abenakis' repeated raids, which had killed as many as 600 English colonists. Rogers' Rangers also supported Major General James Wolfe's campaign against Quebec as well as Amherst's capture of Montreal in 1760.

After Montreal fell, Amherst reassigned Rogers to the Great Lakes region to seize the remaining French fortifications there. The Rangers continued their success with several key victories, including the surrender of Fort Detroit in November 1760, which made Rogers an even greater hero in the colonies. His rangers returned to the Detroit territory again three years later to assist the British Army in suppressing Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763.

In 1765, Rogers traveled to England to compile his war memoirs and publish accounts of his heroics against the French and their native allies. He boldly asked King George III for money to fund an expedition to explore the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. The king refused this audacious request, but he did reward Rogers with command of Fort Michilimackinac in present-day Michigan. As commandant of the fort, Rogers followed a path of corruption and insubordination, mostly in trying to pursue his obsession of creating an expedition to find the elusive Northwest Passage. He was arrested and tried for treason by the royal government. Acquitted in 1768, Rogers returned to England in hopes of securing another command but succeeded only in landing in debtors' prison.

At the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War, Rogers offered his services to Continental Army commander General George Washington. The general refused Rogers's offer as he did not trust his allegiance to the Patriot cause and suspected him to be a British spy. An embittered Rogers then raised his own companies of Loyalist rangers outside New York City and fought in several campaigns in 1776–1777 but did not earn any notable distinction. He returned to England in 1780, where he lived in poverty and obscurity until his death in London on May 17, 1795.

BRADFORD WINEMAN

See also

Fort Michilimackinac (Michigan); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Lake George, Battle of; Quebec, Battle of; Rangers; Rogers's Raid on St. Francis; Snowshoes, Battle on

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Rogers's Raid on St. Francis

Start Date: September 13, 1759 End Date: October 6, 1759

Attack by Rogers' Rangers on the Canadian town of St. Francis during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). From their town of St. Francis, the French-allied Abenaki Native Americans had raided English settlements to the south.

The Abenaki mission town of St. Francis was located close to the mouth of the river of the same name, between Montreal and Trois-Rivières. Known as Odanak to the natives, the town contained more than 60 dwellings, a Jesuit chapel, and a council house. The Abenakis used St. Francis as a base from which they launched raids against the northern English colonies. According to some reports, as many as 600 English scalps taken by the raiding parties were displayed in the town. The strong native position at St. Francis also blocked communication between British forces moving to attack Quebec and other British and colonial forces in New York and New England.

To remove this obstacle to wresting Canada from the French and their native allies, the British Army commander in North America, Major General Jeffery Amherst, ordered Major Robert Rogers, an expert at irregular warfare, to attack St. Francis. The operation was fraught with considerable risk, as it required Rogers's force to penetrate deep into French-controlled territory, country unfamiliar to the attackers.

Rogers set out from the British post at Crown Point on September 13, 1759, with a force of about 200 men, most of them Rangers, with a few British regulars and more than 20 Stockbridge Native Americans. The party traveled in whaleboats across Lake Champlain to Missisquoi Bay in present-day Vermont, where they disembarked and moved overland to St. Francis. Rogers lost about one-fourth of his men during the march to accident and disease. Also, shortly after they landed, the French discovered and destroyed their whaleboats, depriving Rogers's men of the means to return to their base by water and leaving them completely cut off in hostile territory.

Undeterred by the loss of the boats, Rogers convened a council of war. It decided to proceed with the attack on St. Francis. Rogers then planned to withdraw overland to the Fort at Number Four on the Connecticut River.

Rogers and his remaining 142 men reached their objective on the night of October 5 after a dangerous crossing of the St. Francis River. The French and their native allies were aware of the rangers' presence in the area and had parties out searching for them, but they expected Rogers to attack elsewhere. Learning from some prisoners that none of the French and native parties were near St. Francis, Rogers decided that it was safe to conceal his force and attack early the next morning.

Some accounts suggest that the Abenakis received a warning on the night of October 5 that an attack on St. Francis was imminent and that many of the town's inhabitants chose to leave. There were, nonetheless, approximately 500 people in the town the next morn-



Rogers' Rangers, shown massacring Abenaki Native Americans at St. Francis, Quebec, in October 1759. British major general Jeffery Amherst authorized the attack in retaliation for Abenaki raids on English settlements during the French and Indian War. (Library of Congress)

ing. Exhausted after a night spent celebrating a harvest festival (or wedding, according to some accounts), the Abenakis took no precautions to guard against an attack.

Rogers carefully positioned his men and then launched his assault before dawn on October 6. Some Rangers forced their way into houses and killed the occupants with tomahawks; others set fire to dwellings and shot down the inhabitants as they fled. Another body of rangers posted along the St. Francis River fired on any natives seen escaping the growing conflagration. The assault was over quickly, as the surprised Abenakis were unable to offer effective resistance.

When the fighting ended, the rangers gathered as much corn as they could carry to sustain them on their return journey. They also plundered the Jesuit chapel of its gold and silver religious artifacts. They then withdrew to escape certain pursuit. The rangers took with them a half dozen captured Abenaki women and children as well as some captives who had been held at the town. Among the latter were three members of Rogers's own ranger unit who had been taken prisoner earlier in the war.

Rogers later claimed to have killed 200 natives in the battle, thus breaking the Abenakis' ability to conduct offensive operations. French officials visiting St. Francis shortly after the attack, however,

reported having seen only 30 dead, two-thirds of whom were women and children. The actual native death toll lies somewhere between these two extremes. The rangers suffered no casualties themselves in the engagement.

The attackers then withdrew up the St. Francis River to the site of present-day Sherbrooke, then to the southeast. Near Lake Memphremagog their provisions ran out, so Rogers ordered his men to disperse into smaller parties, thus making it easier both to find game and to elude their pursuers. Slowed by hunger, exhaustion, and exposure to the cold, some groups were caught and killed by the pursuing French and natives. Rogers's own party made its way down the Passumpsic River, reaching the Connecticut River at its confluence with the Wells River about October 20. Rogers had asked Amherst to have provisions waiting there, but the British officer assigned to supply the rangers had already left the area. Rogers and the strongest of his men built a raft and floated down the Connecticut. They arrived at the Fort at Number Four on October 31, and immediately dispatched supplies and a rescue party to aid the men who had been left behind. Fewer than 100 members of the expedition eventually made their way to safety. The remainder were killed by the French and Abenakis or succumbed to starvation and exposure.

Despite the large number of casualties suffered, Rogers's raid proved a success. The loss of life among the Abenakis and the destruction of their base, along with the British capture of Quebec the month before, effectively ended the Native American threat to the northern frontier English settlements.

JIM PIECUCH

See also

Abenakis; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Quebec, Battle of; Rangers; Rogers, Robert

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Rowlandson, Mary White

Born: ca. 1637 Died: 1710 or 1711

Englishwoman captured by Native Americans in 1676 and author of *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1682), a narrative of her time in captivity. Mary White was born in England around 1637. Her parents left for North America in 1639, taking their daughter with them. The family settled in Lancaster, Massachusetts, where White married Joseph Rowlandson in 1656. He became a Puritan minister in Lancaster in 1660.

In February 1676, during King Philip's War (1675–1676), a band of Narragansett and Nipmuck warriors attacked Lancaster, and in the process they burned most of the settlement and took a number of captives, Mary Rowlandson among them. After her capture, she was transported with other English captives along a meandering trek through western Massachusetts before returning to an area near Lancaster where her husband paid her ransom. Her captivity lasted three months. In all, Rowlandson endured 20 "removes" (relocations), during which she suffered from exposure to the elements, hunger, and the psychological shock of captivity and fear of death.

On her release, the noted Puritan minister Increase Mather encouraged Rowlandson to publish an account of her captivity. He counseled this to help quell rumors that she had been sexually abused by her captors, and to provide a timely moral lesson for a spiritually backsliding society. Lascivious rumors and innuendo about the sexual assault of female captives prompted Rowlandson to set down the facts of the matter to deflect such gossip. She also hoped to dispel the falsehoods that might have compromised her prominent position as the wife of a clergyman.

In her captivity narrative, published in 1682, Rowlandson gave a vivid and candid account of her ordeal, carefully noting that no warrior had made any sexual advances toward her or any of the other female hostages. She heaped scorn on the "praying Indians," however, whom she regarded as spies and traitors. She interpreted

her experience as a divine chastisement for her pride and spiritual laxity, and Mather intended that New Englanders would interpret King Philip's War as a collective punishment. A classic in the popular genre of the captivity narrative, the book went through several editions throughout the rest of the 17th and 18th centuries, confirming Anglo-American society's negative assumptions about Native Americans. Meanwhile, Rowlandson moved to Wethersfield, Connecticut, where her husband had a congregation. Rowlandson died in either 1710 or 1711.

JOHN HOWARD SMITH

See also

Captivity of Europeans by Indians; Captivity Narratives; King Philip's War; Praying Towns and Praying Indians

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Royal Regiment of Artillery

When English colonists landed in Virginia in 1607, their army did not possess a professional artillery arm. In England prior to 1716, the artillery comprised a small nucleus of paid gunners who functioned much as a permanent militia. During emergencies, officials issued a royal warrant authorizing a train of artillery. After the train had served its purpose, it disbanded. There were never sufficient numbers of trained men to serve in the artillery, however. In addition, this method of raising a train of artillery was both expensive and inefficient. The birth of the Royal Artillery more than 100 years later changed the artillery arm to a permanent force. Thereafter, it made steady technical and professional progress.

During the War of the Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War, 1702–1713), the Duke of Marlborough employed the English artillery contingent with great tactical skill. Thereafter, he joined a growing chorus calling for reform. Nonetheless, after peace came in 1713, the artillery arm again largely disbanded. Marlborough's call for reform and the unresponsiveness of the artillery to the outbreak of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 combined to prod authorities to make changes. In 1716, King George I authorized two permanent companies of gunners and matrosses (unskilled crewmen). They became the basis for the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

The so-called New Establishment of 1716 eliminated many anachronistic posts, leaving in their stead a company organization led by a captain and four lieutenants. Three sergeants and three corporals served as noncommissioned officers, and three bombardiers provided expert technical assistance. Thirty gunners filled the companies' skilled positions and 50 matrosses provided the hard labor necessary to maintain, move, and operate the artillery.

The Royal Artillery achieved regimental status in 1722, when the two original companies merged with the independent artillery companies at Gibraltar and Minorca. By then, a headquarters staff had been created with the addition of a colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major. Thereafter, the regiment expanded rapidly. By 1757 the regiment had 24 companies divided into 2 battalions and a total strength of 2,531 men. On the eve of the American Revolutionary War, the regiment had grown to 32 companies in 4 battalions along with 2 invalid companies of older, unfit men. The latter typically served as garrison troops.

Initially, officers in the Royal Artillery were promoted from the ranks, so it escaped the evils of the purchase system whereby officers actually bought their commissions. Artillery officers had to demonstrate both theoretical and practical competence in their trade. Consequently, the artillery attracted more professionally inclined officers as opposed to many of those in the other arms who joined the military for social status. The founding of the Royal Military Academy in 1741 further enhanced the artillery's professional orientation.

The first large-scale overseas deployment of the Royal Artillery Regiment took place in 1741, during the Anglo-Spanish War of 1739–1744, during the campaign against Cartagena in what is now Colombia in Central America. In North America during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the regiment contributed about 100 officers and men and 10 light guns to Major General Edward Braddock's unsuccessful 1755 campaign against Fort Duquesne. The artillery train was not yet militarized, so 21 civilian attendants accompanied the gunners, along with 10 servants and 6 women. When the British column came under French and native ambush close to their objective, the artillerists blindly fired into the forest with little effect. During the subsequent retreat, they abandoned their guns.

Three companies of Royal Artillery participated in the British capture of the French fortress of Louisbourg in 1758. During the Battle for Quebec in 1759, an artillery subaltern led a handful of gunners in dragging a single light gun up the steep path leading to the Plains of Abraham. During the French attempt to recapture Quebec in 1760, the British defense included a complete artillery train. Just prior to the beginning of the American Revolutionary War, from 1771 to 1775, the regiment's 4th Battalion replaced the units that had previously been serving in North America. By this time, the regiment had earned a reputation for skilled professionalism.

JAMES R. ARNOLD

See also

Artillery, Land; Artillery Projectiles; Braddock's Campaign; Cartagena, Expedition against; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Great Britain, Army; Quebec, Battle of; Quebec, French Attempt to Recapture

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Rum Trade

Manufacture and trade of rum between Caribbean colonies, North America, and Great Britain was a major colonial enterprise. The rum trade was intricately tied to the history of sugar plantations in the Caribbean. The islands of the Caribbean were ideal for growing sugarcane, which resulted in the establishment of hundreds of sugar plantations in the 17th and 18th centuries. Rum is distilled from molasses, a syrupy byproduct of sugar's crystallization process. Caribbean rum, with its rich color and an aroma lacking in rums brewed elsewhere, was considered the finest in the world.

The British sugar islands in the Caribbean generally fared well during the wars of the 17th and 18th centuries. Protected by the strong British Navy, these colonies were rarely attacked, and insurance rates for shipping goods remained low. Some of the French and Dutch islands did not fare as well, however. During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the British seized the French-held island of Guadeloupe, one of the largest molasses producers in the Caribbean, forcing the French to pay dearly for its return in 1763.

The intense specialization in sugar and molasses meant that the Caribbean islands were completely dependent on imported goods for their subsistence. In exchange for sugar, the North American mainland provided Caribbean planters with lumber, grain, meat, cheese, and butter.

The sugar and rum trade was built on the backs of slaves, whose survival rates in brutal Caribbean conditions were notoriously low. A combination of tropical diseases, malnutrition, and overwork made the natural increase of the slave population impossible. In order to feed the sugar islands' voracious demand for slaves, trade runs to Africa were factored into the colonial economy.

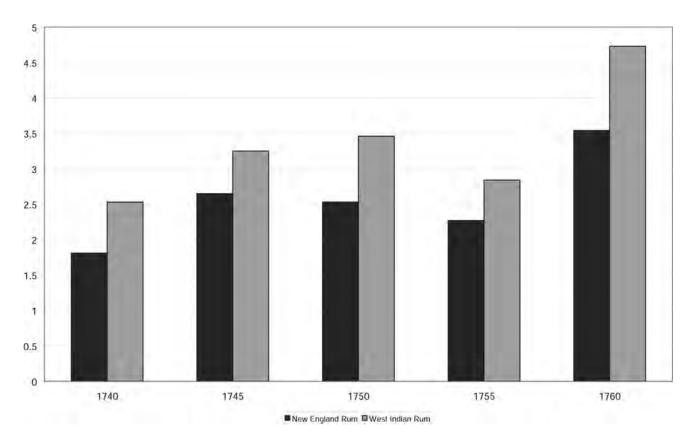
This set the stage for the infamous "triangular trade." Molasses was exported from the sugar islands to the North American mainland, where it was distilled into rum. It was then shipped to Africa, where it was traded for slaves. The slaves were sold in the Caribbean, where the labor-intensive sugar plantations were always in need of more hands.

The British sugar islands had competition from French, Dutch, and Spanish colonies in the Caribbean, which also specialized in sugarcane. British mercantile policies limited the mainland colonies from doing business with non-British sugar colonies, although the lure of cheaper sugar from French colonies was tempting to New England smugglers. British sugar was roughly 20 percent more expensive than that produced by the French.

Planters in the British Caribbean resented competition from the French and agitated for legislation to snuff out competition. The result was the 1733 Molasses Act, which placed prohibitive duties on sugar or molasses from non-British colonies. The act was only a paper victory, however, as it was routinely ignored by customs officials willing to take a bribe and smugglers willing to circumvent the law.

The British attitude of salutary neglect was changed after the conclusion of the French and Indian War in 1763, which left the English





with staggering debts and an urgent need for new revenue. The Sugar Act of 1764 changed the provisions of the old Molasses Act to include several new restrictions. The original duty of six pence per gallon of molasses was cut in half, but it was strictly enforced and applied to all sugar or molasses regardless of the source. Taxes on other commodities, such as coffee, cloth, and silk, were also subject to the tax. Ships were required to submit to stringent bonding procedures before loading their cargo. The Royal Navy's presence in the Caribbean was also expanded and charged with enforcing trade legislation. Smuggling was discouraged by much harsher punishments, including seizure of the ship and cargo. Merchants who wished to contest charges of evading the tax were forced to use vice admiralty courts, which deprived them of their right to a jury trial, statements by witnesses, cross-examination, and other rights normally granted under common law.

The result of the Sugar Act was a slump in the New England rum trade. That in turn exacerbated tensions between the mainland colonies and England. Beginning in 1764, a group of angry distillers in Boston initiated a boycott of English goods. The boycotts caused hardship to local merchants, whose imported supplies slowed to a trickle. As a result of the shortage of sugar, distillers turned to more readily available crops to make liquor. The popularity of whiskey, made from corn or rye, was a direct result of the Sugar Act.

DOROTHY A. MAYS

See also

Admiralty Law; Molasses Act; Slave Trade and the American Colonies; Smuggling; Sugar Act

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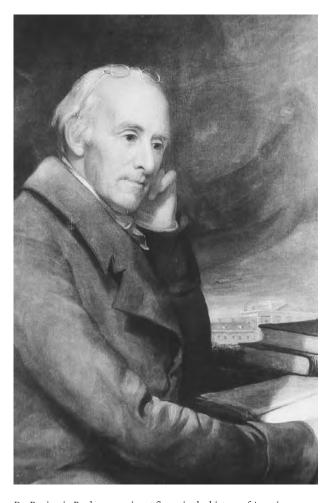
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Rush, Benjamin

Born: December 24, 1745

Died: April 1813

Colonial doctor and signer of the Declaration of Independence; known variously as "the American Sydenham" and "the American Hippocrates." Born in Byberry Township near Philadelphia on December 24, 1745, Benjamin Rush received his education at Not-



Dr. Benjamin Rush, a prominent figure in the history of American medicine and signer of the Declaration of Independence. (National Archives)

tingham Academy. He entered New Jersey College at Princeton at age 15 and graduated the following year.

Rush spent five years apprenticed to physician John Redmond, during which time he translated the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates into English and wrote a classic account of the 1762 Philadelphia yellow fever epidemic. Rush then traveled to England, where he studied in London and received his medical degree from the University of Edinburgh in 1768. He returned to Philadelphia the following year to become professor of chemistry at John Morgan's new medical school where he, along with Morgan, William Shippen Jr., and Adam Kuhn, comprised the faculty. Rush was active in Philadelphia society and politics and was a member of the Continental Congress and signed the Declaration of Independence. He chaired the medical committee of the Continental Congress and served as physician and surgeon general of the Middle Department of the Continental Army from April 1777.

Rush became involved in Major General Thomas Conway's cabal to replace Major General George Washington and in Morgan's failed attempt to discredit Shippen. Rush resigned in 1778 but not before publishing the *Directions for Preserving the Health of Sol-*

diers, a useful compendium of recommendations on military hygiene and camp sanitation.

Following the American Revolutionary War, Rush returned to a lucrative life of teaching and practice. He fathered 13 children and is said to have educated 2,872 physicians in his career. Unfortunately, he taught vigorous purging with calomel and bleeding as the mainstays of therapy and is accused of having cost the lives of tens of thousands through his influence and misguided treatment. Nonetheless, he remained widely successful and respected as the most distinguished physician in America until his death in Philadelphia in April 1813.

JACK McCallum

See also

Military and Naval Medicine; Sickness and Mortality in Colonial America

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Russia

In 1732, Siberian navigators Aleksei Shestakov and Mikhail Gvozdev explored the Alaskan coast of North America. In 1736, however, a report dated 1648 was discovered in a Siberian archive. Prepared by Russian explorer Simeon Dezhnev, it is believed to be the first written Russian report on the existence of what is now known as the Bering Strait, which divides Asia and North America. Geographic maps made in Moscow after 1697 and based on Siberian explorers' reports reflected the existence of islands and vast lands to the east of the Russian Pacific Coast.

In the early 18th century, Moscow's envoys to eastern Siberia provided descriptions of native people living within a one-day kayak trip from the easternmost Russian shores and reported on their customs and activities. In 1729, the first Kamchatka expedition led by Danish seaman Vitus Bering passed the strait later named after him even though he did not see the land because of fog.

In 1741, Czarina Elizabeth I ordered Bering to conduct another in-depth study of the North American coast. During this voyage, Bering calculated the distance separating Asia and North America and discovered the Aleutian Islands. The first Russian landing in North America occurred on July 15, 1741, at latitude 55° 20' north, near Baker Island.

In the course of following voyages, the Russians explored the entire northwest coast of North America. The continent aroused interest among Russian merchants and fur hunters excited by the prospects of the rich sea otter trade. With its focus on European developments at the time, however, the Russian government did not provide financial or military assistance to the merchants. Private Russian entrepreneurs conducted further exploration of North



Portrait of Czarina Catherine II, who ruled Russia during 1762–1796. (Ridpath, John Clark, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

America. Reportedly more than 110 hunting and trading expeditions were organized between 1743 and 1799.

From 1748, the Russian government granted the exclusive right to conduct trade operations in North America to selected companies in exchange for one-third of their income. In 1760, a free trade policy was declared and numerous Russian merchants profited from Alaskan natural resources, although relations between them and the native population were generally hostile. Simultaneously Russia engaged in trade exchanges with other nations' North American colonies, even though Czarina Catherine II deemed such trade to be illegal. In 1775, during the American Revolutionary War, British king George III requested a Russian expeditionary corps of 20,000 to fight against the colonies. The Russian government ignored his request and in 1780 enunciated the Declaration on Armed Neutrality to prevent the British Navy from interfering with neutral trade. Later, Russia acted as one of the mediators during peace talks between France and Britain.

In the last third of the 18th century, the Russian government focused on economic activities to secure Russia's presence in northwestern North America. It did so because its military was weak and unable to support territorial expansion and protect Russia's interests in remote colonies. The government encouraged colonization for the revenue it produced. The new Russian territories were not formally tied to the Russian Empire, however, and there was no protection of the territory occupied by Russians in North America. In 1780, Catherine II intended to send the Russian Navy

"to preserve our rights to lands discovered by Russian seamen," because an active trade had developed between English sailors and the native population of Alaska following Captain James Cook's expedition of 1778–1779. Catherine requested that the Russian flag be raised on "all lands and islands, which will be discovered if they are not yet conquered by any European state." The expedition was cancelled in 1787, however, because Russian warships were required in the Mediterranean for wars against Turkey.

There were no permanent Russian settlements in North America before the 1780s. Indeed, Russians built the first houses for fur hunters and a few armed forts only after 1780. Relations between the Russian settlers and surrounding native Aleut and Eskimo populations and militant Tlingits were usually hostile. The colonization coincided with the forced conversion of native groups to Russian Orthodox Christianity. The first official religious mission numbering eight priests arrived in Kodiak in 1794. It conducted 6,740 baptisms and 1,573 marriages during its first year.

In 1799, Czar Paul I combined all Russian trade and shipping companies in America into the government-founded Russian-American Company. It retained exclusive rights to hunt, fish, and trade to the north of latitude 55°. The Russian royal family was the major shareholder of the company. The Crown appointed chief company managers to a five-year terms, recognizing these individuals as rulers of the colony. Management was divided into four "branch managers," who oversaw colonists and natives alike.

The largest city and the capital of the Russian colony in Alaska was Sitka (Novo-Arkhangelsk). A garrison of just 70 men guarded Sitka, and its population consisted of 220 Russians and about 1,000 natives. Although the aboriginal population became Russian subjects, they were still largely managed by their tribal leaders. The native population of Russian America peaked at about 8,000 people, and remained at that number for the entire colonization period. The permanent Russian population slowly grew from 225 in 1799, to 470 in 1805, and reached about 800 in 1823.

In order to build a local supply base and restrict the intensified activity of the new United States in the regions adjoining the Spanish colonies, Russian colonies attempted to extend control over adjacent regions. As such, they tried to establish footholds in California and Hawaii. In 1790, with the hope that in the course of time a propitious moment would arrive to assert claims to the Pacific Coast of North America, the czarist government had ordered imperial markers secretly buried along the coast bearing the inscription "Land belonging to Russia." These were located along the North American mainland from Kodiak Island to California. The indecisiveness of St. Petersburg and changes in European diplomacy after the Napoleonic Wars made it impossible to transform trading posts of the Russian-American Company into a formal possession.

In 1806, Russian envoy Count Nikolai Rezanov traveled to California to negotiate trade relations with the Spaniards, who were then in possession of that territory. Rezanov developed the idea of wresting northern California from the Spaniards and proposed to occupy the region extending from the Russian colonies to San Fran-

cisco. In so doing, he hoped to attract large masses of people to the Columbia River Basin area. As a result, imperial markers were placed from latitudes 41° and 38° north, in the Bodega Bay area, the Charlotte Islands, and the shores of Trinidad Bay. The culmination of the southward expansion was the establishment of the Russian-American Company's outpost Fort Ross in the vicinity of Monterey Bay. It was a wooden fortress protected by 17 small cannon and with a tannery, mill, workshops, storage facilities, cattle shed, and other dwellings. The Russians established good relations with neighboring Native Americans, and a protocol granting lands to the Russians was signed with local native chiefs in 1817.

The Russians simply ignored the Spaniards, who dominated the colonization of northern California and were worried about possible Russian expansion in the region. Fort Ross, with its population of about 200 adults, did not contribute to the prosperity of the company and was liquidated in 1839.

The United States protested Russia's southward expansion and forced Russia to conclude the Convention on Sailing, Fishery, Trade, and Settlements in 1824. This document established the borders of Russia's colony and permitted American companies to conduct trade in Russian America. Russia's only overseas colony ceased to exist on October 6, 1867, when the United States purchased Alaska.

Peter Roudik

See also

California; Great Britain; Smuggling; Spain

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Ryswick, Treaty of

Event Date: September 20, 1697

Agreement that ended the War of the League of Augsburg, or King William's War (1689–1697), signed on September 20, 1697. The

peace treaty also marked the completion of the first phase of the Anglo-French struggle for supremacy in North America between 1689 and 1763.

Under the provisions of the Treaty of Ryswick, all towns and districts seized since the 1679 Treaty of Nijmegen were restored. France surrendered Freiburg, Breisach, and Phillipsburg to the Holy Roman Empire, retained Strasbourg, received Saint Domingue (Haiti), and regained Pondicherry in India and Nova Scotia in North America. The French also returned Lorraine to Leopold Joseph, a son of Charles V, Duke of Lorraine. Spain regained Catalonia and the barrier fortresses of Mons, Luxembourg, and Courtrai. The Dutch were allowed to garrison several fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands. Lastly, King Louis XIV of France recognized William III as king of England, agreed to end his interference in Cologne, and abandoned his territorial claims to the Rhenish Palatinate.

King William's War, the North American phase of the conflict, had pitted England against France at Hudson Bay, and the English and Iroquois against the French and their native allies on the New York and New England frontiers. French and Native American forces had raided several British settlements in that region. The French also repulsed an English assault on Quebec and chased the British from two Hudson Bay posts, Severn and Hayes, before the English recaptured the area. Despite victories by both sides, all French and English possessions in North America reverted to their prewar status under the terms of the treaty.

The validity of England's claims to Hudson Bay was to be decided by an Anglo-French commission, which ultimately failed to reach an agreement and disbanded two years later. Indeed, the war and the resulting Treaty of Ryswick solidified the mutual enmity between the French and British colonies in North America.

DEAN FAFOUTIS

See also

King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns

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S

Sachem

Term for the leaders of certain northeastern Native American groups. Its etymology can be traced back to four northeastern bands that all used the term sachem for a similar purpose. In Narragansett, the term is *sachem*; in Delaware, it is *sakimam*; in Micmac, it is *sakumow*; and in Penobscot, it is *sagamo* (which became *sagamore*). The term sachem has come to mean any leader who is working for the best interest of his tribe. It has developed into such words as "sachemship," "sachemdom," and "sachemic."

Whereas the position of chief was based on skill, sachem was an inherited, civil position. Sachems fulfilled many roles within their tribes, but their main duties concerned land distribution, meting out justice, the collection of tribute, and receiving guests. They also sometimes supervised the direction of war and rituals. Most sachems were men, but they could be women.

The position of sachem was extremely prestigious. Although it was inherited, it carried with it great responsibility and obligation. These leaders were expected to act in the common interest at all times. They needed their people's support in order to do their job effectively and had to demonstrate skill and competence. Although they theoretically had ultimate authority, they had no way of enforcing it and thus had to rely on persuasion and consensus for their power.

The leaders of the powerful Iroquois Confederation came to be known as sachems, and today the leaders and prominent members of many aboriginal tribes are known by this traditional title.

TAKAIA LARSEN

See also

Delaware; Iroquois Confederation; Micmacs; Narragansetts

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Sailors

In a general sense, a sailor is anyone who goes to sea, either to earn his living from the sea or for recreation. More specifically, however, sailors are enlisted personnel below officers in the crew of a ship, be it a private or naval vessel.

In the colonial period, life aboard ships involved privation, discomfort, low pay, and danger. The pay, love of adventure, and the possibility of prize money (for privateer and naval vessels in wartime) were sufficient to keep most ships crewed. Only in wartime, when there was far greater need for seamen, was there general recourse to impressment, the practice of forcing individuals into military service.

Officers aboard European military vessels were typically chosen because of their wealth or family connections. Normally, young men were selected to serve as midshipmen, the most junior officer rank (although considered by some not to be a rank at all), in a period of apprenticeship. As midshipmen, they were expected to learn the mechanics of operating a ship and become accustomed to the rigors of command. They faced an examination board to demonstrate their competence prior to receiving a formal commission as a lieutenant. Once commissioned, officers usually advanced by seniority, although officers with poor reputations could be passed over for promotion. Warrant officers, so named because they held a warrant of rank from the navy of their nation rather than a formal commission, held specialized positions such

as ship's surgeon, chaplain, or purser. They enjoyed many officers' privileges but were not in the formal chain of command.

Enlisted personnel, often called seamen or ratings, were considered only in the service of their ship. They were subdivided into three major classes by ability and experience: able seamen, ordinary seamen, and boys or green hands. They generally served on the same ship until released from service at the end of a voyage. Popular and successful ships' captains attracted efficient and loyal crews, whereas commanders with poor reputations often had difficulty crewing their vessels and resorted to impressment.

On merchant ships, the same division of officers and men existed, although the specific titles applied to each rank sometimes differed. Merchant sailors tended to be older but more experienced than their naval counterparts and therefore less suited to the rigors and discipline of a naval vessel. Merchant ships offered higher pay but did not have the tremendous income potential that warships could offer through prize money (although such advantage has been distinctly overrated). During war, the value of vessels and their cargoes captured by a warship were divided, with 25 percent of the prize money designated for the ship's seamen. The capture of a heavily laden merchant ship could provide more prize money in a single engagement than a sailor could earn in years of labor on shore or on a merchant vessel. The potential for prize money was often used as a recruiting device by ship captains to crew their vessels, but the large number of privateers sent to sea in time of war often made recruitment of seamen for the regular navy difficult.

Life at sea in the colonial period was characterized by cramped quarters, hard work, extreme discipline, and poor food. Officers were entitled to a certain degree of comfort, including private or semiprivate cabins, but seamen were crowded into close holds below deck or often slept on deck. The subsistence ration on merchant and military vessels alike consisted of sea biscuit, a rock-hard flour and water concoction often infested with maggots or weevils. To eat the biscuits, sailors could gnaw on the edges or crumble the biscuit into water. The biscuits were supplemented by salted beef, salted pork, and dried vegetables. Each sailor was allotted approximately one gallon of water per day, as well as beer, wine, or grog (a mixture of rum, water, and lemon juice).

During the colonial wars in North America, sailors usually performed in a support role, ferrying troops and supplies for land forces but rarely engaging land-based fortifications directly. In King William's War (1689–1697), British vessels blockaded Port Royal, Acadia, a harbor protecting French privateers, but required provincial troops from Massachusetts to capture the port. After Port Royal surrendered, the besieging colonists were informed that they would not share in the prize money for vessels captured in the harbor, despite their obvious contribution to the navy's success. A similar situation developed during King George's War (1744–1748), when English colonists successfully besieged Louisbourg while assisted by another blockade.

The French and Indian War (1754–1763) saw significant uses of naval power in the colonies. In particular, British major general James

Wolfe's 1759 assault on Quebec required the support of 40 warships, 15,000 sailors, and more than 100 transports. In comparison, the French had only 10 warships to hold off the British onslaught. By 1759, French reinforcements and supplies from Europe had dwindled to a trickle. In that year, only 300 regulars were successfully transported from France to Canada. The British superiority at sea cut off vital supplies while continuously ferrying troops from England to assist in the final conquest of Canada. Sea power thus helped to ensure British dominance of the region and the expulsion of France from North America by 1763, and it was seamen who made that possible.

PAUL J. SPRINGER

See also

Discipline, Navy; France, Navy; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Great Britain, Navy; Impressment, Navy; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Louisbourg Expedition; Mutiny, Navy; Piracy; Privateering; Quebec, Battle of; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Recruitment; Spain, Navy

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Saint Denis, Louis Juchereau de

Born: September 17, 1674 Died: June 11, 1744

French Canadian trader, explorer, and soldier. Louis Juchereau de Saint Denis was born near Quebec on September 17, 1674, and educated in France. He was a member of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville's Louisiana expedition, which sailed from La Rochelle in late 1699. From 1701 to 1707, Saint Denis explored the Red River from Fort St. John on the Mississippi River. He also engaged in trade with Native Americans ranging from Louisiana to modern-day east Texas. Saint Denis also commanded Fort de la Boulaye until 1707. After that, he remained in the New Orleans vicinity and became a successful native agent.

In September 1713, Saint Denis led a company from Mobile to the Natchitoches villages of the Hasinais. Entering New Spain at San Juan Bautista (on the Rio Grande River), he was arrested for carrying proscribed goods. While there, he married the granddaughter of the Spanish commander. Called to Mexico City, he defended himself so well that he became commissary officer of the expedition that in 1716–1717 established a presidio and six missions in eastern Texas.

Returning to San Juan Bautista in April 1717, Saint Denis found that Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) had thoroughly soured relations between France and Spain. He subsequently went back to

Mexico City, then Natchitoches, arriving there in February 1719. From 1720 on, he engaged in a robust trade with Native Americans, acted as an intermediary between the Spanish and the French, and amassed a small fortune. In 1743 he asked to retire to New Spain. French authorities refused his request. Saint Denis died in Natchitoches on June 11, 1744.

JOHN BARNHILL

See also

Fort de la Boulaye (Louisiana); Louisiana; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Texas

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Sainte Foy, Battle of

See Quebec, French Attempt to Recapture

Sainte Thérèse, Battle of Event Date: June 16,1670

The fortified village of Sainte Thérèse figured prominently in the last campaign in Canada during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Some 25 miles southeast of Montreal, Sainte Thérèse was an important French communications link situated at the upper end of the Chambly rapids and five miles south of Fort Chambly.

In the spring of 1760, the British commander in North America, Major General Jeffery Amherst, made preparations to move against Montreal, take the last large town in New France, and end the war. In early May, however, Amherst learned that the French commander, Major General François de Lévis, had gathered contingents from the Richelieu River forts at Chambly, St.-Jean, and Île-aux-Noix. He had done so in order to strength his own forces preparing to move on and retake Quebec, which the English had captured the previous year.

Amherst responded to this news by ordering Major Robert Rogers to lead some 275 rangers and 25 British regulars past Colonel Louis-Antoine de Bougainville's garrison at Île-aux-Noix to attack the depleted Fort St.-Jean and Fort Chambly on the Richelieu River and there destroy French supplies and the bateaux used to convey them. Amherst expected such an operation to deplete French resources that might be used to impede his own advance. He also hoped to cause Lévis to detach units from his force moving on Brigadier General James Murray at Quebec.

Rogers departed Crown Point on Lake Champlain in bateaux in early June. He sent 50 of his men to Missisquoi Bay with orders to

destroy a French post on the Yamaska River west of the Richelieu. He also sent four Rangers to travel overland with dispatches for Murray at Quebec. The remainder of the rangers landed near the Chazy River.

Bougainville's alert patrols detected Rogers's arrival. In response, he sent out about 350 French troops, Canadian militia, and natives under Pierre Pépin dit La Force to intercept the English. On June 6, the French attacked Rogers's men, but Rogers succeeded in working part of his force around the French to strike them from the rear while he led the remainder of his men against the French from the front. This counterattack turned the tide and drove off the French. The French sustained as many as 40 casualties, with La Force among the wounded. The rangers had 14 dead and 10 wounded.

Rogers then regrouped his force on nearby Isle La Motte, where he was reinforced by Stockbridge Native Americans. On June 9, the rangers again set out, moving parallel to and west of the Richelieu to Fort St. John. There his force was detected and fired on, and Rogers decided that the French post was too strong to assault. He then moved on to Sainte Thérèse, the French transshipment point for supplies moving from Chambly by road, where they were again placed in bateaux.

The rangers arrived undetected, and early on June 16, taking advantage of a haycart moving through the gates, Rogers and his men rushed the fort and captured 24 soldiers without a shot being fired. At the same time, the bulk of the rangers made prisoners of another 78 French soldiers and civilians. Rogers then ordered anything of value to the enemy, including supplies, bateaux, wagons, and livestock burned or destroyed. He set the women and children free on the road to Montreal. Because several Frenchmen had escaped and undoubtedly warned the garrison at Chambly, Rogers abandoned plans to assault that place as well.

Following interrogation of the prisoners, Rogers withdrew overland to Lake Champlain by a route east of the Richelieu. On June 20 they were attacked by a force of 800 Canadians sent by Bougainville against them. Rogers's men managed to drive off the French, reach their waiting bateaux, and return to Crown Point.

Although the raid had not accomplished as much as Amherst and Rogers had hoped, it was undoubtedly a success. The rangers had destroyed valuable French supplies and transports, learned the strength of French garrisons in the vicinity and at Montreal, and seriously impacted French morale.

Spencer C. Tucker and Anna Vallis

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; Bougainville, Louis Antoine de, Comte de Bougainville; Fort Chambly (Quebec); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Île-aux-Noix; Lévis, François Gaston de, Duc de Lévis; Rogers, Robert

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Salmon Falls, Battle of

Event Date: March 17, 1690

Battle that resulted in the near destruction of the English colonial settlement of Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, on March 17, 1690, by combined French and native forces as part of a larger attack during King William's War (1689–1697). In early 1690, three native and French raiding parties departed Canada to strike the New York and New England frontiers. A mixed force of 50 Abenaki warriors and French troopsmen led by Captain Joseph-François Hertel de Rouville and Chief Hope Hood of the Androscoggins sought to attack English targets east of the Merrimack River.

On March 17, 1690, Hertel's force arrived outside Salmon Falls, a small village on the border of New Hampshire and Maine. The settlement's defenses consisted of a small stockaded fort with four bastions and two fortified houses. Finding no watch kept at the fortifications, Hertel's forces swarmed over Salmon Falls at daybreak. The English mounted a brief defense before surrendering. Some 30 inhabitants were killed and another 54 taken prisoner. The Abenakis and the French then plundered and burned approximately 20 undefended homes and their outbuildings and slaughtered hundreds of head of livestock.

English militia forces from nearby York, Portsmouth, and Cocheco pursued Hertel's raiders as they retreated, catching them near sunset about two miles above the fort. In a pitched skirmish that lasted until sunset, the English militia lost two dead and six or seven wounded. The French and natives lost only two dead and one captured while managing to carry off all of their prisoners.

The combined effect of the raid on Salmon Falls and the recent destruction of Schenectady, New York, and Falmouth, Maine (then part of Massachusetts), caused panic among settlers of the New York and New England frontiers. Many families in southern New Hampshire fled the region for the safety of larger towns to the south and east. Within weeks of the Salmon Falls debacle, French and native forces also mounted a successful attack against Fort Loyal (Maine), which they destroyed. Despite these major setbacks for the English, the disasters along the frontier spurred some intercolonial military cooperation, culminating in New England's attack on Acadia in 1690.

DAVID M. CORLETT

See also

Abenakis; Acadia, New England Attack on; Falmouth, Battle of; Fort Loyal (Maine); King William's War, Land Campaigns; Schenectady, Battle of

Estimated Casualties during the Battle of Salmon Falls (17 March 1690)

	Killed	Wounded	Captured
English inhabitants and militia	32	6–7	54
French and Indian raiders	2	0	1

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Saltcatchers Fort (South Carolina)

English post built in 1728, located in southeastern South Carolina approximately one mile east of the present-day town of Yamasee. Little is known of the physical appearance of the fort, but it is believed that it was stockaded. Saltcatchers Fort derived its name from the river it commanded, the Salkehatchie, which apparently was anglicized to "Saltcatcher." Between 1728 and 1731, the fort was garrisoned by Captain James McPherson's company of southern rangers.

The primary function of the garrison was to defend Beaufort to the east from Yamasee raiding parties. The rangers' territory ran from the Combahee River in the north to the Savannah River in the south. When Saltcatcher Fort's garrison transferred to Fort Prince George—Pelachacola in 1734, it leveled the old fort.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Fort Prince George-Palachacola (South Carolina); Yamasees

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Samoset

Born: Unknown Died: Unknown

An Abenaki native from the southern coast of Maine, believed to be the first Native American with whom the Plymouth colonists interacted. Samoset's birth and death dates are unknown. On March 16, 1621, Samoset, who had recently traveled south from his home in Maine to the land of the Wampanoags, entered the Pilgrim settlement at Plymouth and stunned the newcomers by welcoming them in broken English. Samoset had learned the language from European fishermen who had fished the waters around Monhegan Island off the coast of Maine.

Edward Winslow, the future governor of the colony, described Samoset as "starke naked, only a leather about his waist, with a fringe about a span long, or a little more; he had a bow & 2 arrowes, the one headed, and the other unheaded; he was a tall straight man, the haire of his head blacke, long behind, only short before, none on his face at all." Far from taciturn, Samoset spent much of the day of their first encounter conversing with the colonists. He informed them of the



Samoset, a member of the Abenaki tribe, is believed to have been the first native to interact with the Pilgrims. (Library of Congress)

shipborne plague that was introduced to the area by English slave traders in 1616 that had wiped out the original inhabitants of the village of Patuxet—the land the colonists were currently inhabiting.

Documentation exists for three trips by Samoset to Plymouth. On his third visit, March 22, 1621, he was accompanied by Tisquantum (Squanto), the last surviving member of the village of Patuxet. Kidnapped in 1614 by an English sea captain and subsequently sold into slavery, Squanto was absent when the deadly diseases swept through Patuxet. Having escaped the bonds of slavery in Spain, Squanto fled to England, where he learned English and was befriended by John Slaney, a wealthy English merchant who facilitated Squanto's return to his homeland.

Whereas Samoset's command of the English language was limited—often tainted by the use of fishermen's jargon—that of Squanto was not. Samoset's introduction of Squanto to the Plymouth colonists gave both the Wampanoags and the colonists a capable translator who would aid in establishing harmonious relations between the two peoples in the coming years.

Alan C. Downs

See also

Abenakis; Massachusetts; Pilgrims; Plymouth; Squanto; Wampanoags

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San Antonio (Texas)

Spanish settlement located along the San Antonio River in south-central Texas. Colonial San Antonio began as a halfway point between Spanish settlements in East Texas and those in northern Mexico. The Spanish hoped that a settlement along the San Antonio River would also dissuade the French from attempting any new colonization efforts in Texas. The settlement further served as the center of defensive operations between Texas' western settlements and those to the east.

Impressed by the land and the availability of water for drinking and irrigation, Spanish friars founded the mission of San Antonio de Valero in 1718. Other missions in the immediate locality included Concepcion, San José, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de la Espada. All of the missions were within a 12-mile radius of San Antonio de Valero, later known as the Alamo. The town of San Antonio itself grew from two major sites on the San Antonio River. One site included the Presidio San Antonio de Béxar, which the Spanish established on the opposite side of the river from the mission of San Antonio de Valero. The other site that shaped much of early San Antonio's growth was the villa of San Fernando de Béxar. Chartered in 1731 by settlers from the Canary Islands, the villa incorporated some families that had previously lived around the presidio. The idea of settling Canary Islanders in and around the new mission and presidio was to bolster the defenses of the region with more manpower.

From its inception, San Antonio served as a vital way station for East Texas settlements. And it was a strategic staging center from which the Spanish could launch attacks against French and Native American raiders. When military engagements between France and Spain in Europe spilled over into their colonies, San Antonio's position as the bastion of the defense of Texas grew in importance. After 1718, when French raiders forced the evacuation of missions and presidios in East Texas, San Antonio served as a beacon to the exiles. It was the launching site for Spanish efforts to retake the evacuated settlements, reassert Spanish control over eastern Texas, and force the French raiders back into Louisiana until hostilities ended in 1721.

Aside from serving as a vital supply station between eastern Texas and northern Mexico, San Antonio was a crucial outpost in the defense of settlers and missions from native incursions. Apaches were plentiful in the area at the time because they had been hard pressed from the north by other natives, most notably the Comanches. They frequently attacked the outlying families and ranches. As San Antonio expanded, the livestock herds of the settlers grew, providing enticing targets for Apaches. Unguarded transport routes from northern Mexico to San Antonio also invited raids by enemy natives.

The contingent of soldiers in San Antonio was never very large during the colonial period. At one point, in 1727, it consisted of 54 men. However, that number was reduced by 10 in 1729. The limited number of soldiers seriously hampered Spanish efforts to ward off hostile natives. As a result, helping the soldiers on their campaigns against and in defense from the Apache occupied a large part of the settlers' time. The Spanish citizens had little time to concentrate their efforts on crops and cattle, nor did they have time to build the town's infrastructure. These limitations hindered San Antonio's growth until the 1770s.

HELEN J. WATKINS

See also

Presidio San Antonio de Béxar (Texas); Spanish Mission System, Southwest; Texas

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Sandusky Bay (Ohio)

Bay located in modern-day northern Ohio, along the southwest portion of Lake Erie at the mouth of the Sandusky River. The first recorded people in the area were from the Erie tribe, who were, however, driven away by the Iroquois in 1655. The bay region was later occupied by the Ottawas and the Wyandots.

In 1669, the French explorer Louis Jolliet followed the water routes used by the Native Americans in the area. Fur traders followed in his wake as they developed the area, built settlements, and cultivated strong relationships with the native peoples. English traders first made their appearance in the Ohio Country in 1699–1700.

After the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, the territory officially became part of the French province of Louisiana, which extended from the Gulf Coast to the Great Lakes. However, a band of Wyandots in the Sandusky Bay region permitted the English to establish a fort on the north side of the bay, which endured for just a year. Be that as it may, English traders established lucrative trading posts in the area. The French erected a post nearby in 1754, but abandoned it five years later. The principal British claims to the region were the treaties of purchase from the Iroquois Confederacy. The growing confrontation between France and Great Britain finally came to a head in 1754 with the onset of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). France maintained control over the territory between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes until the Treaty of Paris in 1763, when it gave up all claims to the region by ceding Canada and the Ohio Valley to Great Britain.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Fort Sandusky (Ohio); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Louisiana; Ohio Country; Paris, Treaty of; Utrecht, Treaty of

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Santa Elena (South Carolina)

Spanish colony established in 1566 on what is now Parris Island, South Carolina. The Spanish founded Santa Elena (Saint Helen) a year after they established the military post of St. Augustine, just south of Santa Elena in northeastern Florida. Santa Elena served briefly as the capital of Spanish Florida and was one of the earliest established European colonies north of Mexico.

Although Spaniards had explored the Carolina coastline as early as 1514, French explorers were the first to visit the area. In 1562, Captain Jean Ribault and a band of French Huguenots entered the sound that he named Port Royal. When Ribault returned to France for additional supplies and reinforcements, his soldiers promptly abandoned what they had called the Charlesfort settlement. It had been little more than a small earth and log fort. Four years later, in 1566, the Spanish moved in and built Fort San Felipe over the ruins of Charlesfort. The Spanish called the new settlement Santa Elena, and it became the capital of their La Florida province.

Attempting to gain a stronger foothold in North America, the Spanish erected a number of forts around Santa Elena. In 1566, they constructed Fort San Salvador, followed by a larger Fort San Felipe to replace the earlier one. Fort San Felipe lasted from 1566 to 1570.

In 1570, the fort had to be rebuilt because of a powder magazine explosion. The new Fort San Felipe was on higher ground and was rectangular in shape with a moat. In 1576, Native Americans destroyed the fort and the entire settlement. The following year, the Spanish rebuilt the town, along with a new triangular fort, called Fort San Marcos. In 1583, Fort San Marcos was rebuilt and reinforced to protect the settlement from attacks by the local natives as well as possible English encroachments. In 1586, a raiding party of Native Americans leveled Santa Elena, whose surviving inhabitants retreated to St. Augustine.

The Spanish destroyed Fort San Marcos and abandoned the settlement in 1587, deciding to concentrate their forces in and around St. Augustine. The territory once again was left to the Native Americans. After 1670, the English established a foothold in the region, which would eventually become South Carolina. Because of its warm climate, plentiful water supplies, and rich soil, coastal South Carolina developed an important plantation economy. This brought not only great wealth to the area, but also slavery.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

Florida; Ribault, Jean; South Carolina; St. Augustine

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Saponis

American Indian people of the mid-Atlantic region of North America. The word "Saponi" is evidently a corruption of the word "Monasiccapano" or "Monasukapanough," signifying "shallow water." The Saponis belonged to the Sioux linguistic family, their closest relations being the Tutelos. At the time of European colonization, the Saponis and Tutelos probably numbered only about 2,700 people.

The Saponis lived in central and southwestern Virginia. A Saponi village site has been identified near present-day Charlottesville. Their principal settlement, bearing the tribe's name, may have been near present-day Lynchburg. The Saponis seem to have been constantly on the move in order to escape their enemies. By the 1670s, the Saponis and the Tutelos had moved to avoid attack by the Iroquois and then lived on islands in the Roanoke River in present-day Mecklenburg County. By the beginning of the 18th century they had moved again to lands along the Yadkin River near present-day Salisbury, North Carolina. Prior to the Tuscarora War of 1711, the Saponis had established themselves near present-day Windsor, North Carolina.

Although the Saponis sought incorporation with other native groups, including the Tutelos, Occaneechis, and the Stakanox, they still feared attack from larger tribes and so sought the status of "tributary Indians," living under the protection of colonial settlements. Gov. Alexander Spotswood of Virginia listed them as such in 1712.

Spotswood planned to settle the Saponis and other small native groups on the Virginia frontier, where they might help protect colonial settlements. By 1715, the Saponis had moved to Fort Christanna and there were incorporated with the Oconeechis, the Stakunox, and the Totteros. These splinter groups were joined by the Enos and Saraws, who also sought protection. While at Fort Christanna, all of the natives who settled there, no matter their tribal affiliation, were called Saponis. In 1716, one visitor identified 200 Saponis at Fort Christanna.

In the Treaty of Albany of 1722, the Iroquois agreed to halt their incursions into Virginia, whereupon some Saponis moved both north into Pennsylvania and south into North Carolina. The latter group incorporated with the Catawbas. At that point, they disappeared as a distinct tribal entity, although there is a small community known as the Hallowa-Saponi in North Carolina, and others live among the Iroquois. The name is preserved by the small town of Sapona, in Davidson County, North Carolina, east of the Yadkin River.

THOMAS J. BLUMER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Catawbas; Fort Christanna (Virginia); North Carolina; Spotswood, Alexander; Virginia

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Saratoga, Battle of

Event Date: November 17, 1745

An engagement during King George's War (1744–1748) in which a French and Native American raiding expedition struck Saratoga, New York, on November 17, 1745. In June 1745, the New England militia, with the support of the British Royal Navy, secured the most celebrated triumph of the war to date when they captured the French fortress of Louisbourg. That bastion had threatened the security of English colonial shipping.

With the bulk of colonial militia absent from New York as a consequence of the Louisbourg expedition, the French and their Native American allies seized the opportunity to raid central New York. Their raids persisted throughout the summer. Bent on retaliation, English settlers and their native allies launched counterraids, which were mostly ineffectual. Indeed, they served only to incite the French to increase the intensity of their attacks.

In the fall of 1745, the French prepared for their deepest foray yet—to Saratoga and eventually to Albany. The French expedition, led by Lieutenant Paul Marin, set out from Montreal in the late fall, intending to devastate the settlements of the Connecticut Valley. Marin's force numbered more than 520 men, including officers, cadets, French colonials, Iroquois, Nipissings, Hurons, and Abenakis. On reaching the French fort at Crown Point, near the south end of Lake Champlain, the raiding party encountered a Jesuit priest, Father Piquet. At the suggestion of Piquet, Marin set a new course for the expedition, choosing an advance toward Albany, in the hopes of inhibiting the encroachment of English settlements from that direction.

The war party moved down the Hudson River Valley cautiously, but it encountered no resistance. After the capture of a trading outpost, Marin became convinced that the locals did not suspect the presence of his force. Thus, he sped up his advance to Saratoga, a thriving agricultural settlement some 30 miles north of Albany.

Saratoga sat at the junction of Fish Creek and the Hudson River, and most of the inhabitants were tenants of Philip Schuyler, who owned mills and a large estate there. On November 17, well before daybreak, Marin's raiders surged down the road to Saratoga with the native contingent in the lead. Surprise was complete, most likely because the town's militia garrison had been recalled because the New York Assembly considered the fiscal burden for upkeep of the barracks too high.

Saratoga suffered complete devastation. Marin's men smashed doors and windows, forced their way into dwellings, and hauled the residents outside. The French set fire to every structure they

encountered. Schuyler was among some 30 English dead, some of whom fell victim to the flames engulfing their homes. After securing all the plunder they could carry, the French headed home, bringing with them 109 prisoners. The Battle of Saratoga was a stunning victory for the French, who lost not a single man.

DENNIS B. CONKLIN

See also

King George's War, Land Campaigns; Raiding Party

References

Sassacus

Born: ca. 1560 Died: July 1637

Pequot leader and key figure in the Pequot War (1636–1637). Sassacus (meaning "the wild one"), the son of Pequot sachem Tatobem (Wopigwooit), was born about 1560 near present-day Groton, Connecticut. He lived in the palisaded town of Weinshaunks on the Thames River, where Groton is now located.

Sassacus fought in many campaigns against neighboring tribes, during which the Pequots expanded their dominion from Rhode Island west to the Hudson River Valley, and subordinated the Montauks on Long Island. He earned a reputation as a great warrior and was said to have killed a large number of enemies in battle. His fellow Pequots bestowed on him great honors for his fighting abilities, believing that he possessed supernatural powers. The Pequots' Narragansett enemies considered Sassacus to be virtually divine and very much feared him.

In 1632, on his father's death at the hands of the Dutch, Sassacus assumed leadership of the 26 towns of the Pequot Nation. When New England officials wrongly accused the Pequots of murdering several traders in 1636, Sassacus refused to submit to the colonists' demands. The New Englanders responded by invading Pequot territory in company with their Narragansett and Mohegan allies. Sassacus led the Pequot resistance in what became known as the Pequot War (1636–1638) and was in command of a war party searching for colonial forces when New England troops destroyed the Pequots' Mystic Fort in May 1637, killing hundreds of natives.

Although the carnage convinced many Pequots to surrender, Sassacus continued to resist, and he traveled to Mohawk territory with several warriors in an effort to win that tribe's assistance. Instead of assisting the Pequots, however, the Mohawks killed Sassacus, probably in July 1637, and delivered his scalp to the governor of Massachusetts. Sassacus's death ended the possibility of any

further Pequot resistance and ensured the colonists' complete victory in the Pequot War.

JIM PIECUCH

See also

Mohawks; Mohegans; Mystic Fort Fight; Narragansetts; Pequot War; Pequots

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Sauks and Fox

Two closely allied Native American groups in the western Great Lakes region that banded together in response to attacks by other native groups from the eastern Great Lakes and French attempts to exterminate the Fox. The Sauks and Fox were two distinct but related tribes that spoke two different dialects of the same Algonquian language. Both peoples originated somewhere in the western Great Lakes. The Sauks and Fox were related to the Mascoutens and Kickapoos, with whom they periodically maintained military alliances. At the time the French first made contact with them, the Sauks occupied upper Wisconsin. The Fox lived in central Wisconsin. There is some evidence that both groups may have lived in Michigan prior to 1600 and were driven out of that area by Iroquoin or Huron raids.

In the early 1600s, the Sauks and Fox secured Wisconsin for themselves by defeating the Winnebagos in a brief conflict. By the end of the 17th century, the Sauks had hesitantly accepted Jesuit missionaries among them. However, the Fox refused to allow the outsiders into their midst. In the early 18th century, the Fox fought two wars with the French, one in 1712–1716 and another in 1728–1737. During both conflicts, the French attempted to exterminate the Fox. Finally, in 1734, the Fox took refuge with the Sauks, and both groups moved to Iowa in 1735 to put distance between themselves and the French. In 1766, both groups moved back to Wisconsin only to return to Iowa by the end of the century.

In the 19th century, the U.S. government removed both groups to Indian Territory in Kansas and Oklahoma. This occurred after the Black Hawk War in which a number of Sauks fought the U.S. Army in Illinois. Today, Sauks and Fox can still be found in Oklahoma, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois. Most live in Oklahoma, however.

DIXIE RAY HAGGARD

See also

Beaver Wars; Fox; Fox Fort (Illinois), and Siege of; Fox War; Hurons; Iroquois; Jesuits; Kickapoos

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Sauk and Fox Native Americans; a painting by Karl Bodmer. (Library of Congress)

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Scalp Bounty

Remuneration paid by colonial governments for enemy scalps. During the 17th century, colonial governments adopted the practice of rewarding with bounties individuals who returned from combat with the scalps of their opponents. As early as 1616, Span-

ish authorities had relied on head bounties to suppress an indigenous insurrection in Durango. In 1637, the English colony of Connecticut was the first to adopt a similar policy, promising goods to allied Mohegans who would bring back Pequot heads (or scalps; the records are ambiguous). The Dutch in New Amsterdam followed suit four years later, offering bounties for the heads of Raritans.

It is not until 1675, however, that we find the first unequivocal reference to scalp bounties. Then, during King Philip's War (1675–1676), New England authorities offered such rewards to both Narragansett warriors and white settlers. By 1692, New France also began to pay their native allies for enemy scalps. It was around this period, within the context of King William's War (1689–1697), that bounty policies that had originally rewarded only the scalping of hostile natives were extended to include the scalping of enemy colonists.

Both the French and the British infamously continued to offer scalp bounties intermittently until the end of their struggle in North America. However, there existed rather important differences in their respective policies. On the one hand, bounties in the Anglo-American colonies were primarily aimed at soldiers and colonists, providing them with an incentive to risk their lives in the pursuit of hostile natives. Each colonial government promulgated and abrogated its own scalp acts. The amounts promised fluctuated widely according to available financial resources, the degree of perceived threat, the age and gender of the victim, and the status of the scalp taker. On the other hand, French colonial authorities made no distinction as to age and gender. And they extended their offer of scalp bounties only to native allies, as a means of subsidizing war parties. Furthermore, the value of the trade goods offered by the French remained surprisingly stable throughout the period (around 30 *livres* per scalp). French bounties dipped only in the few years that preceded the capitulation of New France.

The strongest opposition to such bounties generally came from one's colonial adversary. Indeed, French and English governors mutually accused the other of having been the first to promote by this dubious means the savage murder of seemingly innocent white Christians. Because the survival of colonists and of empires was believed to be at stake, however, moral misgivings were few. It is quite telling, for example, that several Puritan ministers joined scalping parties or that some French missionaries are known to have served as intermediaries in the payment of bounties.

That the newcomers manipulated an indigenous practice leaves no doubt. Yet it remains unclear what repercussions bounties may have had on the customs and values of native warriors. Although Anglo-American colonists transformed scalping into a profit-making exercise, it can be argued that native warriors in fact understood bounties within a relatively traditional context of reciprocal gift exchanges.

Jean-François Lozier

See also

King Philip's War; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Native Warfare; Scalping

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Scalping

The practice of removing the skin—or scalp—from an enemy's skull with the hair still attached. In the early modern imagination, no act of violence typified the brutal nature of North American warfare more aptly than scalping. Although generally performed on the bodies of those who had been killed, the operation in itself was not fatal. Occasionally, a lucky victim left for dead and scalped on the battlefield survived to tell of his or her experience. If the bone tissue regenerated properly, which was not always the case, a scalping victim could live a long and productive life.



Contemporary illustration showing a Native American holding a scalp. Both Native Americans and European colonists participated in the practice of scalping, with scalps used to determine bounties. (Library of Congress)

Although there have been allegations that scalping originated with European newcomers, archaeological evidence has firmly established that the custom was widely practiced among the indigenous peoples of the Americas during the pre-Columbian period. The earliest reference to scalping in the historical record can be found in the writings of the French explorer Jacques Cartier. During his 1535 voyage to the St. Lawrence River Valley, the Iroquoian inhabitants of Stadacona proudly displayed "the skins of five men's heads, stretched on hoops, like parchment." They were prizes that had been taken from their Micmac enemies. Spanish explorers encountered similar practices around the same period in what is today the southeastern United States. The renewed French, English, and Dutch explorations of the early 17th century produced additional reports of scalping among most, if not all, of the native peoples of the eastern North American woodlands.

It is clear that the act of scalping had profound meaning in Native American thought. A substitute for decapitation, it secured not only a physical victory but also a spiritual one over an opponent. Though the highly ritualized integration of the scalp within local belief systems varied from one native group to the next, the basic elements seem universal. A warrior cried out immediately after removing a scalp, and likewise he sung a special song when he returned to his village. The flayed skins were then stretched on hoops and dried. They were often carefully painted and decorated, later to be used in dances and ceremonies. They could also be worn about the body and displayed in cabins and on palisades.

To appreciate the significance of scalping, one must understand that the head, and by extension its skin, was widely believed in indigenous cultures to be a repository of vital energy. Accordingly, the scalp was much more than a mere war trophy—it was the embodiment of the victim. It thus served as an acceptable substitute for a living captive, and could be a replacement for a dead relative.

Contemporary observers conditioned by European notions of war, as well as later historians, persisted in viewing the custom of scalping as a testament to the cruel and barbaric nature of American Indians. Yet beginning in the late 17th century, many colonists took up the practice themselves. And colonial governments resolved to subsidize the practice by offering scalp bounties. Not surprisingly, the complex indigenous cultural meanings were lost on the newcomers. From their perspective, a scalp offered little more than evidence that an enemy had been killed.

JEAN-FRANÇOIS LOZIER

See also

Native Warfare; Scalp Bounty

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Schenectady, Battle of Event Date: February 9, 1690

One of the first battles of King William's War (1689–1697), it featured a French-led attack against the English frontier town of Schenectady, New York, on February 9, 1690. This French and Native American attack, part of a series of raids along the English frontier, marked the first major French offensive against the English settlements. It was part of a highly effective strategy that forced English colonial governments to allocate scarce manpower to defend the frontiers.

Schenectady, situated along the Mohawk River, was a trading and farming community roughly 15 miles northwest of Albany. Schenectady's inhabitants had feared French attacks throughout the 1680s because of the close relationship they enjoyed with the Iroquois Confederation and its ongoing skirmishes with New



French forces and allied Abenaki Native Americans shown attacking Schenectady, New York, on February 9, 1690. This attack, which destroyed the English town, was one of the first such actions of King William's War (1689–1697). (North Wind Picture Archives)

France. The colony of New York began fortifying its frontier towns, including Schenectady, in 1687. A log stockade enclosed the town of slightly more than 200 inhabitants and at least 50 dwellings. A blockhouse further strengthened the defenses. With the outbreak of King William's War in 1689, the town received a contingent of 24 Connecticut militiamen drawn from Albany's stronger garrison.

The French had contemplated attacking the New York frontier throughout the 1680s, although none of their plans came to pass. Governor General Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, had planned a major strike against the entire Hudson River Valley region to take advantage of the political divisions engendered by Leisler's Rebellion (1689–1691). Lacking sufficient manpower, however, he scaled back operations to three major raids against the New England and New York frontiers.

Frontenac wanted to strike at Albany, a major fur-trading center, but this well-defended post required more forces than he could muster and he chose Schenectady instead. In addition to the goal of spreading fear along the frontier, the raid was in retaliation for an attack on August 5, 1689, by Iroquois warriors at Lachine, outside Montreal. That assault had killed more than 20 people, and another 60 had been taken captive.

In Montreal in January 1690, the French gathered nearly 160 Canadians, including French colonial troops, *coureurs de bois* (independent fur traders), and 100 Christianized natives, mostly Mohawks. Lieutenant Nicholas D'Ailleboust de Manthet commanded the force, assisted by Lieutenant Jacques Lemoyne de Sainte

Holere and his brother, Lieutenant Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville. The Mohawk leader Kryn led the Native American contingent.

From Montreal the attackers followed the Richelieu River southward to Lake Champlain and down the ice to Lake George. A short portage brought them to the Hudson River Valley, above Albany. The 200-plus-mile winter trek took its toll, however. Only 114 Canadians and 96 natives completed the trip.

The attackers arrived in the early evening of February 8, 1690, in the midst of a blizzard. Confident that an attack was unlikely in such inclement weather, the town garrison hunkered down in the blockhouse without posting guards. Popular accounts depict the town's north gate guarded only by snowmen. De Manthet planned to attack through both the north and south gates simultaneously. But the second force, led by d'Iberville, could not locate the south gate in the heavy snow and darkness. Finding no guards and the north gate inexplicably open, the raiders crept into the stockade and surrounded most of the houses.

The actual attack began after midnight on February 9. It caught the garrison and the townspeople completely by surprise. Anyone who resisted was slain. The attack's swift nature limited the town's defense to a few isolated pockets of resistance.

Within two hours the attackers controlled the town. They then systematically pillaged and burned it, destroying nearly every structure. Sixty inhabitants, including 9 of the garrison, lay dead. Probably an equal number had been captured, although the raiders carried off only 27 captives. Some townspeople escaped through the south gate, alerting the authorities in Albany. After dawn, De Manthet's men loaded their plunder on captured horse-drawn sleds and returned northward with their captives, leaving some 50 survivors amid the smoking ruins.

Schenectady's destruction, along with later French raids in New Hampshire and Maine, shocked not just New York but also all the northern English colonists. Retaliation was far from swift, although a party of militiamen and pro-English Mohawks pursued the attackers, picking off some stragglers. Most of the raid's survivors, meanwhile, fled to Albany. New York's government debated abandoning Schenectady, but soon decided to rebuild the fort, encouraged survivors to return, and recruited new settlers. Of the 27 captives taken, 18 either escaped, were ransomed, or were returned at war's end.

STANLEY J. ADAMIAK

See also

Coureurs de Bois; Frontenac, Louis de Buade de, Comte de Frontenac et de Palluau; Iroquois Confederation; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Leisler's Rebellion; Le Moyne d'Iberville et d'Ardillières, Pierre; Mohawks

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Schuyler, Peter

Born: September 17, 1657 Died: February 19, 1724

Trader, soldier, colonial official of New York, and noted frontier diplomat. Born in Albany, New York, on September 17, 1657, Peter (Pieter) Schuyler was the son of fur trader and pioneer Philip Pieterse Schuyler. Schuyler may have attended a secondary school in Albany, but it is likely that most of his education was of the practical variety, gained through lengthy contact with traders, soldiers, and public officials. By the time he was in his mid-20s, Schuyler was a cavalry lieutenant in the Albany Militia and was associated with prominent fur traders.

In 1686, Gov. Thomas Dongan of New York granted Albany the so-called Dongan Charter, its official municipal charter. Dongan then named Schuyler the settlement's first mayor. In addition to his mayoral duties, Schuyler headed the board charged with dealing with the Native Americans. Given the name of "Quidor" (brother) by the local Native Americans, Schuyler attended many conferences as head of the board of commissioners for native affairs. Schuyler maintained a working relationship between the native and settler cultures. To combat the growing French threat in the 1680s, the commissioners attempted to create an alliance with the Iroquois. After talks failed, Schuyler and other Albany officials solidified Native American neutrality, commonly called the Covenant Chain.



Peter Schuyler, the first mayor of Albany, New York, and head of the commission that dealt with Native Americans. (Courtesy of Rutgers University Libraries, Special Collections & Archives)

Schuyler was forced out of his position as mayor in 1689 during Leisler's Rebellion. However, the citizens of Albany did not recognize the Leisler-sponsored government, and Schuyler set up office on the outskirts of town. In February 1690, during King William's War (1689–1697), the French and their native allies burned Schenectady and massacred much of its population. At that point, Leisler's commissioners reinstated Schuyler and other officers to avenge the massacre. By March 1691, Schuyler had resumed his full duties as mayor of Albany after Leisler had been tried, convicted, and executed. Schuyler remained in that post until 1694.

In August 1691, Schuyler, then a militia colonel, led 266 Albany militiamen and 146 Mohawk and Mahican warriors to raid the French settlement at La Prairie. The attack was less than successful, and Schuyler's force returned to Albany having suffered heavy casualties. Two years later, Schuyler revenged this event by a thorough rout of French forces near Schenectady.

In 1692, Schuyler joined the Government Council and in 1698 was dispatched to Canada to announce the terms of the Treaty of Ryswick (September 30, 1697). His primary mission, however, was to exchange paroled French prisoners, who accompanied him, for English prisoners held in Canada. Between the British expeditions against Canada in 1709 and 1711 associated with Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), Schuyler escorted four Mohawk chiefs to England as emissaries to Queen Anne. On his return to New York, Schuyler continued his service on the board of commissioners and on the Government Council. He also spent considerable time overseeing his growing land grants.

Schuyler was three times acting governor of New York (briefly in both 1701 and 1709 and then from July 1719 to September 1720). He ran afoul of political maneuvering and was dismissed from the council in 1720. Schuyler died in Albany on February 19, 1724, having spent almost 40 years in public service helping to cement friendly relations with the Native Americans.

James J. Schaefer

See also

Canada, British Expedition against (1709); Canada, British Expedition against (1711); Covenant Chain; King William's War, Land Campaigns; La Prairie, Battle of (1691); Leisler's Rebellion; New York; Quebec, Attack on (1690); Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Ryswick, Treaty of; Schenectady, Battle of

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Scout

Individuals or small units assigned to reconnaissance and pathfinding duties in advance of armies. Scouts were often lightly armed cavalry or infantry under orders to avoid combat engagements and gather intelligence for military commanders. Occasionally, scout units incorporate individuals from the region of operations to serve as native guides for the area.

Scouts should not be confused with spies, who operate in a clandestine manner to obtain information. Scouts seek to elude the enemy but are identifiable by the wearing of uniforms and by openly bearing arms. Their primary purpose incorporates not only gathering accurate information about terrain, enemy strength, and resources but also transmitting that information to superiors.

In the colonial period, Native American scouts were particularly prized by European regular and colonial forces because they were perceived as exceptional woodsmen and trackers. From the earliest Dutch, English, and French settlements, colonists cultivated relationships with natives for trade and defense. Europeans exploited intertribal rivalries to gain allies in the New World. In almost every war involving colonial forces, native allies supplied troops, especially scout forces. One of the earliest examples of the importance of native scouts came during the Second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622-1632) in Virginia. In March 1622, Virginia colonists were surprised by a native force that killed over 300 settlers and drove the remainder into a handful of locations on the lower James River. For the next 10 years, the colonists fought to survive, and scouts played a vital role. Rather than relying on a strategy of defensive warfare, colonial scouts sought out the supply locations of enemy natives, allowing the numerically inferior but better-armed Virginia Militia to destroy the food supplies of their enemies. In the Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1644-1646), the strategy of scouting supplies and attacking the infrastructure of native society was used to devastating effect.

In New England, conflict between colonists and Native Americans also clearly illustrated the value of scouts to colonial warfare. During the Pequot War (1636–1638), Narragansetts allied with English colonists led a New England war party of militiamen to a Pequot fort on the Mystic River in May 1637. The use of native scouts allowed the colonists to surround the hidden fort in the predawn darkness and launch a ferocious surprise attack. Soon thereafter, the Pequot Nation sued for peace. During King Philip's War (1675–1676), New England faced a confederation of tribes allied under Metacom, sachem of the Wampanoags. The natives launched a withering series of frontier raids but withdrew before militia forces could retaliate. The lack of native allies forced the colonists to fight a war of attrition against their elusive enemy.

In colonies farther south, settlers in Virginia and the Carolinas used native scouts whenever possible during a series of frontier wars against regional tribes. The necessity of Native American assistance became grimly evident during Bacon's Rebellion (1676–1677), in which a group of Virginia and Maryland militiamen led by Nathaniel Bacon sought to destroy all regional natives in spite of diplomatic efforts by the Virginia governor. By attacking Susquehannocks as well as the hostile Doegs, Bacon's forces provoked a series of retaliatory raids on frontier towns. Bacon's

frontier fighters demonstrated that some colonists had become every bit as effective as natives in the hinterlands. During the Tuscarora War (1711–1713) and the Yamasee War (1715–1717), the settlers of the Carolinas employed native scouts to assist in the decimation of the most powerful tribes in the region, capturing or exiling the vast majority of each tribe.

In King William's War (1689–1697), French and English colonists, both using native allies, launched a series of raids against each other along the northern frontier. Native allies assisted both sides, particularly by providing scouts. The raiding system of warfare relied on extensive reconnoitering of enemy positions to avoid the possibility of an ambush. In Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), the frontier raids were renewed, as neither the French nor the English had the resources or the will for a sustained attempt at conquest. Likewise, in the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744) and in King George's War (1744–1748), border skirmishes between the French and English colonists of North America characterized much of the fighting.

During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the use of native and provincial scouts in support of regular troops reached a new level of effectiveness. The French received excellent scouting reports from native allies in the vicinity of Fort Duquesne, allowing them to repel Major General Edward Braddock's larger assault force in 1755. Braddock, leading 2,200 regulars and provincials, was ambushed by only 800 French and Native Americans, but was decisively defeated. Undoubtedly the most famous colonial scout of the era was Robert Rogers, a New Hampshire frontier farmer who trained and led a company of provincial rangers during the war. Calling themselves Rogers' Rangers, they demonstrated their importance by scouting in the vicinity of Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point, New York, providing invaluable information for the successful British advances on each position. Rogers developed a set of 28 rules for his forces, detailing the best methods of reconnaissance for small parties. His "Plan of Discipline" still stands as the basis for scout training in the U. S. military.

Paul J. Springer

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Anglo-Powhatan War, Third; Bacon's Rebellion; Braddock's Campaign; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Native Warfare; Pequot War; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Rogers, Robert; Rogers's Raid on St. Francis; Skulking Way of War; Tuscarora War; Yamasee War

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Scurvy

A disease caused by lack of vitamin C, a substance the human body is incapable of manufacturing and that must be obtained from the diet. Most of scurvy's manifestations are a result of impaired collagen synthesis. This leads to weakness in the walls of small blood vessels and subsequent rupture of those vessels and bleeding, particularly under the skin and mucous membranes. That in turn leads to bruising, pain in the joints and muscles, bleeding in the lungs and bowel, and the ulceration and bleeding from the gums that were the disease's hallmark. If untreated, patients with scurvy become anemic and lethargic and ultimately descend into delirium, coma, and death. The entire sequence can be prevented or reversed with only one gram a day of ascorbic acid (vitamin C), a chemical found in fresh fruits and vegetables, especially citrus fruits.

Although scurvy had been a problem for armies on long deployments since antiquity, it became a major concern only with the development of navigation techniques that allowed for long sea voyages out of sight of land. It was relatively easy to preserve meats and carbohydrates for long periods. However, it was very difficult to carry fruits or vegetables during the first 300 years of transoceanic exploration. During Sir Francis Drake's 1585 circumnavigation of the globe, almost one of every eight men in his crew died of scurvy within three months of leaving England. Commodore George Anson's voyage around the world between 1740 and 1744 was particularly infamous; 1,050 of the 1,955 men who departed England with him died of scurvy, even though Anson's personal log noted that some of the men improved for a time after eating oranges in Tahiti.

In fact, the East India Company had noted as early as 1600 that one of its crews fed lemons and oranges remained free of scurvy. But it remained for British naval surgeon James Lind (1716–1794) to do a controlled experiment in which he divided 12 sailors into six groups, each of which was given a different treatment reputed to be of benefit in treating scurvy. Only the group given lemons and limes improved, and that group was cured entirely.

These findings were questioned by most naval surgeons (and even by Lind himself who continued to believe that "good air" was as important as the citrus fruits), and routine use of lemons or limes was not standard in the British Navy until 1795. In that year, Sir Gilbert Blaine convinced First Lord of the Admiralty Earl Spencer to mandate their use. West Indian limes, which replaced the more expensive lemons and oranges, made the blockade of Napoleonic France possible and gave the British sailors the nickname "limey."

JACK McCallum

See also

France, Navy; Great Britain, Navy; Military and Naval Medicine; Spain, Navy

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British physician James Lind shown giving citrus fruit to British sailors with scurvy. The disease is caused by a lack of Vitamin C in the diet, and this remedy virtually eradicated scurvy in the Royal Navy. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Seigneurial System

A feudalistic system of land distribution established in New France in 1627. Although technically applicable to all of France's North American colonies, the seigneurial system functioned only within the St. Lawrence River Valley (Quebec) settlements. Approximately 200 seigneuries were granted during the French regime, and by 1760, about 75–80 percent of the population lived in seigneuries. With the cession of the colony to Great Britain in 1763, the British maintained French institutions under the terms of the 1774 Quebec Act and the 1791 Constitution Act. The system was finally abolished in 1854.

This legal system of land distribution established a familiar framework for colonial settlement. The Crown created a series of rights and obligations between the *seigneur* (lord) and the *censitaires* (tenants or habitants) when it granted a section of land to the *seigneur*, who then divided it among settlers. Companies, individuals, and religious orders acted as *seigneurs*. The settlers did not own the land; however, they could do what they wanted with it provided they met a series of obligations that included a *corvée* (tax payable by labor), a rent, a *banalité* (tax on grain), *lods et ventes* (a tax on the transfer of the property), and *cens* (a tithe). *Seigneurs* in

turn could establish courts and grist mills as well as grant licenses for hunting, fishing, and woodcutting.

The distinctive pattern of seigneurial land distribution in New France began in earnest in the 1630s, when Robert Giffard began assigning land. Farms fronted the St. Lawrence River and stretched inland. A second tier—or ring—of land would then be established inland with lots fronting a road. This gave settlers access to a variety of land types and the main transportation artery, and it also allowed for interaction with neighbors. This arrangement also served as an inexpensive and rapid means of surveying. Settlement patterns created by the seignuerial system of land distribution can still be seen in the St. Lawrence River Valley in the modern-day Canadian province of Quebec.

KARL S. HELE

See also

New France

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Senecas

One of the five Iroquois nations comprising the original Iroquois Confederation. The Senecas were among the most aggressive members of the confederation during the colonial period. They actively participated in wars against the French and their Algonquian allies in Canada, especially during the Beaver Wars (1641–1701).

The Iroquois styled themselves the "People of the Longhouse," and the Senecas were the "Keepers of the Western Door" of the confederation. The Senecas occupied the region from the Genesee River to Canandaigua Lake in western New York. Known in their own language as *O-non-dowa-gah* ("great hill people"), they were the largest in population of all Iroquois nations and remained so throughout the colonial period. Senecas made up perhaps half of the total Iroquois population and in the colonial period could place in the field upward of 1,000 warriors.

In the 1620s, trade with the Dutch allowed the Mohawks, the easternmost Iroquois nation, to obtain guns and metal weapons. They disseminated these through the confederation to the Senecas, who then carried them into war against their enemies to the north and west.

Beginning in the 1640s, the Iroquois Confederation attacked their Huron neighbors to the north in what became known as the Beaver Wars. Although the warfare had an economic component to it, it was also driven by the Iroquois need to reconstitute their population. Indeed, their population had been greatly reduced by epidemic disease over the previous two decades. To that end, the Iroquois conflict with the Hurons served also as a "mourning war," whereby enemy captives would be assimilated into Iroquois culture to replace the dead.

Whatever the cause of the Iroquois conflict with the Hurons, it was the Senecas who did the majority of the fighting. During the summer of 1648, Seneca war parties ravaged Huron towns, including the large fortified village of Taenaostaiae. Some 700 Hurons were killed or captured, and 1,000 others were forced to flee. Soon afterward, the Mohawks joined the Senecas, and together they killed or captured thousands of Hurons, driving survivors north and west of Lake Ontario before the Hurons finally stopped the Iroquois assault. Victorious but badly battered, the Senecas and the Mohawks decided to withdraw, leaving the Huron survivors to seek refuge among other tribes or flee farther west. Although the Hurons were not completely exterminated by the Iroquois, the political and economic entity that had been the Huron Nation ceased to exist.

Following the dispersal of the Hurons, the Senecas turned their attention to neighboring tribes on their western border. Beginning in 1651, the Senecas attacked a Native American group known as



Seneca chief Cornplanter. The Senecas constituted one of the five nations of the original Iroquois Confederacy. (Library of Congress)

the Neutrals, who occupied the Ontario peninsula. After some initial setbacks, the Senecas soon overcame the Neutrals, scattering or absorbing their entire population by 1653. An Iroquoian-speaking people known as the Eries were the next to face Seneca hostility. The Eries occupied desirable hunting grounds south of Lake Erie. In 1655 the Senecas, along with the Onondagas, attacked the Eries, dispersing and defeating them by 1657.

Following these victories, the Senecas, along with the Onondagas, the Oneidas, and the Cayugas reached a peace settlement with the French. These four western Iroquois nations, jealous of the Mohawk monopoly over trade with the Dutch at Albany, sought to replace the Hurons as the principal French trading partner. With their northern border secured, the Senecas then joined their Mohawk cousins in a war against the Susquehannocks, another Iroquoian-speaking people living in Pennsylvania and Maryland. But the Susquehannocks put up a fierce fight. And when Mohawk raids along the St. Lawrence River fractured the peace agreement with the French, the Senecas pulled their warriors back to their homelands along the Genesee River. The Senecas sought to maintain their alliance with the French, but peace proved fleeting.

Anxious to bring ever-greater quantities of furs to their new English partners at Albany, the Iroquois struck westward and attacked the American Indians of the Ohio Valley and the Ottawas north of the Great Lakes. The Ottawas were the main fur suppliers for the French, and retaliation from New France fell hard and swift on the Seneca. In 1687, some 2,000 French Canadians and Algonquins invaded Seneca homelands, destroying their villages, corn-

fields, and storehouses. Additional punitive raids followed. Finally, the Senecas, exhausted by two decades of war, joined the Onondagas in making peace with the French in 1701.

Over the next 50 years, the Senecas remained neutral, although they increasingly gravitated toward the French in part because of their dependence on French trade goods from Fort Niagara. During King George's War (1744–1748) and the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Seneca warriors, especially western Senecas in the upper Ohio Valley, often supported the French. Moreover, the Seneca attachment to the French did not immediately dissolve after the French withdrew from North America in 1763. Many Senecas joined Pontiac's Rebellion that same year, where they assisted in the capture of British forts in northwestern Pennsylvania. But the failure of the uprising and the removal of the French forced the Senecas to seek accommodation with the British. Their alliance was strained at best, although the Senecas remained true to their new ally, eventually siding with the British during the American Revolutionary War.

DANIEL P. BARR

See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Beaver Wars; Cayugas; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Hurons; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Iroquois Treaties of 1700 and 1701; King George's War, Land Campaigns; Mohawks; Mourning War; Oneidas; Onondagas; Ottawas; Pontiac's Rebellion; Susquehannock

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Senecas, French Attack on

Start Date: June 1687 End Date: 1687

French invasion of Iroquois territory during the Beaver Wars. The French alliance with the Hurons in the early 17th century brought the Quebec colonists into conflict with the Five Nations of the Iroquois, who were the Hurons' traditional enemies. When the Iroquois tried to expand their control of the fur trade in the Illinois region, challenging the French position there, Gov. Joseph-Antoine Le Febvre de La Barre pronounced the existing French-Iroquois peace treaty dissolved and marched against the Five Nations in 1684. However, by the time La Barre's force of 1,200

French soldiers and native allies reached the eastern end of Lake Ontario, supply shortages and disease had rendered them ineffective. Surrounded by the Onondagas, La Barre was forced to sign a rather humiliating treaty recognizing Iroquois rights to the Illinois trade and abandoning French support for their Native American allies in the area.

On learning of the treaty, King Louis XIV was incensed. He quickly dismissed La Barre and replaced him with Jacques-René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, a capable and well-tested soldier. Louis provided Denonville with 1,600 French troops and ordered the new governor to settle the Iroquois problem by any means necessary. Realizing that the English in New York were encouraging the Iroquois attacks and would urge the Five Nations not to negotiate, Denonville decided that force was required to end the Iroquois threat.

Denonville marched into Iroquois country in late June, 1687. A few Onondagas and Oneidas came to the French camp in an effort to negotiate, but Denonville captured them. He then marched into Seneca territory with a combined force of 2,000 French troops and native warriors. Most of the Senecas, including all the women and children, fled, but several hundred men stayed behind to defend their land. After a brief skirmish in which the Senecas suffered at least 20 dead and the French about half that many, the Senecas offered no further resistance. Denonville then proceeded to burn two large Seneca towns and two smaller villages, and destroyed all the stored provisions and crops that his soldiers could find, amounting to an estimated 1.2 million bushels of provisions. He correctly predicted that this loss of foodstuffs would cause the Senecas great distress. The French and their allies also desecrated and looted Seneca burial grounds.

When the Iroquois learned of the impending invasion, they had dispatched emissaries to Albany to seek English assistance, but received only a small amount of ammunition and some critical comments about their lack of courage. English officials later provided the Iroquois with additional arms and ammunition. The Iroquois launched retaliatory raids into New France during the next several months, until both sides agreed to open peace negotiations in the summer of 1688. The negotiations failed, however, and sporadic French-Iroquois warfare continued until the outbreak of King William's War in 1689 further intensified the strife.

JIM PIECUCH

See also

Beaver Wars; Denonville, Jacques-René de Brisay de; Iroquois; New France; Senecas

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Seven Years' War

See French and Indian War, Land Campaigns and French and Indian war, Naval Campaigns

Shawnees

An Algonquian-speaking Native American people whose name, *chawunagi*, means "southerners" in Algonquian. The name came from the fact that the Shawnees lived south of other Algonquians. Although the Shawnees are generally classified as natives of the northeastern woodlands, their migrations taught them to adopt the life ways of other Native Americans, especially those of the Southeast.

Although nomadic, the Shawnees in the warm months inhabited villages, around which they grew crops. Winter brought more scattered habitation patterns as small groups went out to hunt. The Shawnees moved many times throughout their history. Their original homeland was in present-day southern Ohio, West Virginia, and western Pennsylvania. In the mid-1600s, however, the Iroquois drove them out of these areas. The Shawnees were scattered to South Carolina, the Tennessee Cumberland River Basin, and southern Illinois. By the 1730s, most had returned to their original lands. In the following decades they fought hard against encroaching white settlements in Ohio and Pennsylvania.

As the several Shawnee bands moved, they also changed their alliances between the French and the English. Many of the Shawnees sided with the French in the period from 1689 until the end of the French and Indian War (1754–1763) in 1763. However, some did ally themselves with the English because they believed that English trade goods were better than those of the French. As a result, the English were able to establish an important trading post at Pickawillany in Shawnee territory in Ohio. Most of the Shawnees, however, fought the English, along with other natives, including the Ottawas, in Chief Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763. And in 1773, the Shawnees fought against Virginians in Lord Dunmore's War.

King George III's Proclamation of 1763 had all but promised Native Americans the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains. However, the governor of Virginia, John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, began parceling out western lands to veterans of the French and Indian War. Thus, Shawnee chief Cornstalk led Shawnee warriors in an armed attempt to drive the settlers out of trans-Appalachian lands, sparking Lord Dunmore's War (1774). After a series of bloody raids and counterraids, on October 6, 1774, Colonel Andrew Lewis, commanding 1,100 militiamen, defeated chiefs Cornstalk and Logan (of the Mingos), an Iroquois subtribe at Point Pleasant in present-day West Virginia, in a fierce battle. Cornstalk subsequently signed a peace treaty that punished the Shawnees with forfeiture of some of their lands.



Depiction of a Shawnee American Indian from Georges Henri Victor Collot's *Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale.* (Library of Congress/Geography and Map Division)

During the American War of Independence, the Shawnees sided with the British. In 1778, they even managed to capture the famed frontiersman Daniel Boone. He was held prisoner at Chillicothe, Ohio, but subsequently escaped. By 1794, the Shawnees and other natives in the Northwest Territories had fought several pitched engagements with forces dispatched by the U.S. government. The most famous of the Shawnees were Tecumseh and his brother Tenskwatawa (the "Prophet"). They tried to unite the natives of the Mississippi Valley against the Americans. Their defeat at the 1811 Battle of Tippecanoe combined with the death of Tecumseh in battle on October 5, 1813, at the Battle of the Thames in Canada during the War of 1812 were key events in early American history.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also

Cornstalk; Lord Dunmore's War; Mingos; Old Briton (Memeskia); Pickawillany Massacre; Pontiac's Rebellion

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Shield

Personal defensive armament carried by Europeans and some Native American groups. Shields came in various shapes and sizes and were fashioned from a variety of materials, depending on the group that created them.

Shields of European manufacture were most commonly made of steel reinforced wood. They were carried by the earliest Europeans to come to America, before guns had completely supplanted edged weapons. Shields made and carried by Europeans came in a variety of styles and shapes. The Scots carried small round shields known as targets, roughly a foot in diameter. Larger shields were rectangular or triangular in shape and were several feet in height and more than a foot in width.

Native American shields, on the other hand, were made of animal hides, shrunken to increase their density. This process also increased the shield's deflective capability. They were most often round and roughly a foot in diameter. Design and size varied widely.

JAMES R. McIntyre

See also

Bow and Arrow; Edged Weapons; Lance; War Club



Early 1600s woodcut of a Native American with shield, bow, and arrows in a quiver. (North Wind Picture Archives)

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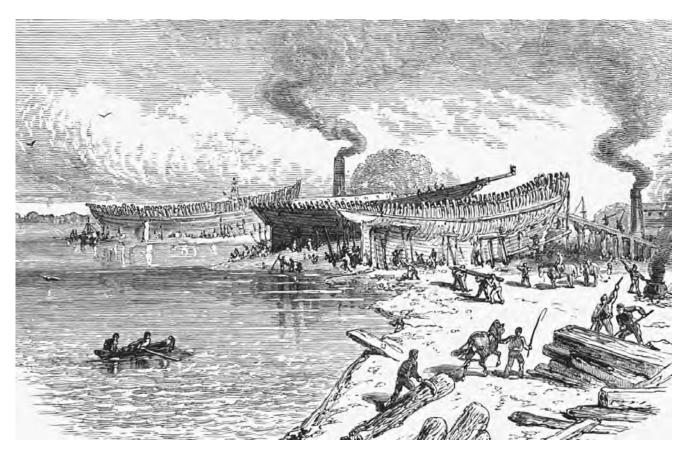
Shipbuilding in Colonial North America

An abundance of natural resources helped assure that ship building would become an important colonial enterprise. In the 16th century, shipwrecked Spanish and French explorers built ships to escape the North American coast, and by the early 17th century Dutch and English mariners were building ships there to explore it. Shipbuilding, as a sustained effort to support a community, had its true beginning in the mid-1630s, however, when Massachusetts Puritans built several ships for the transAtlantic trade. As the flood of English immigrants and their cash slowed to a trickle in the early 1640s, shipbuilding became the means to develop new sources of income through fishing and trade with Britain and the West Indies.

Massachusetts leaders encouraged shipbuilders with free land and exemption from militia training and established construction standards complete with inspections and fines for defective work. Virginia had the resources for shipbuilding but not the incentive because of the demand for tobacco in England. Beyond small vessels for local communication and transportation, there was little shipbuilding in the southern colonies until the middle of the 18th century.

Faced with high construction costs as they struggled to replace ships lost to French privateers in the 1690s, some English merchants turned to the shipyards of New England. Statements by British shipbuilders that colonial ships were inferior faded before cheaper building rates and New England shipbuilding entered a long period of expansion. Even with the end of hostilities and the subsequent reduction of demand, enough British merchants had been satisfied with their colonial ships and continued to purchase New England tonnage. Boston, with its concentration of capital, builders, and workmen dominated New England shipbuilding. With lower material costs and construction rates, Charles Town, Scituate, Salem, Newbury, and Newport became shipbuilding centers that appealed to both the merchant who wanted the least costly ship and the one who wanted more ship for his money.

At the end of the first quarter of the 18th century, Boston's ship-building leadership was challenged by Philadelphia. Connecticut, especially the New London area, was also producing some of the largest merchant ships of the colonial period, and shipbuilding was becoming important in New York, thanks to an expanding West Indian trade. Although many colonial vessels were owned by local merchants, many were constructed for sale in Great Britain. By 1730, one-sixth of the British merchant fleet had been built in the shipyards of colonial America.



Woodcut of an 18th-century New England shipyard. (The Granger Collection)

The typical colonial shipyard was a simple affair. Urban shipyards, clustered along the waterfront or in nearby coves, had little more than an open sawpit and a tool shed for facilities. In smaller communities with cheaper land, the colonial shipyard was larger and might include sheds, covered work areas, and a wharf, all overlooked by the shipwright's house. A labor force of a pair of sawyers, four to six shipwrights (including the shipyard owner), and several apprentices was sufficient for most projects. Very large vessels or rush orders required additional shipwrights. After shipwrights completed the basic construction, joiners, caulkers, tanners, tinmen, masons, glaziers, carvers, painters, mast makers, ropemakers, blacksmiths, riggers, sailmakers, and boatmakers made their contributions. Thus the shipyard owner had to supervise and coordinate the work of more than a dozen different craftsmen before the ship was finished.

Eighteenth-century shipyards launched four basic vessels. The sloop, a single-mast vessel with a fore-and-aft rig, ranged in size from 20- to 40-ton coasters to 50- or 100-ton West Indian traders that added square main and topsails to their rigs. The latter variation was popular with pirates in the first quarter of the century. By setting its fore and aft sails on two masts, the schooner had a more flexible and manageable rig that required fewer hands and lowered operating costs. Schooners varied in size from small coasters to

larger ones in the West Indian and even the transAtlantic trades. Eventually, the schooner displaced the sloop except in Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The brigantine, a two mast vessel with square sails on the fore-mast and a fore-and-aft sail on the mainmast, was larger than the sloop or schooner and engaged in both West Indian and transAtlantic trades. Because its long boom could catch waves when sailing downwind, a variation of the brigantine, called the snow, carried square sails on both masts and a smaller fore-and-aft sail set on a pole just behind the mainmast. Snows were slightly larger than brigantines and were used as a cheaper alternative to a ship. With three masts and square sails (plus a small fore-and-aft sail on the mizzenmast) and double the tonnage of most brigantines, the ship was the basic carrier for transAtlantic trade and came in a wide range of sizes.

A local merchant, acting for himself or as the representative of a British correspondent, provided the necessary capital and market outlet that supported the construction of a ship. Although most ships were built to fill specific orders and thus ensured payment, some vessels were built on speculation. Launching ships of comparable quality and lower price per ton, the ratio of colonial built ships in the British merchant fleet rose from 1 in 6 in 1730 to 1 in 4 by 1760 and reached 1 in 2.5 (40 percent) on the eve of the American Revolutionary War.

Given the cost advantage of colonial ships, it was inevitable that the Royal Navy would try American-built warships. The demanding requirements of a warship (a stable gun platform for cannon high above the waterline on a seaworthy and swift hull with sufficient capacity for crew and supplies) and the greater amount of timber and labor, made naval construction more complicated and risky than building merchant ships. In the 1690s, the Admiralty purchased two warships from colonial yards. Although both ships passed rigorous examinations and gave long service (the 40-gun Falkland was still afloat more than 70 years later), they did not overcome the opposition of British builders to colonial competition. In the 1740s, the British Admiralty tried to reward New England for its role in the capture of Louisbourg with contracts for four warships. Reluctant to enter warship construction when other work was available, most shipwrights declined the offer. The two ships that were built, the 24gun Boston and the 44-gun America, had brief naval careers.

Although the Royal Navy no longer purchased American-built warships, colonial shipyards provided sloops and schooners that served as patrol and dispatch vessels and merchant ships that became transports and supply ships. Furthermore, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), New England shipwrights supported the British Army by building hundreds of whaleboats, plus sloops and row galleys on Lake George, Lake Champlain, and Lake Ontario.

During the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744) and the French and Indian War, shipyards produced several warships (less than 20 guns each) for use by individual colonies. Fear of imminent enemy attack and large work forces enabled these vessels to be completed in under 40 days. Colonial shipwrights launched many small and some very large privateers, equal in size and armaments to small Royal Navy frigates.

The lure of windfall profits persuaded many merchants to risk their capital in a privateer whose very size made it more costly to build, equip, and maintain than the smaller privateer. Most privateers didn't capture prizes enough to balance their own cost and many were lost to enemy warships or to the sea itself. Whatever the return on the venture of large privateers, colonial shipwrights gained experience with privateer and warship construction that would prove vital in the coming American Revolutionary War.

In the mid-18th century, shipbuilding in the southern colonies expanded rapidly. By the time of the American Revolution, Virginia shipyards were ranked third, behind New England and Pennsylvania, in producing ships purchased by English merchants. Some of the expansion might be attributed to Chesapeake Bay merchants and their West Indies and British trade. That New England built brigs and ships averaged 10 to 20 percent smaller than those of Virginia suggests lower construction costs in Chesapeake Bay. Part of this difference might be the plentiful supply of timber in the southern colonies. A more likely explanation is the growing use of slave labor in southern shipyards.

If the shipyard was a relatively simple affair with little equipment, then materials and labor were the major cost factors. Slave labor was

present in New England and Philadelphia shipyards during the 18th century but in limited numbers—one or two in some yards and none in others. Inventories of southern shipwrights reveal slave ownership to be common. Although skilled slaves certainly cut construction costs, they also eased the chronic labor shortage and enabled southern yards to have a steady labor force, whereas northern yards had workers departing for higher wages elsewhere.

Colonial shipyards produced a variety of vessels and enjoyed a reputation for quality and economy. By the end of the colonial period, shipbuilding was the major non-agricultural source of income in America. However, the health of the shipbuilding industry in the colonies depended on the sale of ships to British merchants and the use of shipping within the British Empire.

Joseph A. Goldenberg

See also

Slave Trade and the American Colonies; Warships

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Ship of the Line

See Warships

Ships

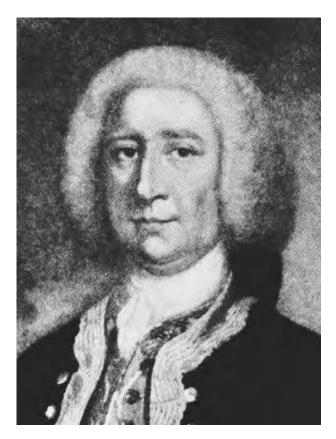
See Warships

Shirley, William

Born: December 2, 1694 Died: March 24, 1771

English governor of Massachusetts (1741–1756) and of the Bahamas (1761–1769). A consummate politician with expansionist views for the British Empire in North America, William Shirley directed much of the early effort in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Born in Preston, Sussex, England, on December 2, 1694, Shirley attended Cambridge University before emigrating to Boston in 1731.

In Boston, Shirley carefully employed family connections in England to secure the governorship of Massachusetts for himself in 1741. When King George's War (1744–1748) began, Shirley cajoled the Massachusetts legislature into financing an expedition against the French stronghold at Louisbourg, on Cape Breton Island. After the fortress fell to the British in 1745, he rightly claimed much of the credit for so vigorously backing the effort.



William Shirley, governor of Massachusetts. Shirley favored expansionist policies. (Cirker, Hayward, ed., *Dictionary of American Portraits*, 1967)

In recognition of this success, the ministry in London awarded Shirley a colonelcy and ordered him to raise a regiment of colonials. He moved quickly to improve Massachusetts' defenses and consulted with British leaders on proposed plans to invade Canada. In 1746, 1747, and 1748, the ministry repeatedly abandoned such plans, however. This stymied Shirley's dream of projecting British power into Canada.

With the end of the war in 1748, Shirley found himself at the center of a political realignment in Massachusetts. When a group of his former allies organized a campaign to have him removed from office, Shirley sailed for England in late 1748 to defend his conduct. He did so quite ably. While in London, he received the prestigious appointment as one of the commissioners to negotiate with the French the final settlement of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) ending King George's War (known as the War of the Austrian Succession in Europe). Shirley pushed his expansionist views of British power on both his fellow commissioners and ministry officials in London. The ministry held a more limited conception of the empire, however, and Shirley was recalled in 1752.

Shirley returned to Boston in 1753 to a warm reception. Conscious that the possibility of another war with France was never far off, he immediately set about to strengthen the colony's defenses. In 1754, he organized an expedition to Maine to secure Massachu-

setts' hold over that territory in response to reports of French encroachment. Later in the year, he vigorously supported the plan of colonial union discussed at the 1754 Albany Conference.

Shirley spent the winter of 1754–1755 organizing an ambitious campaign to secure Nova Scotia. Although the ministry had not sanctioned such a plan, officials were impressed with Shirley's initiative and quickly incorporated this northern component into their broader military plans. The home government also authorized Shirley to begin recruiting for his defunct regiment, which he did with great enthusiasm. In Massachusetts alone, Shirley raised a force of 7,000 men, which far exceeded his superiors' expectations.

The arrival of the new British commander in chief in North America, Major General Edward Braddock, produced a conference of governors in Virginia in April 1755. Shirley so impressed Braddock with his confidence and knowledge that Braddock appointed him second-in-command of British forces in North America. Despite Shirley's lack of experience in leading troops in battle, Braddock also authorized him to lead an expedition against Fort Niagara.

Shortly before launching the attack in the eastern Great Lakes region, Shirley received news of Braddock's defeat and death in the Battle of the Monongahela (during which his son had been killed). Now commander of all British forces on the continent, Shirley hesitated about the wisdom of proceeding as planned. Instead he sent his forces to Fort Oswego, deciding that the campaign against Fort Niagara would wait until the spring. In December 1755, at a conference of governors held in New York, Shirley outlined a bold plan of attack for the 1756 spring campaign. He vowed to push on with the efforts that had stalled the previous year.

Shirley's enemies worked vigorously against him, however. They penned letters to officials in London decrying Shirley's inability to hold such a high command. Shirley was unaware of the smear campaign, but he had assumed the ministry would replace him with an experienced military leader. In the meantime, he devoted his energy to building up British forces. As spring 1756 approached, Shirley scaled back his campaign plans, announcing that the expedition against Crown Point would take precedence over other ventures.

By mid-1756, Shirley's vacillations had angered a sufficient number of colonials to bring about his recall. His successor, John Campbell, Lord Loudoun, arrived in New York City in mid-July 1756, amid rumors that Shirley had been relieved of command in disgrace. Shirley immediately sailed for England to answer charges that his accounts while commander in chief had contained irregularities. He was not cleared of wrongdoing until 1758. From 1761 to 1769 Shirley served as governor of the Bahamas. He retired in 1770 and died in Roxbury, Massachusetts, on March 24, 1771.

ELIZABETH DUBRULLE

See also

Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of; Albany Conference; Braddock, Edward; Braddock's Campaign; Crown Point (New York); Fort Niagara, Siege of; Fort Oswego (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns; Louisbourg Expedition; Maine; Massachusetts

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Sickness and Mortality

Because North America's original European settlers traveled there over long distances in small, underprovisioned vessels, disease was the primary cause of mortality from the earliest immigration. Under the best of circumstances, the voyage from England in the early 1600s took more than six weeks. Rations during the voyage consisted mostly of meat, bread, and dried legumes.

The passengers were crowded into small, poorly ventilated spaces. Seasickness, scurvy, smallpox, dysentery, and various febrile diseases were the rule rather than the exception. Of John Blackwell's 150 Puritans who sailed in 1618, 130 died in transit. Of 100 Pilgrims that landed at Plymouth in 1620, only 50 were still alive three months

later, most having died of scurvy or infections acquired aboard ship. Of the initial 4,170 settlers who came to Jamestown in 1621, more than 2,000 succumbed to disease, and the survivors complained they could not sleep at night for the moaning of the sick and dying.

Ironically, disease was not altogether detrimental to the colonists. It is likely that the Pilgrims were saved from annihilation by local natives because the native population itself had been cut by 90 percent in the previous four years by epidemic diseases brought by earlier European visitors.

Scurvy had been the primary killer of sailors and nautical passengers since improvements in navigation made long voyages out of sight of land possible. The disease results from lack of vitamin C (ascorbic acid), which is normally acquired from citrus fruits and to a lesser extent from leafy vegetables such as cabbage or from onions and potatoes. In the absence of an ongoing supply of dietary vitamin C, symptoms of scurvy appear within two weeks and include weakness, swelling of the legs, softening of the gums culminating in loss of teeth, bleeding from mucous membranes, and, ultimately, death from heart failure.

British naval surgeon James Lind had proven the disease could be prevented by prophylactic ingestion of lemon juice in 1747, but the practice did not become routine in the Royal Navy until 1793, and scurvy was a plague to both military and civilian sailors through



Artist's depiction of a colonial-era physician "bleeding" a woman. Bloodletting was believed to rid the body of infection. (Frank Grizzard)

the 18th century. In British ships posted to the West Indies during that time, about one man in seven died of scurvy while on post.

Close quarters aboard ship made transmission of infections quite likely. Typhus, which was transmitted by omnipresent lice, was particularly severe and reached a peak in British prison hulks anchored in New York harbor during the American Revolutionary War. Measles, scarlet fever, influenza, and diphtheria were also recurrent epidemics. Seasickness was also significant, both because of the direct misery it caused and because it weakened passengers and left them susceptible to more lethal diseases.

Smallpox was also a particular problem, with recurrent epidemics beginning in 1663 in New Netherland and recurring every few years thereafter. William Penn's ship alone lost 30 settlers to the disease in 1682. Soldiers often carried the disease, and Pennsylvania suffered a disastrous outbreak when British troops brought it to Philadelphia in 1756. A smallpox epidemic in Boston after British forces evacuated the city in 1775 frightened people more than the nascent revolution.

In 1721, Lady Wortley Montague brought the Turkish practice of inoculating people who had not had smallpox with matter acquired from the sores of people with relatively mild cases. Inoculation caused real cases of the disease and, although not without risk, carried a lower mortality than naturally acquired smallpox. John Adams commented that the only reason he was picked for the Continental Congress was that he had been inoculated against smallpox and was, therefore, immune. After smallpox forced his troops to withdraw from their Canadian invasion in 1775 during the American Revolutionary War, General George Washington mandated that all Continental Army soldiers be inoculated. Smallpox remained a significant problem until 1798, when Edward Jenner demonstrated that inoculation with the almost entirely safe cowpox virus conveyed lasting immunity against the disease.

Dysentery was a particularly severe problem both on board ship and on land. George Percy, the Earl of Northumberland's brother, complained in 1607 that the Jamestown settlement was being destroyed by "swellings, fluxes, and burning fevers" as much as by wars with the natives. Ships might bring contaminated water aboard and repeatedly distribute it throughout a voyage. Settlements were often built with little concern for drainage and with latrines close by water that was used for washing and drinking.

The more concentrated the population became, the higher the likelihood of the water supplies becoming contaminated. Whenever there was a military expedition, dysentery followed the troops. A 1709 British expedition against French Canada had to be abandoned when dysentery broke out near Wood Creek, New York. The disease was also widespread in the earliest Continental Army encampments during the American Revolutionary War in 1775 and 1776.

Yellow fever, although less common than other febrile diseases, was particularly feared because it carried a mortality rate approaching 30 percent. The disease came from West Africa with the slave trade and was especially well adapted to transmission over the sea lanes.

The disease is carried by the *Aedes aegypti* mosquito that reproduces only in standing fresh water such as that found in ships' water barrels. It first appeared in Barbados in 1647 and, beginning with 1699 epidemics in Philadelphia and Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina), repeatedly struck port cities from Boston to New Orleans throughout the colonial period. A particularly severe episode in New York in 1702 cost the city 10 percent of its population.

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See also

Military and Naval Medicine; Scurvy; Smallpox

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Six Nations

See Iroquois Confederation

Skulking Way of War

A form of warfare in which attackers used stealth to surprise their enemies, employed largely by Native Americans and later adopted by Europeans in North America. Ambushes were typical of the skulking way of war, as were raids on small, isolated garrisons or settlements. Skulking tactics relied on detailed knowledge of local terrain and the cover of darkness to conceal movements and acquire positions from which to waylay foes. Attackers also exercised individual initiative, advancing or retreating in open order. Many times, individual combatants aimed and fired at specific targets on their own volition. Combatants usually did not press attacks against enemies who were well prepared to receive an assault, avoided pitched battles, and retreated if they were themselves ambushed.

Native Americans pursued skulking warfare throughout the colonial period. Although other forms of combat occurred in particular cases, skulking tactics prevailed among American Indian warriors throughout the period. Over time, Native American combatants also replaced indigenous arms (bow and arrows, edged weapons, etc.) with firearms of European manufacture as their primary weapon.

In contrast to the skulking way of war, conventional European warfare of the period emphasized the role of prescribed, orderly battle. Infantry moved in unison, in compact, close-order formations, handling and discharging weapons together in volleys fired



A band of Abenaki Native Americans raiding the English settlement of Haverhill in 1697. Among those taken from the village were Hannah Duston, her infant (who was killed), and their nurse. Hannah's husband and seven other children got away. This illustration depicts Mr. Duston covering the escape of his remaining children. (Library of Congress)

under the direction of officers. Europeans and their colonial descendants varied in their abilities to adapt to or cope with skulking warfare. Militiamen from New France were largely successful in employing these tactics. In fact, they often joined with their American Indian allies in raiding the English colonial frontier during wars between the two countries.

English forces often had more difficulty coping with skulking foes, particularly in conflicts such as King Philip's War (1675–1676), where effective military responses emphasized direct assaults on American Indian communities or employing native allies against aboriginal foes. However, by the mid-18th century, some British colonial units such as Rogers's Rangers were primarily employing skulking tactics.

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See also

Infantry; Infantry Tactics; King Philip's War; Native Warfare; Raiding Party; Rogers, Robert

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Slaughter of the Innocents

Start Date: February 25, 1643 End Date: February 26, 1643

February 1643 attack by Dutch troops outside New Amsterdam (present-day New York City) in which two camps of Wappinger natives were overrun without warning resulting in the deaths of over 100 men, women, and children. The attack occurred during Kieft's War (1639–1645).

New Netherland's fifth governor, Willem Kieft, arrived in the New World in 1638. His tenure was marked by a succession of crises and controversies. Conflict between various Native American peoples and the Dutch had become routine. Aggressive territorial



Contemporary illustration of Dutch soldiers attacking Wappinger Native Americans in Pavonia on February 25–26, 1643. This massacre became known as the Slaughter of the Innocents. (North Wind Picture Archives)

expansion also contributed to the tensions. When Kieft arrived, he was not pleased with the condition of New Amsterdam, the main settlement in the colony. Defenses, especially the main fort, were in poor condition. To correct this problem he made numerous reforms in government and military administration.

Among Kieft's changes was a heavy tax on the local natives, who were part of the Algonquian group, in return for protection against hostile natives such as the Mohawks. The Mohawks were important trading partners with the Dutch, and Kieft used them to terrorize other native peoples who refused to pay the tax. In 1641, several tribes refused to pay the tax and then attacked an outlying Dutch settlement. This led to a four-year struggle between the Dutch and various Native American groups.

In the spring of 1642, the governor sent an expeditionary force to subdue the Raritans, one of the offending tribes. A treaty with them, however, prevented further bloodshed. Yet Kieft was determined to collect the tax from other Native Americans. In early 1643,

he put pressure on the Wappingers, who lived above Manhattan Island along the lower Hudson River. Kieft ordered a large party of Mohawks to collect the tribute that had not been paid. The Wappingers, numbering about 500 people, fled before the advancing invaders. Most took refuge with the Hackensacks at Pavonia (present-day Jersey City, New Jersey). Others fled to "Corlaer's Hook," in northern Manhattan.

Kieft badly mismanaged the situation. The fleeing Native Americans arrived seeking Dutch protection. They had no intention of waging battle. Kieft did not see it that way, however. On a cold night at the end of February, without any warning or provocation, the governor dispatched the Mohawks to Pavonia to initiate an attack. Eighty Dutch soldiers followed closely behind. A smaller number of Dutch troops killed the native refugees at Corlaer's Hook.

During the night of February 25–26, 1643, some 100 Native American men, women, and children were brutally murdered in what was later known as the Slaughter of the Innocents. The Dutch

soldiers returned to New Amsterdam the following day, carrying with them the severed heads of nearly 80 natives. Some of the Dutch then used the heads like footballs. Kieft also ordered the public torture of some 30 native captives.

Kieft took immense delight at the success of the raid, but this Dutch atrocity served to further incense the local natives. Eleven of them subsequently united in waging war against the Dutch, burning farms and killing settlers. Throughout the remainder of the year, the Dutch suffered numerous losses fighting the natives. In February 1644, Dutch forces managed to kill more than 500 natives in the region of Westchester. Finally, in 1645, after four years of steady conflict, Kieft negotiated a treaty ending a war that had claimed more than 1,000 lives on both sides.

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See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Dutch-Indian Wars; Kieft, Willem; Kieft's War; Mohawks; New Netherland

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Slavery

Taken off a Portuguese slave ship from Angola by a Dutch privateer and brought to Jamestown, Virginia, in 1618, the first Africans sold in the colony were not slaves but indentured servants. Their new owner promptly reexported them to a plantation he owned in Bermuda. The following year, 1619, another Dutch privateer arrived in Virginia with Africans seized from another Portuguese ship. These two incidents illustrate several points. First, despite all that has been written about slavery, there is so much that is not known about the subject. Second, slave ships were sought out as valuable prizes by privateers and pirates throughout the colonial period. Finally, if the first generation of Africans were technically indentured servants (the term "slave" didn't appear in the records until the middle years of the century), then what was their position in the community?

English indentured servants, who provided the work force in 17th century Virginia, generally served on average a seven-year term in exchange for transportation to Chesapeake Bay. Africans were bound to a minimum 14-year term. And whereas master and servants often lived together under the same roof, along with precious cows, an archaeological site from the 1620s indicates a separate dwelling for African servants. Furthermore, when guilty of offenses that earned English servants an extra year of labor, African servants were sentenced to permanent servitude (slavery). Despite these

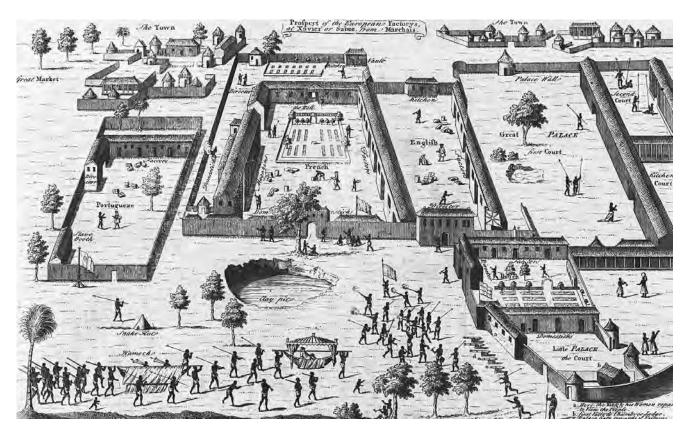
obstacles, some African servants survived, completed their indentures, and became landowners. Similarly, African servants in the Dutch colony of New Netherland became free men and landowners until driven off Manhattan Island after the English takeover in 1664.

Although Africans formed only 2 percent of Virginia's nonnative population for most of the 17th century, their presence and status troubled the English colonists. In the 1660s, the legislature established several precedents involving slavery. These held that non-Christian servants imported into Virginia by ship were slaves for life, baptism into the Church of England did not release Africans from slavery, the children of slave mothers were also slaves, and free Africans were not entitled to the same privileges as free English people.

With improving economic conditions in England, rising land prices in Virginia, and the lure of a new colony called Pennsylvania (known as "the best poor man's Country"), servant migration to Virginia declined in the late 17th century. At the same time, the small slave population was reproducing itself and tobacco plantations were expanding. Given the choice between English servants who were harder to recruit and were freed after seven years or African slaves who were never free and whose children were slaves, Virginia plantation owners understandably turned to slave labor. Besides providing plantation owners with as large a labor force as they desired, slavery also assisted the small farmer whose labor force had been his family. With a few slaves, he could raise enough tobacco to survive and, perhaps in time, prosper.

Until the 18th century, Maryland followed the Virginia pattern of tobacco dependency and slaves displacing servant labor. Then, between a growing merchant community seeking new sources of income and recognition of Virginia's advantages of soil and reputation in tobacco and the large labor force its cultivation required, some Maryland slave owners found that grain and timber provided a satisfactory income with a smaller labor force working fewer hours. This dispassionate, nonstatus perspective meant that the growth of slavery in Maryland would not match that of Virginia. Hence, although a number of Virginia counties had a majority of black inhabitants, whites outnumbered blacks in all Maryland counties. Furthermore, though slavery expanded into the western Virginia Piedmont and beyond in the late colonial years, it remained confined to Maryland's Tidewater area. Finally, in the latter half of the 18th century, there were more free blacks in Maryland than in Virginia.

With slave owners from Barbados among its early colonists, South Carolina quickly established the legal framework for slavery. However, a high death rate limited enterprises to those requiring few workers (cattle and deerskins) and few slaves were imported into the colony. In the early 18th century, however, rice production and the importation of slaves directly from Africa both expanded rapidly. Between the few English servants arriving and a high death rate continuing among colonists, the African population of South Carolina soon outnumbered the English. Whether Africans brought vital experience to rice cultivation or just provided the necessary



An 18th-century engraving of a slave compound maintained by European traders on the Gulf of Guinea in Nigeria. (Library of Congress)

labor has been debated. Given the variety of agricultural practices regarding rice in West Africa (including both field and swamp cultivation and dikes and irrigation) and their centuries of experience with the crop, it is clear that Africans supplied the knowledge and the muscle that made rice both possible and profitable.

Although slavery was basically a southern institution, there were slaves in all of the colonies. In New York, the northern colony with the most slaves, they worked on Hudson River Valley farms and in New York City. Slaves appeared early in Philadelphia and by the beginning of the 18th century they worked as servants, ship carpenters, and ironworkers. Then the flood of indentured servants landing at Philadelphia overwhelmed this initial growth of slavery and the proportion of slaves in the colony rapidly dwindled. Even in New England, where the institution of slavery was weakest, slaves were a visible part of society. In Connecticut, the region's leading slaveholding colony, most slaves were owned by families (one or two per family) and others worked on large farms and for tradesmen. Although Rhode Island is identified with the slave trade and slaves outnumbered white servants at the beginning of the 18th century, the proportion of Africans had declined to 6 percent of the population at the end of the colonial period. Massachusetts too participated in the slave trade as a minor player, but its African population reached a high in the mid-18th century of only 2 percent. Some Massachusetts slaves worked as servants, others in maritime trades.

When the last colony, Georgia, was founded in 1733, slavery was specifically prohibited there. But the shortage of labor and the need to establish income soon persuaded proprietors to allow colonists to "rent" Africans from suppliers in neighboring South Carolina. Altogether, on the eve of the American Revolutionary War, one quarter of the colonial population consisted of slaves and free blacks of whom four-fifths had been born in America and lived in southern colonies.

As with the majority of colonists, most slaves were agricultural workers. Yet a number of slaves were tradesmen. They might practice their trade on the plantation or be rented by the month or year to a master craftsman at a distance from their owner. The slave tradesman earned a higher return for his master than the agricultural laborer, and his work was not limited by crop cycles. The growing presence of slaves in skilled professions that ranged from bricklayers to harbor pilots was a direct threat to white colonists, however. Once free and without the protection of influential community members, blacks would be shut out of most skilled occupations.

Slaves were a significant element of all urban settings. From the sleepy village of Williamsburg, Virginia, to the commercial hubs of Philadelphia and New York, cities offered opportunity. The slave might have the chance to earn money and eventual freedom, the single person could seek a mate, and, if nothing else, the city offered excitement and choices not found on the plantation. The presence

of blacks in cities caused much concern and restrictions were periodically enacted but seldom enforced.

In the last generation, much has been learned about the life of plantation slaves. Despite lack of control over their own lives, differences of origin in Africa and between those born in Africa and in the colonies and an unfavorable male to female ratio in many areas, plantation records demonstrate that slaves did form families. Some families continued generation after generation, even though colonial law did not recognize slave marriage.

Archaeological examinations of slave quarter sites reveal a host of extremes. The quarters that survive tend to be those of house servants and skilled non-agricultural workers. Structures were usually small single-family units built with a minimum of material. Although storage consisted of pits covered with planks and beds might be a cornhusk mattress on the dirt floor, the quarters of house servants might also contain "castoffs" from the master such as out-of-style English tableware as well as African-style pottery for cooking and food storage. These tiny, often windowless units provided shelter for the night and gave inhabitants a temporary refuge from the world. African tokens have been found in the walls of huts, and the African tradition of using the open space in front of the shelter as a daytime living space continued.

On Virginia tobacco plantations, slave quarters were clustered in close proximity to the master's house—usually behind, and if topography allowed, downhill. In other words, the slave quarters were out of public view but near enough for the owner to check on them easily. In South Carolina, as planters built houses on navigable rivers away from the swamps where they cultivated rice, slaves lived in huts near their work site. Distance from masters allowed these slaves more opportunity to preserve African traditions.

With slavery, as with any institution, the gap between regulations and practice varied with time and location. For example, in the 18th century, the Virginia legislature prohibited small Chesapeake Bay craft from having an all-slave crew. Slaves had to be under supervision, especially if they had both freedom of movement and opportunity to do harm. But for masters, who believed that their crews were reliable and had other interests to pursue, the law made no sense and they ignored it. Although the popular image of slavery is that of an absolute system, in practice there could be much flexibility.

The fact that slavery was a profitable but inefficient institution was recognized not just by contemporary scholars but also by some colonial owners. In South Carolina, slave labor was often organized by task and when completed, the rest of the day belonged to the slave. An ironworks owner in Maryland gave credit at a store to slaves who worked to his satisfaction. And some slave craftsmen were allowed to find their own lodgings and employment so long as they gave their owners a certain sum per month. These and other opportunities were limited, but they gave hope and encouragement to many slaves.

Warfare, a constant part of colonial life, offered opportunity along with the threat of death and destruction to slaves. Farmers, tradesmen, and merchants benefited from the need to supply military forces. Frequent shortages of soldiers forced colonies to choose between the fear of an armed black man and the need to recruit slaves to fight the enemy. Through military service in desperate times, slaves might be rewarded with freedom.

Fear of slaves was not completely unfounded, given the occasional murder of masters on plantations. Equally disturbing to whites was the sight of blacks in colonial cities moving freely about. In both the New York Slave Revolt of 1712 and the Stono Rebellion of 1739 in South Carolina, the fear of blacks was heightened by a society in or about to enter a war. Although these two events began with violent acts by slaves, and thus were clearly revolts, other events are not as clear. When New York City suffered a rash of fires in 1741 and authorities promised rewards for the apprehension of the perpetrators, a white servant girl accused her master of planning with blacks to burn the city. She received freedom and cash; her master and more than 30 blacks were executed. In Virginia, the legislature occasionally freed slaves for giving information about other slaves who were planning to rebel. With authorities ready to believe rumors of slave rebellion, legislatures rewarding informers and quickly executing those suspected of rebellion, it is difficult to separate planned revolts from false reports.

Unlike revolts, there is much information about runaway slaves in the advertisements of colonial newspapers. Unfortunately for slaves, their chances of escaping bondage permanently were not good. Roads were few and any strangers, let alone a black one, was likely to be questioned. Furthermore, in an enemy society, there was no refuge. A few runaways, usually recent arrivals from Africa, tried to live in wilderness or swamp areas but eventually they would be found. Others, with employable skills, sought safety in distant towns or went to sea as mariners. But again they were liable to eventual identification and return. South Carolina and Georgia runaways who managed to reach Spanish Florida found safety in a small black community on the outskirts of St. Augustine. Because of frequent raids by colonists into northern Florida, the African settlement of Fort Mosé was fortified. But for most slaves, the best opportunity to escape would only come with invading British armies during the American Revolutionary War.

If the great majority of slaves recognized the long odds against earning freedom or escaping, and the futility of rebellion, where could they focus their energies and hope? The wave of evangelicalism that swept the colonies in the four decades before the Revolution had a profound effect on many colonists including slaves. A number of churches accepted blacks. A few Methodist and Baptist ministers began to question the morality of slavery, as did the Quakers. And by the decade before the American Revolutionary War, Quakers began to persuade fellow members to free slaves. Of course, it is easy to overstate this movement. In the case of some Quakers, they "freed" their slaves but required them to pay an annual sum or return to slavery. Still, blacks quickly moved from being present in white churches, to having white ministers lead services at black churches, and finally being allowed to have black churches led by black ministers. With slaves traditionally having Sunday free, the church was the one institution where blacks were allowed to exercise some autonomy. Thus the church and the family became central to the slave experience during the colonial years and would remain central to African American life in the centuries that followed.

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See also

Georgia; Maryland; New York Slave Revolt of 1712; New York Slave Revolt of 1741; Slave Trade and the American Colonies; South Carolina; Stono Rebellion; Virginia

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Slave Trade and the American Colonies

The slave trade involved the shipment of slaves from West Africa to the New World. Once the dominant Atlantic slave trade carrier, Portugal gave way in the early 17th century to English and Dutch merchant fleets. Portugal concentrated on bringing slaves to its plantations in Brazil.

In the late 17th century, immigration indentured servants declined as economic conditions in England improved, the advantages of a permanent work force became clear to Chesapeake and Carolina plantation owners, and African slaves became the most common form of agricultural labor in the southern colonies. The Atlantic slave trade was at its height in the 18th century, and English ships carried the most slaves.

Although there is disagreement about how many Africans crossed the Atlantic (estimates vary from between 9 and 11 million

Approximate Prices for Various Items in the Middle Colonies during the French and Indian War

Item	Price (in local currency)		
Adult male slave	\$63.39		
Beef (per lb)	\$0.02		
Butter (per lb)	\$0.07		
Corn (per bushel)	\$0.27		
Pork (per lb)	\$0.06		
Rum (per gallon)	\$1.00		
Salt (per bushel)	\$0.80		
Sugar (per lb)	\$0.09		
Wheat (per bushel)	\$0.58		

people), there is agreement that the largest share (41 percent) went to Brazil and many (29 percent) went to the British West Indies, and that only a small proportion (3 to 4.5 percent) went to the mainland colonies of British North America. Chesapeake Bay, where Virginia planters were notorious for purchasing just a few slaves at a time, represented the last stop for slave ships that had encountered disappointing markets in the West Indies.

Although the Atlantic slave trade was one of Britain's major enterprises, the role of colonial Americans appears to have been a minor one. There are numerous reasons for this. Success in the Atlantic slave trade depended on many factors, of which luck was not the least. Shipping, supplies, sailors, and trade goods had to be secured at reasonable rates. African markets had to offer a plentiful supply of slaves and food from recent harvests to feed them. Crowded conditions and lengthy passages affected slaves, sailors, and profits. How many people died on the voyages is still debated but the 12 percent estimate that seems likely pales before the one in three Africans who died between being captured and actually boarding a ship. A similar death rate was likely once ashore in America. Some slave ships carried physicians to identify and prevent sick Africans from boarding.

Slave ships of all nations were attractive prizes. Thus, the first Africans in Virginia arrived aboard Dutch privateers that had taken them off Portuguese slavers out of Angola. Besides the danger of attack from other vessels and assaults by Africans against ships in port, slave uprisings were frequent enough that some ships were outfitted with defensive barricades on the forecastle and quarterdeck.

Finally, there was the issue of market timing. Chesapeake Bay plantation owners preferred to purchase slaves when tobacco was planted or harvested (spring and late summer). The longer planting, growing, and harvesting season of rice meant that Carolina planters needed labor from the spring through early fall months. Even arrival in the right months was no guarantee that slaves aboard ship would be purchased by planters ashore. The slave trade remained a risky business.

Given the above variables, most colonial merchants preferred less hazardous enterprises, leaving the slave trade to British merchants. Some Americans, mostly based at Newport, Rhode Island, did engage in the Atlantic slave trade. The limited ownership of slaving vessels does not reflect the complete role of colonists in the slave trade, however. Given the popularity of colonial ships with British merchants, it was inevitable that a number of these would end up in the slave trade. For example, of ships built in Virginia, about one-quarter traded between Virginia and Britain, one-fifth carried cargoes between Britain and West Indian ports, and vessels in the third largest category, one-eighth, were in the slave trade.

As with most 18th-century merchant ships used for a variety of trades, capacity and economical operation, not speed, were the critical factors. The few special requirements of a slave ship such as awnings to provide shade on the African coast, temporary slave



Nineteenth-century etching showing slaves from Guinea, who arrived at Jamestown, Virginia, in a Dutch privateer in August 1619. (The Granger Collection)

decks, air vents for circulation below, large cooking facilities, and even barricades to control slaves, could be easily fitted to merchant ships. Thus, the all-purpose 18th-century vessel might be a slaver on one passage and a tobacco ship on the next. This would change drastically in the early 19th century as British warships sought to capture vessels engaged in the now-illegal slave trade. Slave ships became specialized vessels that sacrificed everything, including seaworthiness, for the speed necessary to escape pursuers. Many of these speedy ships would be built along Chesapeake Bay.

Thus, although colonial Americans were minor participants in the management of the Atlantic slave trade, they were actively engaged as suppliers of slave ships and purchasers of slaves. Without the Atlantic slave trade, the tobacco and rice plantations of the southern colonies would not have been possible.

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See also

Slavery; Triangular Trade

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Smallpox

A systemic viral disease that occurs in two forms: variola major, which carries 25 percent mortality, and variola minor, with a 1 percent mortality. The disease is caused by an orthopoxvirus. This DNA based organism is the largest virus that infects animals. The virus initially multiplies in the bloodstream before infecting internal organs, especially the lungs, liver, and spleen. About 12 days after exposure there is a secondary viremia at which time the organism infects the skin causing a rash that develops into vesicles after two to three days. Fluid from either infected lungs or from weeping vesicles carries viral particles and can spread the infection, although human-to-human transmission is usually by inhalation of infected airborne fluids. The disease is relatively contagious, with one drop of pulmonary secretion typically carrying 1,000 or more viral particles than are needed to cause an infection, although a carrier is typically infectious for only three to four days.

There is no treatment for an established infection, however smallpox was the first disease successfully prevented by creating immunity in potential hosts. For centuries the Chinese and later the Turks intentionally exposed susceptible people to infectious material from patients suffering from mild forms of smallpox. This "variolation" or "buying the pox" carried a mortality of some 1–10 percent but conferred permanent immunity. In 1796, English physician Edward Jenner proved that exposure to cowpox (Vaccinia) was almost universally safe and, in 99 percent of cases, conferred lasting immunity to the genetically related smallpox virus.

Smallpox has played an intentional and an unintentional military role over the centuries. A probable smallpox epidemic in Rome in AD 165 cost the city one-third of its population. Crusaders brought the disease to Western Europe on their return from the Levant. A combination of smallpox, influenza, and measles reduced the native population of the central Mexican plateau by 90 percent in less than five generations and made the military and cultural conquest of the Aztec and Inca Empires by the Spanish possible. In North America in 1763, the British commander in chief, Major General Jeffery Amherst, attempted to use smallpox as a weapon by ordering that infected blankets be distributed to Native Americans during Pontiac's Rebellion.

In 1958, smallpox was still killing two million people a year and the Soviet Union asked the World Health Organization to sponsor a world wide program to eradicate the disease. The program was started in 1967, and the last naturally occurring case of smallpox was documented in Somalia in 1977, making smallpox the first disease intentionally eradicated. Samples of the virus have been maintained at the Center for Communicable Disease in Atlanta and at the Russian State Research Center of Virology and Biotechnology (Vector) in Siberia, presumably for scientific research. The risk that smallpox will reappear as a bio-weapon has resulted in vaccination programs for the military and for health care providers and to discussions of widespread civilian vaccination.

JACK McCallum



Contemporary woodcut of Native Americans suffering from smallpox in colonial Massachusetts during the 1600s. Smallpox, influenza, and measles, for which they had no immunity, wiped out large portions of the native population of North America. (North Wind Picture Archives)

See also

Columbian Exchange; Military and Naval Medicine; Sickness and Mortality in Colonial America

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Smith, John

Born: January 1580 Died: June 21, 1631

English explorer, soldier, author, and leader of the English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia. Born in Willoughby, Lincolnshire, England, in January 1580, John Smith attended school but left home at age 16 on the death of his father and traveled to the Netherlands. There he joined Dutch forces fighting against the Spaniards. Smith served for a brief time and then returned to England. He improved

his martial skills by studying books on military history and strategy and by learning horsemanship.

In 1600, Smith left England to join the Austrian forces under Archduke Ferdinand fighting the Turks. Smith attained the rank of captain in the Austrian Army and won accolades for killing three Turkish opponents in tournament combat. Later, he was wounded in battle in Transylvania, left for dead, and captured by the Turks, who enslaved him. Smith killed his master, escaped from the Ottoman Empire, and eventually made his way back to England in 1603.

Smith sailed to America in 1606 with the English expedition to Chesapeake Bay, under the auspices of the joint stock venture known as the London Company. The company appointed him as resident councilor; however, other leaders in the fledgling colony of Virginia feared Smith's domineering personality and prevented him from exercising much authority. When the colony ran into difficulty, however, they turned to him for leadership. The colonists elected him president in September 1608, a post he held until August 1609.

Recognizing the colony's weakness and the threat posed by the Powhatan Confederacy, Smith placed the colony on a military footing. He organized the settlers into companies, drilled them weekly,



English soldier and adventurer Captain John Smith helped to found the Virginia colony at Jamestown in 1607. His bold and vigorous leadership played a crucial role in the settlement's survival. (Library of Congress)

and assigned them various duties such as raising crops and strengthening Jamestown's defenses. One of his favorite mantras was, "He who does not work will not eat." To protect the colony and enable the settlers to procure needed supplies from the natives, Smith adopted a confrontational policy toward the Powhatans. Smith's stance was designed to keep the Powhatans in awe of the English without, however, provoking a full-scale war.

In December 1607, the Powhatans captured Smith in an ambush. Chief Powhatan, the leader of the confederacy, sentenced him to death. In what was probably a ritual intended to impress Smith and win better treatment from him, Powhatan's daughter, Pocahontas, intervened to prevent Smith's execution and win his release.

Smith was not intimidated, however, and continued his tough policies. He used threats to obtain food from the Powhatans. And when he met resistance, he confiscated corn, burned houses, killed natives, and took others hostage to ensure that his demands were met. On one such expedition in January 1609, a battle nearly erupted when Smith believed Opechancanough's Pamunkey warriors were poised to attack. Smith seized Opechancanough and threatened him with a pistol, thereby averting a crisis. Relations between the English and the natives improved after this confrontation. When Smith learned that settlers at outlying posts frequently were abusing the natives, Smith ordered the colonists to behave in a more conciliatory manner, so as not to provoke a war. His orders were ignored.

In September 1609, Smith was badly injured in a gunpowder explosion and subsequently returned to England. Although he did not return to Virginia, Smith received much credit for his work in establishing the colony. He would later journey to New England as an explorer for the Plymouth Company. In England, Smith wrote and published extensively about his experiences in North America. Perhaps the most famous of his works was *The General Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (1624). Smith remained an ardent promoter of colonization until his death in London on June 21, 1631.

IIM PIECUCH

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, First; Jamestown; Opechancanough; Pamunkeys; Pocahontas; Powhatan (Wahunsonacock); Powhatan Confederacy; Powhatans; Virginia

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Smuggling

Smuggling is the importation or exportation of goods in violation of customs laws. Smuggling in colonial North America was endemic. All colonial powers and their nationals either engaged in smuggling or spent enormous sums of time and/or money combating smuggling. All manner of goods were smuggled into the colonies. Smuggled items included tobacco, molasses, furs, sugar, manufactured goods, assorted luxury items, naval stores, and weapons.

The prime reason for smuggling goods was to turn a larger profit. The colonial mercantile system imposed heavy duties and a multitude of restrictions on trade between colonies and the mother land and other nations. Thus, traders wishing to maximize profits smuggled goods past customs officials. Although such activity could be risky, smugglers believed the vast increase in profits justified the practice.

Mercantile restrictions on trade imposed by imperial governments varied from nation to nation. British law prohibited the importation and exportation of any foreign goods into colonial ports on non-British ships. Non-British ships found in port could be confiscated and, along with their cargo, sold. The 1766 Navigation Act opened special free ports in the colonies in which foreign ships could buy British goods with bullion or local produce. However, foreign merchants could not import non-British goods. British ships could transport and sell foreign goods but had to pay a duty. In addition, British ships trading in colonial ports were barred from importing foreign produce or exporting British produce to foreign nations without paying a duty.

The commonly held perception of smuggling is one of the clandestine, off-loading of cargo in the dead of night off shore into row boats. However, a more common ruse was simple lying. Captains would simply tell British customs officials that they were en route

to a British port when in fact they were destined for a foreign port to sell their cargo.

Spanish trading regulations were more stringent. The Spanish government simply prohibited all imports and exports on any ship unless it was part of state-sanctioned "flotas." In addition, laws prescribed that only certain ports were able to engage in maritime trade and in those ports only certain "royal" merchants were allowed to take part in colonial trade.

Spanish merchant fleets could be infrequent and unreliable. If goods were late, damaged, or a shortage of a commodity developed, colonials had no official remedy other than to wait for the next "flota." An unofficial remedy was to allow goods to be brought into port on foreign ships or if nearby overland, from a foreign colony. These methods not only violated Spanish trade regulations but were in direct contravention of many international treaties. Nonetheless, colonial officials either looked the other way or encouraged such trade to procure needed items for the economic well-being of the colony.

French strictures mirrored those of Spain. The French government prohibited any trade with foreign merchants, with the notable exception of slaves. In 1767, the French opened some "free ports" in the Americas.

Although all nationals of the colonial powers engaged in smuggling, the English were the most widespread smugglers. In particular, colonial New Englanders were especially plentiful in the illicit trade. Smugglers did not discriminate. More often than not the smuggler would sneak goods into their own nation's colonies. Another complication for colonial customs officials was the fact that many legitimate licensed merchants engaged in smuggling as well as their legal trading operations.

Smuggling was used as a weapon against other colonial powers. As the Spanish Empire underwent decline, it became especially vulnerable to smuggling activities undertaken by English, French, and Dutch nationals. During the contentious 1700s, the powerful British Navy often protected English nationals engaged in smuggling. This helped deprive the Spanish Crown of much needed revenue to help support Spanish military efforts. In addition, Spanish merchants became reluctant to invest in trade between their American colonies and the homeland because of the depredations of privateers. When Spanish colonial merchants shipped goods, more often than not it was easier, safer, and cheaper to use shippers from England, North America, or a neutral nation. The effects of war and smuggling certainly contributed to the collapse of the Spanish Empire in the Americas.

Smuggling was a key contributor to the American Revolution. American merchants in British North America led many of the protests against the British Crown's attempts to assert control over colonial trade through the imposition of trade regulations. One of the chief reactions to regulations was smuggling, by many of the leading merchants of North America. British colonial merchants had long circumvented the numerous trade regulations passed by

Parliament in London. London imposed a series of Navigation Acts beginning in the 1650s that prohibited colonists from obtaining goods directly from other European powers unless shipped by English merchants through English ports and paying duties on goods arriving in port.

These goods, however, were easily obtained by smuggling them past customs officials in colonial ports. Or, they could be unloaded from ships off shore in North America onto ships owned by North American colonial merchants or independent smugglers. After reaching shore the goods were sold to consumers or merchants without paying import duties. The English government was losing valuable revenues, and merchants in London and other English ports complained bitterly that they too were losing great amounts of revenue. Complicating English attempts to exercise control over smuggling was the fact that during the numerous colonial wars the English government encouraged and protected smugglers.

The English used smuggling as a weapon to weaken their opponent's economic ability to wage war. Once hostilities ceased, it was hard to rein in English traders who were accustomed to smuggling goods. North American smugglers easily turned their tactics and energies to evading English customs authorities.

The profits to be earned in this activity during wartime were often enormous. Thus, asking smugglers to turn "legitimate" and abide by restrictive measures and pay import duties was more than most smugglers were willing to do.

The more laws passed by Parliament to regulate trade and collect duties, the more resentful colonial merchants became. These irate merchants turned more and more to smuggling as time wore on. Merchant protestations over import duties sometimes carried over into protesting any sort of taxation and permeated colonial society, as was the case in the 1760s and 1770s.

RICK DYSON

See also

Admiralty Law; Mercantilism; Navigation Acts; Piracy; Privateering

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Snowshoes, Battle on Event Date: March 13, 1758

Winter battle of the French and Indian War (1754–1763) between irregular forces along the Lake Champlain corridor, at Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) on March 13, 1758. The Battle on Snowshoes resulted in a rare, devastating defeat for Rogers's Rangers. It also marked the temporary end of British efforts to reverse the loss of Fort William Henry (New York) the year before.

Following the destruction of Fort William Henry, Major Robert Rogers, leading His Majesty's Independent Company of American Rangers, developed a plan to take by surprise French Fort St. Frédéric. The English hoped that success here would isolate the French garrison at Fort Carillon (later Fort Ticonderoga), bringing Lake George under British control. This might also help the English gain a foothold on Lake Champlain. The British commander in chief in North America, Captain General John Campbell, Lord Loudoun, approved the plan after canceling his own large-scale winter offensive. However, Lieutenant Colonel William Haviland, commanding Fort Edward, where the rangers were based, disclosed the secret operation to the whole garrison. After a desertion and the capture of a servant by a French and allied native raiding party, Rogers believed the plan had been seriously compromised. Haviland's response was to reduce substantially the size of the 400-man force Rogers had hoped to employ.

Rogers left Fort Edward with 183 men on March 10, 1758, marching north along Lake George. Passing the ruins of Fort William Henry and pausing to further investigate a supposed enemy encampment, the rangers reached a point very near Fort Carillon. Rogers abandoned his more ambitious plans of taking Fort St. Frédéric and, on March 13, 1758, laid an ambush for the morning patrol leaving Fort Carillon.

Sighting a party of 96 Frenchmen, Canadians, and Nipissing, Iroquois, and Abenaki warriors, the rangers launched the ambush at the sound of Rogers's signal gun. The rangers believed that they brought down about 40 men, but the fleeing survivors broke through the rangers' blocking force. One Ranger company pursued, but then stumbled into an ambush by about 250 French and natives. The French had indeed been warned, and the party the rangers had first sighted was only the advance guard of a much larger force.

The rangers fell back, losing about 50 men in the retreat until reaching defensible ground. The French forces then outflanked the rangers' position, and Rogers lost another 50 to 60 men during a further retreat. Many of the rangers abandoned their new green uniform coats, perfect for summer forest warfare but now all too visible against the snow. They fought on in shirt sleeves, cold but better camouflaged.

One of Rogers's flank parties was surrounded and forced to surrender on terms of personal safety and quick repatriation. The surrender terms were not honored, however. Many of the captured were executed or taken to Canada. At the same time, the rangers' ill-manned front collapsed when the French and native warriors, determined to finish the battle by dark, again attacked.

Rogers ordered the remaining rangers to scatter into the gathering dusk. During the evening, French forces captured or killed more rangers. Others became lost in the snow-filled woods.

The surviving rangers regrouped around their supply sleds and returned to Fort Edward. Their defeat and casualties stunned the garrison. Some 130 rangers died in the battle. French and Native American casualties were disputed, but were probably only on the order of 20 to 40, killed and wounded. The French briefly believed Rogers to have been among the dead, as his coat was found on the battlefield. As disheartening as the defeat was, the rangers recovered from this unaccustomed setback to serve capably and famously in future British operations.

GRANT WELLER

See also

Abenakis; Campbell, John, Earl of Loudoun; Fort Edward (New York); Fort Ticonderoga (New York); Fort William Henry (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Iroquois; Lake Champlain; Lake George; Rangers; Rogers, Robert

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Sokokis

Native American people belonging to the larger Abenaki Nation. The Sokokis' western Abenaki territory covered an area in the northern Connecticut River Valley, roughly between present-day Northfield, Massachusetts, and Bellows Falls, Vermont. Before European contact and a series of epidemics in the 16th century, there were 20,000 eastern, 10,000 western, and 10,000 Canadian Maritime Abenakis. In the decade prior to English settlement of Massachusetts in 1620, three epidemics killed 75 percent of the eastern Abenaki. The Sokokis, who were more isolated, lost about half of their original population of 10,000 people. They regained some of this by absorbing southern New England Algonquins, but by the time of the American Revolutionary War, the Abenakis numbered little more than 1,000 people.

Like other Abenakis, the Sokokis grew corn, beans, and squash. They also hunted, fished, and gathered. Where the soil was poor, they used fish to enrich it. They lived in oval longhouses or wigwams, depending on the season. Until 1670, all Abenakis organized at the tribal level. After that time, they established the Abenaki Confederacy in response to ongoing war with the English and the Iroquois.

732 Sons of Liberty

The Abenaki-French fur trade began in 1604, but it faded because of perennial French-English disputes. The Abenakis first encountered the English at the Kennebec River in Maine in 1607, at which time they counted the Pemaquid as their allies. Other Sokoki allies included the Mahicans and the neighboring Pennacooks, who were the first to deal with the English extensively.

When the Mohawk attacked the Sokoki in 1629, the French and English ignored Sokoki-Pennacook pleas for help. Another outbreak of smallpox hit New England in 1633–1634, further reducing Sokoki numbers. By 1637 the Sokokis possessed firearms and demonstrated a willingness to trade. However, most traders did not wish to encounter the Mohawks, who were still on Sokoki territory.

As it turned out, the Sokokis found themselves tied to the French. The French had better resources, and the English, for their part, did not trust New France's native allies. In 1642, the Sokokis allied with the Mohawks and Mahicans against the Montagnais in an effort to monopolize trade with the French.

In 1650, the French and Sokokis formed an abortive alliance against the English-allied Mohawks. They also had sought alliance with other New England natives. The Mohawks fought additional wars with the Sokokis until 1658, by which time the English had taken Port Royal and isolated the Sokokis from the French. By 1670, because of the ongoing French/Sokoki–English/Mohawk conflicts, most Sokokis were refugees under French protection living along the St. Lawrence River. The Abenakis migrated to and from Canada in the 18th century before finally settling on a reserve in northern Maine at century's end. The Sokokis fought on the French side against the English during the imperial wars of the 18th century, participating in the 1704 attack on Deerfield, Massachusetts.

JOHN H. BARNHILL

See also

Abenakis; Deerfield, Massachusetts, Attack on; Iroquois; Mahican; Mohawks; Pennacooks; Port Royal (Nova Scotia)

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Sons of Liberty

Political protest group among British colonists that formed out of the popular backlash to the Stamp Act (1765). The Sons of Liberty originated with the Loyal Nine, a Boston social group that organized demonstrations in that city against royal policies. Inspired by their example, similar groups appeared from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to Charles Town (present-day Charleston), South Car-



British cartoon showing a club-wielding mob of "liberty men" forcing a Virginia Loyalist to sign a document. To the side, a man is being led toward a gallows, from which hang a sack of feathers and a barrel of tar. (Library of Congress)

olina, communicating with each other and coordinating Stamp Act resistance until its repeal in 1766.

Colonel Isaac Barré, a Whig member of Parliament who argued against colonial taxation, dubbed the dissenting colonists the "Sons of Liberty." The Loyal Nine readily adopted the sobriquet as their own in December 1765, and they encouraged other Stamp Act resistance clubs to identify themselves as such.

The methods of the Sons of Liberty were typical of mob actions in 17th- and 18th-century America. These included boisterous public demonstrations, the intimidation and assault of royal officials and political opponents, and the destruction of public and private property. They also spearheaded public ridicule of parliamentary supporters in the form of newspaper attacks.

Many of the Sons of Liberty's protest methods were borrowed from New England's raucous annual "Pope's Day" festivities, which coincided with England's Guy Fawkes Day, celebrated on November 5. Crowds gathered around processions carrying effigies of the pope, which they burned amid general anti-Catholic revelry. During the Stamp Act riots, protesters similarly abused effigies of stamp distributors and assorted royal officials. However, the Sons of Liberty were best known for their practice of tarring and feathering their inveterate enemies. Although the Sons of Liberty were successful in preventing the Stamp Act from being implemented and were largely responsible for its repeal, they did not disband in 1766. Rather, they

remained vigilant and active in the defense of American liberties throughout the pre–American Revolutionary War period.

The term "mob" usually equated with the lowest orders of society in the 18th-century English mind. Nevertheless, in both Britain and, especially, the North American colonies, mobs were composed of a relatively broad cross section of society. John Adams, Patriot and second president of the United States, noted that the Loyal Nine was made up of artisans, merchants, and a ship's captain. The Sons of Liberty also included laborers, professionals, and the gentry, the latter providing the overall leadership. Consequently, the Sons were assiduously disciplined in their approach. On the whole, they did not randomly target individuals, kept violence to a minimum, and very carefully directed property damage.

Excesses did occur, however, prompting Adams to lament in a letter to his wife Abigail, "These tarrings and featherings, this breaking open Houses by rude and insolent Rabbles, in Resentment for private Wrongs or in pursuance of private Prejudices and Passions, must be discountenanced." Some individuals certainly camouflaged their pursuit of personal agendas in the cloak of the Sons of Liberty's protest activities. Yet the Sons of Liberty as a whole committed themselves to popular mobilization against British policies that had been deemed tyrannical. By propagating libertarian principles on an intercolonial scale, the Sons of Liberty contributed to the politicization of the American populace so as to make broad support for the American Revolution possible.

JOHN HOWARD SMITH

See also

Boston Massacre; Boston Tea Party; *Gaspeé*, Burning of the; Golden Hill, Battle of; Stamp Act; Townshend Acts

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Soto, Hernando de

Born: ca. 1496 Died: May 21, 1542

Spanish explorer and conquistador, credited with having discovered the Mississippi River. Hernando de Soto was born about 1496 in Jerez de los Caballeros, Badajoz, Spain, and led a Spanish military expedition (entrada) into what is now the southeastern United States from 1539 to 1542. His expedition firmly established Spain's early claim to the region and devastated many of the Native American populations that inhabited it. De Soto had earlier been one of Francisco Pizarro's lieutenants during Pizarro's conquest of the Incan Empire. After he had been appointed governor of Cuba in 1535, de Soto undertook the conquest of Florida at his own expense in hopes of surpassing the success of Pizarro's exploits and gaining additional wealth and fame.



Spanish conquistador Hernando de Soto explored the southern part of North America. He is credited with being the first European to discover the Mississippi River. (Library of Congress)

On May 30, 1539, de Soto's force of 1,000 men and a few hundred horses and a herd of swine landed at Tampa Bay, Florida. The Spanish then headed north into the interior Southeast. Over the next three years, de Soto's men were almost constantly fighting because of their brutal treatment of the natives they encountered. Usually, de Soto followed the tactics of seizing the leader whenever he met a new group of natives. Holding their leader hostage, de Soto would then force the natives to provide him with bearers to carry the expedition's supplies. He also took whatever food supplies he needed. Often, the Spaniards left a region physically devastated. They ravaged women, consumed scarce food supplies, tainted water with human and animal wastes, and killed many native warriors. De Soto's brutality provoked one of the largest native-European battles in North America when the Choctaws attacked the Spaniards at Mabila on October 18, 1540.

In 1541, de Soto's expedition traveled through the modern-day states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, Mississippi, Tennessee, and parts of Texas. During his trek westward and then back east, de Soto is believed to have "discovered" the Mississippi River. De Soto was stricken with a fever and died on May 21,

1542, somewhere along the Mississippi River in present-day Louisiana. By this time, after almost three years of near-constant hostilities, his force was only a shattered remnant of its former self. De Soto's successor, Luis de Moscoso de Alvarado, buried his chief's body in the Mississippi River so that local natives would not find it and learn that the Spanish had lost their leader. The expedition then floated down the Mississippi on makeshift rafts while under constant native attack. The survivors finally made it to Mexico.

DIXIE RAY HAGGARD

See also

Captivity of Indians by Europeans; Columbian Exchange; Florida; Mabila, Battle of

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South Carolina

Carolina was chartered as a proprietary colony in 1663, the first of the Restoration colonies in British North America. The first colonists settled in two distinct regions: near Albemarle Sound south of the Virginia border, and at the confluence of the Ashley River and Cooper River, near modern-day Charleston. The colony was originally referred to as "Carolina" and extended roughly from the Virginia border south at least to the Savannah River, if not farther south. In 1719, Carolina was formally split into two colonies, North and South Carolina. South Carolina then became a separate colony under direct royal control. North Carolina remained a proprietary colony until 1729.

Carolina's first system of government included an expansive nobility and encouraged large land grants to wealthy individuals. Edicts of religious toleration and grants of "headrights" to self-financed immigrants encouraged English subjects to move into the region. The early Carolina economy revolved around the fur trade, with thousands of deerskins traded by Native American hunters for export every year. The area did not develop a staple crop until the introduction of rice in the 1690s, although large cattle plantations supplemented the fur trade. Once rice became a common commodity in the colony, the development of large plantations relying on African slave labor became increasingly common, particularly in the southern reaches of the colony.

As colonists in the Charles Town (present-day Charleston) region of Carolina pushed westward, conflict with neighboring Native Americans became increasingly common. This conflict was

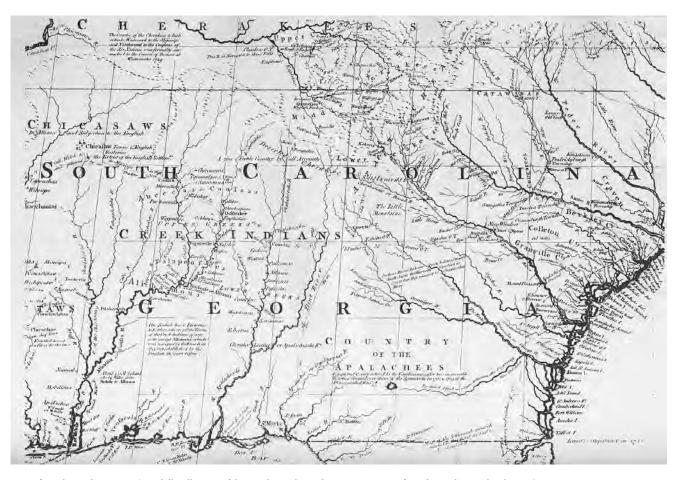
exacerbated by the colony's burgeoning Native American slave trade. From 1670 to 1715, between 30,000 and 50,000 native slaves were sold in the Charleston market. Colonial slave traders rarely captured slaves themselves. Typically, they relied on trading relationships with friendly tribes to supply the market. By manipulating tribal rivalries and the desire of native populations for colonial trade goods, English colonists profited handsomely from tribal conflict. In most ways, the Carolina Native American slave trade resembled the African slave trade. It relied on predatory raids by coastal tribes armed with European weapons, who brought thousands of enemy captives into Charleston. These slaves were primarily sent to the West Indies, although a significant number were shipped to other English colonies on the continent. A few were maintained in South Carolina for plantation labor. Carolina was the only English colony to actively pursue the native slave trade on a long-term basis.

The earliest native slave trading in Carolina relied on the Westo Nation, which was given a monopoly charter by the proprietors of the colony in 1670. The first 10 years of the trade sent profits back to the proprietors in London but did little for the colonists in Carolina beyond angering regional Native Americans. In 1680, colonists armed a group of Shawnees who had recently moved to the area and offered them extensive trade goods if they conquered and enslaved the Westos. By 1683, the Westos had been thoroughly destroyed by the aggressive Shawnees, and with their destruction, the proprietary monopoly dissolved.

After the destruction of the Westos, Carolina slave merchants armed the coastal Savannah natives, who replaced the Westos in the slave economy and ranged hundreds of miles on slave raids into the interior and along the Florida coastline. When the Savannahs decided that they had become too dependent on the slave trade, they decided to end their relationship with the Carolina slave merchants and migrate north. In response, Carolinians offered gifts and bounties to the Catawba tribe to annihilate the Savannahs, continuing the pattern of internecine tribal warfare promoted by English colonists.

When Tuscarora warriors attacked Carolina settlements in the Albermarle Sound region in 1711, sparking the Tuscarora War (1711–1713), colonial militia forces from the Charleston region assisted in the counterattack. Throughout the conflict, slave traders from South Carolina conducted raids on Tuscarora settlements, almost always relying on help from native allies to bolster their forces. The most helpful allies to the Carolina colonists during the war were the Yamasees. But tensions between the native allies and the Carolinians led to a falling out with the Yamasees, who deserted with their captives and returned home.

By 1715, the Yamasees were heavily in debt to Carolina merchants, who seized a number of women and children as slaves in payment of the debt. The Yamasees organized a loose confederation of regional tribes and attacked English settlements in the Charleston region, sparking the Yamasee War (1715–1717), which killed hundreds of white colonists. In traditional fashion, the Carolina settlers looked to a local native tribe, the Cherokees, for assis-



Map of South Carolina, 1755. (Kendall Collection of the South Carolina Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC)

tance in facing the superior numbers of the Yamasee confederation. In exchange for trade goods and weapons, the Cherokees entered the fight. Gradually the Yamasees were pushed back into Florida, where they were virtually annihilated.

Carolina was also affected by the sporadic colonial wars fought in the New World by European powers. In particular, Queen Anne's War (1702-1713) demonstrated the dangers faced by Carolina as the southernmost English colony, bordered by Spanish Florida. The war was an outgrowth of a simultaneous European war, the War of the Spanish Succession. On September 10, 1702, the colonial legislature opted to invade Florida, hoping to capture St. Augustine. The assault fared poorly, as 500 colonial militiamen and Chickasaw warriors failed to capture the fort there. They did, however, burn the town of St. Augustine. Minor skirmishes followed in 1703, and in 1704, Gov. James Moore Jr. led another invasion that threatened French Louisiana. It was turned back, however, by a mixed force of French and Spanish troops and Choctaw allies. In 1708, a combined French and Spanish expedition attacked Charleston but failed to take the town. The final five years of the war in the region were characterized by occasional skirmishes.

During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), South Carolina colonists fought the Cherokees over trading rights and the question

of sovereignty. In 1755, the Cherokees recognized the English king as their sovereign, and supplied warriors for the western frontier of Virginia. However, when they were not paid for their services, they deserted and plundered colonial settlements while returning home. A series of skirmishes between the Cherokees and South Carolina settlers ensued, culminating in a 1759 invasion of Cherokee lands by the South Carolina Militia. In 1760, Cherokee warriors captured Fort Loudoun, the largest English outpost on Cherokee land. In 1761, a mixed force of British regulars and local militia targeted villages and food supplies. The Cherokees were now forced to submit once more to English authority.

From 1763 to 1775, the English government actively courted the Cherokees to serve as a check against the radical designs of American patriots. During the American Revolutionary War, the Cherokees provided warriors for the British cause. More battles of the American Revolutionary War were fought in South Carolina than in any other state. Indeed, it was the site of some of the most brutal fighting between Patriots and Loyalists. It was also the scene of the pivotal battles of Charleston (May 12, 1780), Camden (August 16, 1780), Kings Mountain (October 7, 1780), and Cowpens (January 17, 1781).

See also

Charles Town (South Carolina); Charles Town, Attack on; Cherokees; Cherokee War; Florida; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Moore, James; Moore, James, Jr.; Native American Trade; North Carolina; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Slavery; Slave Trade and the American Colonies; St. Augustine; Tuscarora War; Westo; Yamasees; Yamasee War

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Spain

For three centuries from the voyages of Christopher Columbus at the end of the 15th century, Spain possessed the world's most extensive overseas empire. For much of this period, Spain also maintained a powerful navy, and its army was among the best trained and most feared of those of European states. Spain's early success in empire building, however, brought confrontation with other states that also sought to carve out overseas empires in the Americas and Asia. Initially, Spain's chief rival was Portugal, but other antagonists soon appeared in the English, the Dutch, and the French.

By 1500, Spain was well positioned to lead European expansion in the New World. Geographically, it was closer to the New World than any other colonial power, save Portugal. It also had a long commercial and seafaring tradition based on extensive trading with Africa, the islands of the Mediterranean, and with other European states. In addition, Spain had resolved its internal divisions and emerged as a unified state ready to assume foreign challenges.

In 1492, Spanish troops under King Ferdinand of Aragon and his wife Queen Isabella of Castile conquered the Kingdom of Granada, ending centuries of Moorish (Muslim) power on the Iberian Peninsula. That same year Genoese mariner Christopher Columbus secured funding from Ferdinand and Isabella for a voyage westward to reach Asia. The voyages of exploration were fueled by the desire of Spanish leaders to secure a direct trade with China and other Asian markets without having to go through Muslim middlemen. Because an earlier treaty with Portugal prohibited Spanish competition on the southerly route to Asia around Africa, Spanish leaders sought a western route.

Prior to its unification, Spain had been a handful of small states, so there was little sense of a Spanish identity. That identity came through the Catholic Church. To be Spanish was to be Catholic. Missionary zeal and the desire to see Catholicism triumph everywhere were both motives and ready justifications for Spain's expansionary impulses.



Contemporary illustration showing the troops of Hernán Cortés assaulting Tenochtitlán. (Wildside Press)

In 1492, Columbus "discovered" America and initiated Spanish colonization of the Americas. Spain first secured the Caribbean islands. Spaniards settled Hispaniola in the early 1500s; from there, Juan Ponce de León acquired Puerto Rico and Diego Velásquez took Cuba. Major Spanish settlements on these islands followed. Spanish rule was hardly benign, for the settlers enslaved the native populations, which in any case quickly succumbed to European diseases against which they had no immunity.

In 1512, Vasco Núñez de Balboa established the first Spanish settlement on the mainland, at Darién in Panama. Numerous small expeditions of Spanish explorers soon fanned out throughout the New World, in the process opening up vast new territories to exploitation and colonization. These warrior-explorers were known as conquistadors. More concerned with the quest for riches than with colonization or religious conversion, their appetites were fueled by the discovery of rich deposits of gold and silver.

Although the native populations vastly outnumbered the conquistadors, success was made possible by European firearms and horses, both of which the natives had never before seen. The Spaniards were also fortunate in encountering the Aztec and Inca Empires when they were already in decline. Internal dissension and alliances with tribes that had been enslaved by the Aztecs and Incas also aided the Spanish, as did European diseases such as smallpox from which the natives had no immunity.

Perhaps the most successful of the conquistadors was Hernán Cortés. During 1519–1521, allying himself with American Indians opposed to the Aztecs, he led a relatively small force in the defeat of the once powerful Aztec Empire, bringing what became modern Mexico under Spanish control. To the south, Francisco Pizarro

destroyed the Inca Empire in what became Peru. Rumors of fabled cities of gold (Quivira and Cibola in North America and El Dorado in South America) led to a series of other expeditions. Although unsuccessful in finding riches, they did bring Spain considerable additional territorial claims.

The gold and silver of America became the chief source of Spanish wealth and power. Soon the Spaniards were shipping vast amounts of these precious metals across the Atlantic (one source estimates this trade from 1500 to 1650 at 181 tons of gold and 16,000 tons of silver). Over reliance on this mineral wealth, the failure to build an infrastructure in Spain itself, and overly ambitious government spending on maintaining Spain's international position and a vast Catholic military crusade all contributed in the long run to the ruin of Spain. Local industry declined as Spain used its wealth to buy finished goods from abroad. Manual work was held to be a sign of inferior social status and catastrophic inflation set in.

Increasingly the Spanish economy became dependent on the regular arrival of the treasure ships. At the same time, however, that economic lifeline came under attack from state-sponsored piracy encouraged by the Dutch, French, and above all, English governments.

The Spanish monarchy ignored the signs that pointed to the need for reform, and in the short run all seemed well. Indeed, the 16th and 17th centuries came to be known in Spanish history as the *Siglo de Oro* (Golden Age). Spain's vast empire included much of the Americas and extended to the Philippines in Asia.

At the same time that Spanish explorers were creating a vast overseas empire, Spain itself had embarked on a great military effort in Europe. The motivations here were to defend Europe against the threat posed by the Ottoman Turks, but also to maintain and expand Spanish influence throughout the continent and above all to crush the Protestantism espoused by Martin Luther in Germany. King Charles I (1516–1556; Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, 1519–1556) was as near a universal monarch as Europe had seen in a long time or would see again until Napoleon. In 1525, in a decisive encounter, Charles's armies defeated French forces in Italy at Pavia, even taking as prisoner French king Francis I. Charles also waged extensive warfare with the Protestant princes of Germany, but was unable to crush them and indeed was obliged to conclude peace with them in 1555 at Augsburg.

Disheartened by his efforts, Charles abdicated his many crowns and retired to a monastery in 1556. His and Spain's vast crusade reached its peak under Charles's son and successor, King Philip II (1556–1598). With religious zeal and grim persistence, Philip poured all his nation's resources into the vast religious enterprise of advancing the Catholic faith. At first he enjoyed success, defeating the Turks at sea in the Battle of Lepanto in the eastern Mediterranean in 1571, but Philip experienced a major failure in his efforts to subdue England.

War with England had come about in consequence of a revolt in the Netherlands against Spanish rule. Queen Elizabeth I of England (1558–1603) provided assistance to the Protestant Dutch—at first



Vasco Núñez de Balboa wades into the Pacific Ocean in 1513, claiming it for King Ferdinand V of Castile. Nineteenth-century drawing by H. Vogel. (Ridpath, John Clark, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

covertly and then openly in the form of an expeditionary force—while at the same time English freebooters such as Sir Francis Drake attacked Spanish treasure ships on the high seas. Determined to crush England, Philip in 1588 sent his powerful Armada to the English Channel, only to meet humiliating defeat in the form of English warships and a great storm (the "Protestant Wind").

This rebuff at the hands of the English did not at the time seem seriously to weaken Spanish power, but in retrospect it was a major turning point that marked the beginning of the rise of England as a major international force. Spanish troops also invaded France in an unsuccessful effort to prevent Henry of Navarre from becoming king. The Netherlands, meanwhile, had become a bloody quagmire. All of this drove the Spanish government to declare bankruptcy in 1596. Finally, in 1609 Spain signed the Twelve Years' Truce with the United Provinces, bringing to a temporary end the fighting in the Netherlands.

The conclusion of the truce provided an opportunity for the Spanish government to get the nation's economic house in order and scale back commitments to meet revenues. Spain needed peace to be able to reform, but it was not to be. In 1618 fighting again broke out in Europe, producing the conflagration known as the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). In 1621, warfare also resumed in the Netherlands.

For a time, it appeared as if the Catholic powers might prevail. Finally, for reasons of sheer realpolitik, France entered the fighting openly on the side of the Protestants and against Spain. The French shattered the seemingly invincible Spanish infantry in the Battle of Rocroi in 1643, ending the long period of Spanish military greatness.

On the seas, the Spanish Navy was unable to resupply adequately the nation's troops in the Netherlands, and Spain was forced to make peace with the Netherlands and recognize its independence. War with France continued even after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 that ended the Thirty Years' War. Not until the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659 was peace with France achieved, but with the Spanish ceding territory to France.

To add to Spain's woes, Portugal rebelled in 1640. Spanish efforts to subdue Portugal failed, and Spain finally recognized its independence in 1688. Lost along with Portugal was Brazil.

In 1700, King Charles II, the unfortunate product of Habsburg inbreeding, died childless and unlamented. During the last year of Charles's sad life, King Louis XIV of France won the commitment that the entire Spanish inheritance would pass to the French king's grandson. Even the ambitious Louis must have hesitated at the prospect, for this decision touched off the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713). Known in English America as Queen Anne's War, it has also been called the first world war, for fighting occurred all over the globe as France and Spain stood against much of the rest of Europe.

The war ended in the Peace of Utrecht of 1713. Bourbon Philip V was confirmed as king of Spain with his American possessions, but Spain was forced to cede considerable possessions in Europe. Britain retained both the island of Minorca and Gibraltar. Spain was also forced to cede to Austria its possession of the Spanish Netherlands.

Although the Bourbon monarchy did bring reform to Spain in the form of centralization, the introduction of mercantilist principles, and the creation of departments of the army and navy, these came too late to reverse completely the decline brought on by generations of neglect. Throughout much of the 18th century, Spain remained closely tied to France—the so-called family compact—even following that nation into war against Britain in the American Revolutionary War.

As noted, the Spanish overseas empire directly impacted developments in Spain itself. Columbus had sailed under the aegis of Castile, and the new lands passed under its control. At first on the mainland, Spain had allowed those conquering the land to control it under royal patent, but within a few years the Crown moved to consolidate its control over the newly acquired lands and remove the conquistadors from ruling positions. By the 1570s all the machinery of government in the colonies was firmly in place. As early as 1503 and the beginning of trade with the West Indies, the government created the Casa di Contractación at Castile. By the 1530s, a new body, the Conseillo de Indias (Council of the Indies) had full executive, judicial, and ecclesiastical authority in the Indies and over the Casa di Contractación. Other institutions came into being to control the movement of the Spanish Army and fleets.

In 1542, the Crown created two viceroyalties. That of Peru with its capital at Lima had authority over all of Spanish South America, save Venezuela, extending north to include Panama. The viceroyalty of New Spain, with its capital at Mexico City, had authority over all Spanish territory north of Panama, as well as the West Indies,

Venezuela, and the Philippine Islands. The two viceroyalties, as the direct representatives of the Spanish sovereign, had wide-ranging civil and military as well as some ecclesiastical powers.

Beneath the viceroyalties, the empire was further divided into *audiencias* (literally "law courts"), a combination of a legislature, cabinet, and court that drafted laws, advised the viceroyalty, and conducted major judicial proceedings. The king appointed the members of the *audiencias*. The governing structure in the colonies was intended solely to safeguard the power and wishes of the government in Spain, which approved all major decisions.

The Catholic Church enjoyed considerable influence in the colonies. The conversion of natives was always held to be a prime motive for Spain's conquests, and priests accompanied the conquistadors and explorers in their travels. Missions soon sprung up throughout the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru.

The Crown rigidly controlled emigration, only allowing Catholics in good standing to settle in the New World. The vast majority of settlers came from the territories of Castile. A number of nobles emigrated to the New World, including many younger sons seeking adventure and wealth denied them by inheritance laws in Spain.

During the initial conquests, the Spanish had enslaved the natives, but the New Laws of 1542–1543 prohibited this, making the natives wards of the Crown. The beneficent attitude of the Crown was, however, to a considerable measure negated by the actions of individual administrators, although many Spaniards attempted to act as advocates for the native peoples. Spanish treatment of the native populations, which has come under considerable condemnation, was in fact outdone by the English treatment of African slaves in the Caribbean. The Spanish much resented the English perpetuation of the so-called black legend. The English held that their own rule was more benign than that of Spain and used it to justify their own acquisition of Spanish territory.

The Spanish Crown also introduced African slavery, although chiefly in the West Indies and in northern South America. With its large tracts of land suitable for settlement and cultivation, Mexico was the primary place of settlement. The number of immigrants grew rapidly and by 1574 were estimated at 160,000 people. Intermarriage between Spaniards and the native population produced a caste known as mestizos. Upper-class Spaniards possessed virtually all of the colonial wealth.

Spanish colonial expansion to the north in the present-day United States came both in the West from New Spain, and along the Gulf Coast and in Florida and the Carolinas. In the West and operating from New Spain, legends of the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola, prompted expeditions northward. In 1539, Franciscan Fray Marcos de Niza reached the Zuni pueblos. The next year Francisco Vásquez de Coronado led another northern expedition, while Hernando de Alarcón proceeded by sea along the West Coast. Coronado reached the Zuni pueblos, and his lieutenants traveled as far as the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River. Coronado then explored present-day northern Texas, Oklahoma, and eastern Kansas before returning south in 1542.

During 1598–1608, Spain established its control over New Mexico. Explorers also traveled into Kansas and up the Pacific Coast of present-day California. In 1535, Cortés attempted to establish a colony in Baja, California, and by the mid-1540s the Spanish had explored as far up the Pacific Coast as Oregon.

In 1680, a revolt of the Pueblos drove the Spanish from New Mexico, although they reestablished their control there in 1696. Meanwhile, the Spanish extended their exploratory efforts into Florida and the Great Plains of present-day New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California.

During 1720–1722, contesting the area with the French, Spain established its control over present-day Texas, and during 1769–1786, small Spanish forces took upper California, including San Diego (1769), Monterey (1770), Los Angeles (1781), and San Francisco (1776). The Spanish established a series of presidios (fortified outposts) and missions run by the Franciscan order.

To the east, in 1521 Juan Ponce de León attempted without success to colonize Florida. During 1526–1528, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón established a colony in the Carolinas, but it was abandoned on his death. That same year, 1528, Pánfilo de Narváez arrived in Florida with colonists from Spain. Trying to reach the area of the Pánuco River, the members of the expedition were shipwrecked, with most dying of hunger or disease or at the hands of the natives.

In 1539, Hernando de Soto arrived in Florida from Spain at the head of a sizable force of 600 men, then proceeded to explore much of what is today the southeastern United States. In 1541 the members of his expedition were the first Europeans to see the Mississippi River. De Soto then traveled as far west as present-day Arkansas and Oklahoma before descending the Arkansas River to the Mississippi. De Soto died in 1542 during the subsequent passage down the Mississippi, although members of his expedition did reach the Pánuco area the next year.

In 1559, the Spanish sent out a large expedition under Tristán de Luna to colonize the Carolinas. Luna established a post at Pensacola and then moved inland, although these colonists were later removed to Pensacola. Efforts to establish a settlement in the Carolinas met with failure and the garrison at Pensacola was also withdrawn. In 1561, King Philip II, faced with numerous previous failures, issued an order forbidding further colonization of Florida. The need for a naval base to protect the Bahama Channel used by the Spanish treasure fleets sailing to Spain, and French efforts beginning in 1564 to establish a Huguenot colony in South Carolina from which they might attack the Spanish ships, prompted Philip to reverse his earlier order. In 1565, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés founded St. Augustine in Florida, hailed today as the oldest city in the United States. Menéndez de Avilés then proceeded to capture the French settlement at Fort Caroline on the St. Johns River, killing its garrison and ending French colonization efforts in the region. During the next decade, Menéndez de Avilés expanded the Spanish settlements in Florida. Although Menéndez de Avilés was successful in securing Florida for Spain, his efforts to the north, which reached as far as present-day Virginia, failed.

Spain's success in colonization in the New World and the flow of gold and silver to the mother country early excited the colonial ambitions of other powers. These and the decline of Spain would bring a steady erosion of Spanish overseas holdings.

Spanish settlements and its trade and treasure fleets early came under attacks mounted by the French, the English, and the Dutch. French corsairs attacked Spanish ships off the Iberian coasts and in the Caribbean, where they also razed Spanish coastal towns. In the mid-16th century, the English Crown encouraged freebooters such as Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins to attack the Spanish treasure fleets and raid Spanish settlements. When England and Spain formally went to war in 1557, this activity intensified, creating considerable economic loss for Spain.

Spain neglected the Lesser Antilles, and in the 17th century the French, the English, and the Dutch moved into that area. The Dutch and the French also contested with the Spanish for control of Brazil, and in 1628 a Dutch fleet captured a large plate fleet sailing from New Spain. England continued to inflict heavy financial losses on Spain in the period, and in 1668 Englishman Sir Henry Morgan captured and looted Portobello in Panama.

In 1655, the English took Jamaica from Spain, retaining it. In the Treaty of Ryswick of 1697, ending the War of the League of Augsburg (King William's War in America), Spain ceded Western Hispaniola (Haiti) to France, where French irregular forces had landed during the war.

The 18th-century wars involving Spain in Europe had immense repercussions in the Americas. British control of the seas made it next to impossible for Spain to protect its colonies or to preserve its monopoly in trade. English, Dutch, and French illicit trade with the Spanish colonies increased. During the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713, known as Queen Anne's War in America), considerable fighting occurred between the allied Spanish and French and the English in both Florida and the West Indies. Among concessions won by the English in the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 ending the war was the asiento (agreement), a 30-year monopoly on slave trading in Spanish America, as well as the right to send one trading ship a year to trade with the Atlantic ports of the Spanish colonies. This proved a license both for expanded English trade and illicit smuggling.

When Philip V sought to overturn provisions of the peace settlement, in 1718 Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Austria concluded the Quadruple Alliance and went to war against Spain. During 1718–1720 fighting took place in both Europe and the Americas, during which Spain abandoned its claims in Italy. In fighting with France in Florida and Texas, however, Spain secured its hold over Texas.

Reforms under the Bourbon monarchy led to successful Spanish defense of its overseas possessions in the Anglo-Spanish War (War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739–1744), which merged into the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). In the New World, considerable fighting occurred along the Georgia-Florida border and in Florida, where Spain retained its hold. The Spanish also turned back

a powerful British naval expeditionary assault on Cartagena (Colombia). The resultant Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle produced no important colonial transfers.

This was not the case during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Spain entered that war in 1761 as an ally of France. The following year, British expeditionary forces captured both Havana and Manila. By the Treaty of Paris ending the war in 1763, in return for the restoration of Havana and Manila, Spain ceded all Florida to Britain. To compensate it for the loss of Florida, France transferred to Spain control of Louisiana, although this met some opposition from French colonists there.

Convinced that Britain was determined to take all of Spain's New World colonies and that a showdown with Britain was inevitable, Spanish king Charles III (1759–1788) oversaw a series of military, fiscal, and administrative reforms both in Spain and the colonies to prepare for the inevitable. In 1779, Spain entered the American Revolutionary War on the side of France (but not the Patriots) in America. Spanish forces captured Mobile and Pensacola and the Bahamas and blocked British efforts to secure the Mississippi. Under the terms of the peace in 1783, Spain relinquished the Bahamas but regained Florida.

During the Napoleonic Wars, Spain lost Trinidad to Britain and was forced in 1800 to return Louisiana to France. Despite its pledge to Spain not to cede that territory to any other power than Spain, France then sold Louisiana to the United States. Considerable pressure from the United States then led Spain to sell Florida to that nation (1819–1821).

The loss of Spain's northern territories in the New World was perhaps inevitable. Its scattered settlements, missions, and forts in the territory it claimed north of Mexico were never adequately supported, in large measure because the Crown was already overextended in Central and South America. In addition, Spain's concomitant decline in power in relation to other European states conspired against a major effort in North America.

The Spanish Latin American colonies, meanwhile, largely cut off from the mother country during the Napoleonic Wars, broke away from Spain in a series of wars of liberation in the 1820s. The final blow to Spanish imperial power came at the hands of the United States in the Spanish-American War of 1898.

RICK DYSON AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Acoma Pueblo, Fight at; Aguayo Expedition; Anglo-Spanish War (1718–1721); Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Apalachee Revolt; Apalachees; Ayllón, Lucas Vásquez de; Castillo de San Marcos (Florida); Córdova (Córdoba), Francisco Hernández (Fernández) de; Coronado, Francisco Vásquez de; Florida, British Invasion of; Florida, Franco-Spanish Conflict over; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Frontier, Southern; Havana (Cuba); Jesuits; Karankawas; Kickapoos; Louisiana; Luna y Arellano, Tristán de; Mabila, Battle of; Menéndez, Francisco; Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro; Mississippi River; Montiano, Manuel de; Moral y Sánchez, Francisco del; Narváez, Pánfilo de; Natchez; New Mexico; Norteños; Oñate, Juan de; Pardo, Juan; Pensacola (Florida);

Pensacola, Attacks on; Pez, Andrés de; Philip II, King of Spain; Ponce de León, Juan; Presidio; Privateering; Pueblos; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Right of Conquest; St. Augustine; St. Augustine, Battle of; St. Augustine, Siege of; Soto, Hernando de; Spain, Army; Spain, Navy; Spanish Mission System, Southeast; Spanish Mission System, Southeast; Tequestas; Texas; Timucuan Revolt; Utrecht, Treaty of; Villasur, Pedro de; Yamasees

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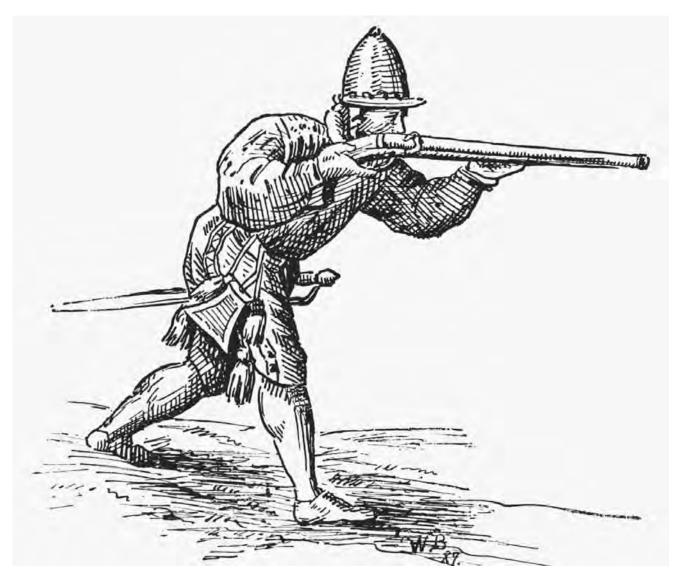
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Spain, Army

The Spanish Army at the beginning of the 16th century was the preeminent European military force. This military might was forged in the crucible of the long fighting against the Moors (the *reconquista*) that culminated in the defeat of the latter in 1492. The ascension of King Charles I (Holy Roman Emperor Charles V) to the Spanish throne in 1516 signaled the beginning of Spain's renewed interest in European affairs and the exploration of the New World.

The Spanish Army in New Spain was never a large enough force to be able adequately to perform its duties of defending colonists, trade routes, mines, missions, and launching punitive expeditions against the natives. In addition to threats from natives, the army had to defend against the threat posed by the militaries, both regular and militia, of the other European colonial powers.

In large part because of Spain's extensive commitments in Europe and ongoing wars there, the number of Spanish professional soldiers in the New World was always small and had to be supplemented by militia and native allies. Beginning with Hernán Cortés in 1519, the army was supplemented by native auxiliaries who acted as scouts, bearers, and soldiers. For at least two centuries, until reforms under the Bourbon kings in the 18th century, there was never a large standing army in New Spain. When Spanish holdings were threatened, the government sought to recruit colonists (usually males ages 16 to 40) into local militias, provincial militias, city militias, and coastal guards. In 1570, the Chichimec War finally prodded the viceroyalty into forming the beginnings of a professional standing army in New Spain.



Contemporary illustration of a Spanish soldier in the New World aiming his harquebus, late 1500s. (North Wind Picture Archives)

The basis of Spanish defense in the New World was the presidio. Usually built along trade routes, near settlements, mines, and other strategic locations throughout the realm, presidios were strong, fortresslike structures built to withstand assaults and sieges and to serve as secure way stations along trade routes for traders and travelers. They also often served as protection for nearby Catholic missions. The presidio was meant to serve as a bulwark against Native Americans as well as against the incursions of European foes. Garrisons numbered from as few as 6 soldiers to between 50 and 75 men. At first, the garrison settlements consisted of single men, but soon wives and families joined the soldiers. Over time, settlers, merchants, and missionaries settled near presidios for protection.

The presidio also acted as a contact point between natives and the Spanish and as a de facto native agency. The members of the garrisons came from the surrounding region and were not part of the regular Spanish Army. Their pay was both low and sporadic. The major weaknesses of the presidio system were the isolation of each post from one another and the lack of a unified command. Presidios were separated by many miles and unable to support each other in times of attack, a problem that the Spanish colonial government never adequately addressed. The Crown attempted to remedy the weaknesses of the presidio system with two major reforms—the Reglamentos (Regulations) of 1729 and 1772.

A five year inspection tour of the presidios by Spanish general Pedro de Rivera led to the Reglamento of 1729. This Reglamento was issued in response to soldiers being deprived of their pay and with the plan of closing unnecessary presidios. It restructured pay, brought the closure of some presidios, and established regulations for the internal workings of the presidios in order to standardize command and discipline. These cost-cutting measures did nothing to rectify the inadequacy of troop strength or the lack of communication and tactical support.

The Reglamento of 1772 was a more serious and ambitious attempt at addressing the inadequacies of Spain's frontier defenses. This Reglamento, proposed by Marshal Marquis de Rubi, proposed ceding control of lands not effectively occupied by Spain back to the natives. To Rubi this meant anything north of the Rio Grande River. Aside from isolated settlements in San Antonio, Texas, Santa Fe, New Mexico, and small and scattered colonies in California, Rubi was effectively yielding up control over most of Texas, New Mexico, and California. Rubi sought to protect the Mexican heartland of New Spain at all costs. This was to be accomplished with a line of 15 presidios stretched across northern Mexico from the Gulf of California to the Gulf of Mexico. These would be 100 miles apart, supposedly within easy communication and support range. The proposal was also a cost-cutting measure, as many presidios within and outside the line were to be closed.

Rubi also proposed allying with the Comanches and the Caddoes instead of the Apaches. In addition, the 1772 Reglamento placed presidio troops on equal footing with the regular army with the same discipline, pay, promotions, and equipment. The regulations standardized the strength of companies, pay, weapons, uniforms, and training among all Spanish soldiers. The pronouncement also set forth qualifications for captains and set uniform policies toward Native Americans. The Reglamento called for the appointment of an inspector general, and, for the first time, all presidios would be under a single command, that of the commandant of presidios.

King Philip II (1556–1598) greatly expanded Spanish military strength and embarked on a series of conflicts to expand Spanish influence and conquest. A staunch Roman Catholic, he also fought a series of religious crusades against both non-Christians and non-Catholic Christians. As the preeminent Catholic monarch and the possessor of a kingdom that included Spain, Portugal, much of Italy, the Netherlands, and lands in the New World, Philip saw Spain's paramount role as the protector of the Catholic Church. With this role came the responsibility to spread the teachings of the Catholic Church across the globe, backed by the might of the Spanish military. As such, Philip contested a stubborn rebellion against Spanish rule in the Netherlands, conquered Catholic Portugal, and fought the Muslim Turks and the French Huguenots in Europe and in Florida. The king displayed particular enmity for the Protestant English, as English pirates with the acquiescence of the English Crown plundered Spanish treasure fleets from the New World, sinking and capturing many Spanish galleons. These attacks on Spain's wealth and the monarch's grandiose plans of conquest led to the disastrous Anglo-Spanish conflict of 1585-1588, culminating in the 1588 defeat of the Spanish Armada by the English Navy, and setting the stage for a long decline in Spanish power.

Many of Philip's wars lacked a North American component, but lasting hostility between the Spanish and the English led to a series of conflicts in the 17th and 18th centuries between the two powers that did feature Anglo-Spanish warfare in North America, including the Anglo-Spanish Wars of 1718–1721 and 1739–1744. Philip's policies in the New World saw Spain seek to consolidate and expand

its colonies in the New World, the ousting of the French from Florida, and the establishment of the convoy system to protect Spanish fleets from the predations of pirates and privateers. Indeed throughout much of the 18th century, the Spanish were continuously fending off European encroachments in Florida. Periodically, the French encroached on Texas, though they were never able to secure a foothold there.

Spain's military encounters with Native Americans were quite different from those with other European powers. The initial Spanish military advantage over natives was indeed decisive. With few men in the field, the opening military encounters with the natives of Mexico and in the region which is now the southwestern United States were decided by Spanish advantages in arms, deception, and ruthlessness. The Spanish technological advantage lay in their firearms, artillery (both of which the natives lacked entirely), cavalry, and the superb swords and cutlasses they possessed. Be that as it may, early Spanish firearms were grossly inaccurate, cumbersome, and difficult to load. Their chief advantage lay in their psychological effect.

Francisco Vásquez de Coronado's ruthless conquest of the Pueblos in New Mexico in 1536 could be considered the template for Spanish contact with the natives in the mid-1500s. After the conquest of the Pueblos, Spanish settlement in northern New Spain was widely scattered, featuring a major trade center at Santa Fe, but primarily consisting of scattered missions. For most of the late 16th and early 17th centuries, the major agent of Spanish control in the region was the Catholic Church, which founded many missions. The goal of the missions was to Christianize and "civilize" the natives. Unfortunately, the methods employed by the zealous missionaries often involved burning recalcitrant natives at the stake or other inhumane punishments. The result of the brutal nature of Spanish conquest and rule over the Pueblos was, ultimately, rebellion. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was the only successful native revolt in North America. For 12 years, the Pueblos of New Mexico remained free of Spanish rule until their bloody reconquest in 1692.

The heavy-handed Spanish regime ensured the hostility of the natives for the duration of Spanish rule in the region, but soon the natives were able to strike back at their Spanish overlords. The Spanish came to rule over two of the most feared and militarily proficient native groups in North America—the Apaches and the Comanches. They became more than a match for the Spanish military because they were able to increase their own military prowess. When the Spaniards first penetrated into what became northern New Spain, they had little competition from their European brethren, and the natives they encountered did not possess European arms and horses.

As time wore on, however, the French, British, and American colonists arrived at the doorstep of Spanish America, which enabled natives to procure European firearms. Furthermore, these tribes were able to harness the military advantages of the horse. In short order, the Apaches and the Comanches became expert military horsemen and marksman. Further, they were able to improve the quality of their lances, bows, and arrows and their abilities with

these weapons. Moreover, the Spanish tendency to concentrate in isolated enclaves and allow the tribes to roam the territory unfettered enabled the natives to execute lightning-fast raids against the scattered settlements with devastating results. Until the Spanish expulsion from North America, the Spanish fought a never-ending series of bloody wars with their native foes.

RICK DYSON

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1718–1721); Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); California; Coronado, Francisco Vásquez de; Council of the Indies; Florida; Florida, British Invasion of; Florida, Franco-Spanish Conflict over; Militias; Native Warfare; New Mexico; Norteños; Pensacola, Attacks on; Philip II, King of Spain; Presidio; Pueblo Revolt; Pueblos; San Antonio; Spain; Spain, Navy; Spanish Mission System, Southeast; Spanish Mission System, Southwest; St. Augustine; St. Augustine, Battle of; St. Augustine, Siege of; Texas

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Spain, Navy

The Spanish Navy played an important role in the protection and exploitation of Spain's colonies in the New World. Between 1492 and 1699, Spanish naval vessels were present in only limited numbers in the Americas, primarily assigned to escorting convoys to and from Spain. During the 18th century, however, a more significant Spanish naval presence became evident. Spain established a special fleet for the New World and its colonies became significant centers of shipbuilding and naval supplies.

After the voyage of Christopher Columbus to the New World in 1492, the defense of Spanish possessions in America was left to pri-

vate individuals. In 1521, however, the Spanish government created the Carrera de Indies, a flotilla intended to protect the fleets that carried treasure from the New World to Spain. Annual convoys from Spain were accompanied by two warships that did not always continue into the Caribbean. As threats from pirates grew during the middle of the 16th century, Spanish authorities added additional convoy protection, although these were often simply armed merchant ships hired by the government.

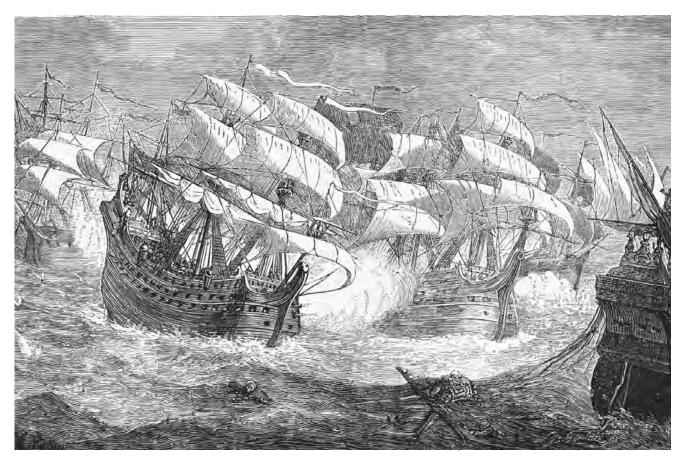
In March of each year authorities in New Spain dispatched treasure ships from the mainland. These arrived at Havana by April, waiting there while shipping from other parts of Spanish America gathered. This larger convoy and its naval escort departed Cuba for Spain before August, in order to clear the Bahamas Channel before the start of the hurricane season.

After 1561, the Spanish government organized a more systematic approach of patrols to thwart pirates and unauthorized foreign traders. Naval galleons regularly patrolled off the ports, but these proved to be too slow and unwieldy to apprehend fast pirate ships. In 1578 the Spanish government added more maneuverable galleys, suitable for shoal water operations, but they suffered from a lack of logistical support.

By 1600, Spanish naval forces in the Caribbean had been reorganized into the Armada de Barlovento, charged with securing the routes through which convoys passed. The armada received only limited material support from Spain, such as ships and sailors. Even so, it assisted in explorations of the North American Gulf Coast and Florida and supported Spanish settlements established there. The navy underwent considerable decline in the final years of the Habsburg monarchy, along with Spain itself.

Under the Bourbon ruler Philip V, however, after 1700 the Spanish Navy improved in both quality and quantity. The new monarch organized a truly national navy, the Armada Real, as opposed to naval forces maintained by various provinces. The naval bureaucracy underwent reorganization and became much more efficient. Naval construction increased, and a squadron of ships of the line and supporting vessels were permanently stationed in the Caribbean. The Spanish Navy as a whole grew from only 11 ships of the line in 1724 to 38 in 1735. By the beginning of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1740, Spain possessed 46 ships of the line.

Although fortifications provided the primary means of protection for ports in Spanish America, naval vessels played an important role in protecting the sea lanes and escorting the treasure fleets to Europe. Spain established major naval bases at both Havana and Cartagena (Colombia). Havana became a major shipbuilding center for the Spanish Empire. There the Spanish made use of tropical hardwoods, such as mahogany shipped from Central America, which proved more durable and cheaper than woods available in Europe. For most of the 18th century, Havana regularly produced one ship of the line each year. Indeed, a third of all Spanish warships came from American yards during this time. A weakness in this system was the lack of a cannon foundry in Spanish America. Completed ships had to be sailed to



Woodcut depicting the seizure of Spanish treasure ships by English ships under Sir Francis Drake. (North Wind Picture Archives)

Spain in order to be armed and outfitted before they could be pronounced operational.

Throughout most of the 18th century, the Spanish Navy remained on the defensive. The fleet's chief role was to protect the sea lanes and to ensure the arrival of the annual treasure fleet from America, the chief source of government income. The only major fleet action fought by the Spanish Navy in American waters in the colonial period occurred on October 1, 1748, during King George's War (1744–1748), when Admiral Andres Reggio with seven ships (six of 64 or more guns) fought an inconclusive battle off Havana against British admiral Charles Knowles with seven ships (six of 60 or more guns). The treasure fleet Reggio had been escorting escaped and managed to reach Spain.

A defensive stance was the only reasonable strategy given overwhelming British naval superiority in this period. In most years, the Spanish Navy was successful in convoying the annual plate fleet, as well as the many merchant ships that sailed at the same time. Between 1700 and 1763, Spanish colonial trade increased some 400 percent. Although British privateers captured some Spanish merchant ships involved in this trade during the wars of the first half of the 18th century, they were unable to prevent the convoys from sailing. British naval forces also were able to mount some successful

attacks on the Spanish colonies, but many other efforts met defeat. One of the most devastating British naval attacks on a Spanish outpost took place on November 21, 1739, at Portobello, a major trading center in New Granada (modern Panama). Employing six ships of the line in the attack, the British sent troops ashore and sacked Portobello. In contrast, a similar attack on Santiago, Cuba, in July 1741 was decisively beaten back by Spanish naval and land forces.

During the War of the Austrian Succession, which began for Spain and Britain in the War of Jenkins' Ear (Anglo-Spanish War, 1739–1744), the Spanish Navy played an important role in defending Florida and threatening the British in Georgia. In 1740, an expedition from Georgia laid siege to St. Augustine, Spain's main settlement in Florida. Spanish galleys dispatched from Cuba contributed greatly in defending the colony, eventually forcing the British to raise the siege. In the summer of 1742, the Spanish mounted an invasion of Georgia supported by some 50 vessels. Storms prevented the naval vessels from playing a decisive role, and the invasion was defeated on land in the Battle of Bloody Marsh of July 5–7.

Spanish sailors also served on land during the war, defending Cartagena against a British landing in 1740. The invading British force included many American volunteers. Approximately 3,600 Americans volunteered to join the expedition, drawn by promises of adventure, glory, and plunder. The invading force was, however, devastated both by disease and the defenses, resulting in a resounding Spanish victory.

By 1759 and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), however, the Spanish Navy had greatly declined. When Charles III (1759–1788) assumed the throne, he undertook a naval rebuilding program. That year, Spain laid down 11 ships of the line, as opposed to only 2 in each of the preceding years. Spain took advantage of its neutrality in the war's early years to build up a sizable squadron in the Caribbean. When war began between Spain and Britain in December 1761, Spain had 19 ships of the line in that theater of operations.

The Spanish strategy of remaining on the defensive had not changed, however. The Spanish took no offensive actions prior to the British attack on Havana in June 1762. British admiral Sir George Pocock commanded a vast invasion armada of 150 vessels (13 of them ships of the line), including both warships and transports, which arrived off Havana on June 6, catching the Spanish defenders by surprise. The Spanish had 12 ships of the line at Havana, 3 of which were scuttled to block the harbor entrance. The remaining vessels were stripped of their crews and employed as floating batteries. When Havana surrendered after a 70-day siege, the British took the 9 Spanish ships of the line. Two others, building on the stocks, were burnt to prevent capture. The remaining Spanish naval vessels in the Caribbean spent the rest of the war under the safety of shore batteries. Although Havana was returned to Spanish control after the war, the losses sustained by the Spanish Navy in the Seven Years' War crippled it for years to come.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Bloody Marsh, Battle of; Cartagena, Expedition against; Florida, British Invasion of; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; St. Augustine, Battle of; Warships

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Spanish Mission System, Southeast

The Spanish mission system was an effort to convert Natives Americans to Christianity in southeastern North America. Between 1565 and 1763, the Spanish established a series of Christian missions for native peoples in the Southeast as part of their effort to control the region and protect their holdings in the Caribbean. As part of their

early missionary efforts, the Spanish, led by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, established St. Augustine in 1565. This was a strategy aimed at driving French colonists out of La Florida, the Spanish term for the Southeast. With the removal of the French threat, St. Augustine became the cornerstone of the Spanish imperial presence in the region. In an effort to secure their control of La Florida, the Spanish turned their attention to bringing the indigenous peoples of the area into the Spanish Empire. They did this primarily through the use of military force, gift giving to local leaders, and conversion to Christianity.

By establishing control over La Florida, the Spanish Crown hoped to strengthen its claims on the area and provide added protection for the Spanish silver fleets that passed by the Florida coast headed for Spain each year. It also wanted to create a haven for survivors of Spanish wrecks that occurred frequently in the waters surrounding the Florida Peninsula.

Within 18 months of the defeat of the French at Fort Caroline in 1565, the Spanish established seven installations on the eastern coast of Florida among the Eastern Timucua and Guale Native Americans. Three bases on the western coast served the Tocobagas and the Calusas. In conjunction with the Crown's efforts to build presidios to protect La Florida, Jesuits in 1568 established the first missionary school for North American natives in Havana. The school was specifically for native children from Florida. The Jesuits then proceeded to establish missions among the native people of La Florida.

The Jesuits received a less than warm reception from the natives. On landing on the beach at Cumberland Island in modern Georgia, Timucuas clubbed a priest to death with a stone ax in September 1566. In 1568, because of Calusa attacks, Jesuits abandoned the mission called San Antonio and located at Charlotte Harbor. In the autumn of 1570, Jesuits built a mission in Santa Maria Bay (Chesapeake Bay). However, in February 1571, the local Algonquins destroyed the mission and killed the Jesuits. Only a small, native boy brought from the South Carolina coast survived to tell the tale a year later, when a Spanish ship arrived with supplies for the mission. The Jesuits finally gave up their missionary efforts in 1572.

The Jesuits failed in La Florida for several reasons. First, they did not receive the necessary financial, political, and personnel support from the Jesuit organization. Nor did they have adequate financial and civil backing from the Spanish Crown. Second, they attempted to eliminate native customs and religious practices too quickly and did not cooperate with secular authorities in La Florida. And third, the native people associated the Jesuits too closely, and incorrectly, with Spanish military personnel, who tended to abuse natives and place large demands for food on them.

The Franciscan order replaced the Jesuits in 1573. The Franciscans would play a vital role in the reestablishment of Spanish influence in La Florida. The Spanish consolidated their forces in the vicinity of St. Augustine. With the assistance of the Franciscans, they then set about gaining control of the Eastern Timucuas and the Guales on the coast of northeastern Florida and Georgia. Despite extending their control of Florida and southern Georgia throughout

most of the 17th century, the Spanish faced periodic rebellions by the mission natives. They included the Guales in 1597, 1645, and the early 1680s; the Apalachees in 1647 and 1656; the Timucuas in 1656; and the Apalachicolas (located to the northwest of Apalachee and marginally missionized) in 1675 and 1681. Nevertheless, most of the native people of Florida and southern Georgia had been exposed to Spanish culture and the Catholic Church by 1700. The most prominent groups to participate in the Spanish mission system were the Apalachees in northwest Florida, the Guales on the Georgia coast, and the Timucuas in central and northern Florida.

Throughout the mission period, native populations declined as much as 90 percent because of the introduction of European diseases and increased warfare. In the late 17th century, warfare intensified as nonmission natives acquired guns from the English in South Carolina. They then began attacking the Spanish mission groups to take and sell captives into the English slave trade. Slave raids and population loss eventually caused the Spanish to consolidate their missions in the vicinity of St. Augustine by 1706. Eighty-nine of the surviving mission natives evacuated Florida and relocated to Cuba when the Spanish ceded Florida to the British in 1763. They include some remnants of the Apalachees, the Guales, and the Timucuas.

DIXIE RAY HAGGARD

See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Apalachee Revolt; Apalachees; Calusa; Florida; Franciscan Order; Georgia; Guales; Jesuits; Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro; Slave Trade and the American Colonies; South Carolina; Spain; St. Augustine; Timucuan Revolt

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Spanish Mission System, Southwest

By the beginning of the 17th century, Spanish missions became the principal vehicle for conquest on the frontier and the extension of Spanish influence in New Spain. Sanctioned by King Philip II's 1573 "Comprehensive Orders for New Discoveries," the mission system sought to instill spiritual and cultural control over the region's indigenous populations. Accordingly, in 1598, Juan de Oñate led an expedition from northern Mexico up the Rio Grande to spread the

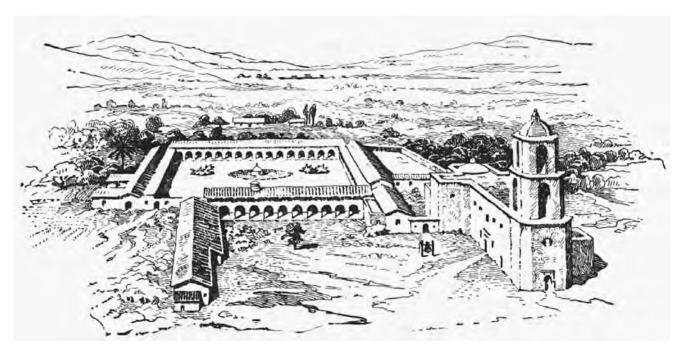
Catholic faith, pacify the natives, and establish a permanent colony in New Mexico. Oñate inaugurated his missionary program from the capital at San Juan by dispersing Franciscan friars to the Pueblos. By 1629, 50 churches functioned in the province. Missionaries strove to abolish native religious practices and inculcate the Pueblo peoples with Spanish culture and Catholicism.

To accomplish this task throughout New Spain's northern frontier, members of the Franciscan Order and the Jesuit Order sought first to form natives into self-sufficient communities under the direction of a priest who would influence all things spiritual and secular. Natives were encouraged to concentrate in compact settlements and construct a church that would serve as the center of community life. For missionaries along the upper reaches of the Rio Grande and among the Hopis and the Zunis, this proved to be an easy task as their potential converts already lived in compact towns. The nomadic Apaches and Seris posed more of a problem because the new system required a major restructuring of their traditional lifestyle. The Navajos, the Upper and Lower Pimas, the Yaquis, and the Opatas, whose settlement patterns varied but were rarely compact, also challenged the Spanish mission system. Missionaries hoped to introduce Spanish culture into these communities by converting natives into Christian farmers and tradesmen. They taught them to breed and manage domesticated animals, raise European crops, and use European tools. Some natives learned blacksmithing, weaving, carpentry, and masonry—all necessary skills for a self-sufficient community based on a European model.

In addition to the construction of a suitable community, the establishment of Catholicism within the mission served as the paramount task of the missionary. Friars quickly baptized and instructed native children in Christian doctrines. Priests railed against polygamy, fornication, and drunkenness and tried to institute the practice of confession among the adult population. Unlike the Jesuit missionaries in Sonora, Franciscan friars in the northern reaches of New Spain's frontier generally did not tolerate native customs—particularly religious ceremonial practices. They frequently used force or liberally administered corporal punishment on those who continued to follow traditions the priests abhorred. Franciscan missionaries banned ceremonial dances and kachinas, destroyed masks, and arrested native spiritual leaders.

The repressive policies of the Franciscan friars that sought to eradicate Pueblo religious icons and ceremonies led to the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, one of the most effective native revolts in American history. Popé, a spiritual leader from San Juan Pueblo, unified the majority of the Rio Grande Pueblos in a coordinated revolt against the Spanish in early August 1680. His 8,000 followers killed over 400 Spanish colonists and 21 of the 33 Franciscan friars in New Mexico. Even the Hopis, on the far western fringes of the province, drove out the Franciscans from their mesas. Those Spaniards who were not killed or wounded in the Pueblo Revolt fled back to Mexico, and the victors destroyed the vestiges of Spanish culture, including objects associated with Christianity.

The volatility of Spanish-native relations spread beyond New Mexico. In 1695, a revolt by Upper Pimas in northern Sonora



Contemporary illustration of a Spanish mission settlement in Texas during the 1700s. (North Wind Picture Archives)

(Pimería Alta) led to the destruction of Jesuit missions in Tubutama, Caborca, Imuris, and San Ignacio and the death of a young priest. Spanish reprisals were swift and deadly, but the revolt severely shook the missionary program established by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino in Pimería Alta. Revitalization of the Jesuit missions began in 1732. By 1750, nine missionaries worked among the Upper Pimas. A second Pima revolt in 1751 led to a widespread but short-lived uprising that weakened, once again, the Jesuit presence in northern Sonora. Following the Spanish expulsion of the Jesuits from all their territories in 1767, Franciscans attempted to carry on the missionary work among the Upper Pimas, but with little success.

Growing French and Native American encroachments along the eastern frontier in Texas led Spanish officials to send Father Damián Massanet in 1690 to "Tejas" in hopes of establishing missions among the Caddoes. Troubles with the native population, inadequate supplies, crop failures, and floods forced the abandonment of the two missions three years later. In 1716, 12 Franciscan missionaries returned to east Texas along with military support and colonists under the command of Captain Domingo Ramón and established four churches and a presidio in Caddo country. Ramón further extended Spanish settlement when he erected two more missions just west of the French trading post at Natchitoches. Exaggerated fears of a French invasion in 1719, however, persuaded the colony to withdraw to San Antonio.

Two years later, Spain recovered its possessions in East Texas and built two more presidios, but the effectiveness of the mission system seemed to be dwindling. Franciscans unsuccessfully recruited nomadic plains natives who rejected the limitations of

mission life and easily obtained European goods from French traders via horseback. During the colonial period, missionaries in Texas achieved their only success—albeit limited—along the San Antonio River where five missions served approximately 1,000 natives who sought refuge among the Spanish.

By the beginning of the 18th century, the Spanish mission system along the northern frontier of New Spain came increasingly under criticism. Disenchanted Spaniards became unhappy when mission natives were not allowed to fully integrate into Spanish economic life. Natives were not wage laborers or taxpayers. Native land proved to be the most fruitful for farming and ranching, but it remained unavailable for Spanish settlement. Missionaries attempted to cling to their bastions of authority, unwilling to surrender native souls and loyalty (as well as their own influence) to politicians and bureaucrats. The Spanish mission system in New Mexico, Sonora, and Texas almost disintegrated toward the end of the colonial period as Spain grew more concerned about foreign encroachments along the northern and eastern fringes of its provinces than the conversion of American Indians to Catholicism.

In Alta California, however, the mission system remained a viable avenue for the conversion of native peoples as well as an effective means for projecting Spanish influence on the frontier throughout the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In 1768, Russian settlements on the California coast prompted Spain to send Franciscans under Father Junípero Serra, along with a military escort, to establish a permanent Spanish presence in the northwestern reaches of New Spain. The following year, Serra founded a mission in San Diego, the first of 21 missions constructed in Alta California, between 1769 and 1823. The success of the mission system in

748 Spotswood, Alexander

California came at a heavy cost, however. Disease and strenuous labor requirements reduced the native population by 50 percent before the end of the Spanish colonial period.

Alan C. Downs

See also

Caddoes; California; Franciscan Order; Jesuits; New Mexico; Pima Revolts; Popé (El Popé); Pueblo Revolt; Pueblos; Spanish Mission System, Southeast; Texas

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Spotswood, Alexander

Born: 1676

Died: June 7, 1740

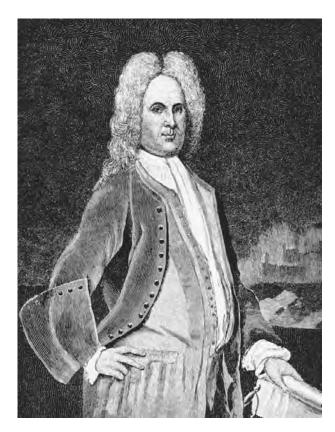
British colonial official and lieutenant governor of Virginia (1710–1722). Alexander Spotswood was born in Tangier, Morocco, in 1676. In 1693, the young ensign joined the Earl of Bath's Regiment. During the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713) he rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel in forces under the Duke of Marlborough and there impressed Lord George Hamilton, Earl of Orkney and titular governor of Virginia. In 1710, Orkney named Spotswood his lieutenant governor, a post he held for 12 years. In Orkney's absence, Spotswood bolstered Virginia's defenses, lobbied for western expansion, and subdued marauding pirates.

In September 1711, when Tuscarora warriors ambushed North Carolina settlements, Spotswood promised British-allied natives both trade and bounties for enemy prisoners. Although Virginia's House of Burgesses favored military action, Spotswood's diplomacy culminated in a treaty with eight Tuscarora towns on December 11, 1711, and procured the release of captives.

Eager to create a defensive buffer along the frontier, Spotswood chartered the Virginia Indian Company and confined all trade south of the James River to Fort Christanna. In return the company defended the frontier, protected tributary natives, and educated native children until the measure was repealed in 1718.

Spotswood also subdued marauding pirates. After learning that Edward Teach (Blackbeard) had been pardoned by North Carolina's governor, Spotswood dispatched Lieutenant Robert Maynard and others to arrest him. During the subsequent battle at Ocracoke Inlet on November 22, 1718, Blackbeard was killed.

The governor hoped to thwart French designs on the trans-Appalachian West by organizing an expedition across the Blue Ridge Mountains. On September 5, 1716, the "Knights of



Alexander Spotswood, British colonial official and lieutenant governor of Virginia. (North Wind Picture Archives)

the Golden Horseshoe" reached the Shenandoah Valley. Following this expedition, Spotswood lobbied British leaders to build a road from the Blue Ridge to the Great Lakes before France claimed the region.

Spotswood's tenure as lieutenant governor ended in 1722, while he was negotiating a treaty with the Iroquois Confederacy in Albany, New York. Only after his return to Williamsburg in October did Spotswood learn that he had been replaced by Hugh Drysdale. By now a man of great wealth, Spotswood turned to overseeing his 80,000 acres of land, two iron foundries, and four plantations.

When the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744) erupted in 1739, Spotswood raised a company of volunteers. He died of a fever at Annapolis, Maryland, on June 7, 1740, while preparing to join a British expeditionary force bound for Cartegena, Colombia, to seize that valuable Spanish port.

Jon L. Brudvig

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Fort Christanna (Virginia); Iroquois; Tuscarora War

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Springfield, Burning of Event Date: October 5, 1675

Attack on Springfield, Massachusetts, by Agawam and allied Nipmuck warriors on October 5, 1675, during King Philip's War (1675–1676). Springfield was the preeminent English settlement along the Connecticut River.

In the summer and fall of 1675, King Philip's War had spread from a localized conflict between Metacom's (King Philip) Wampanoags and Plymouth Colony to include other New England colonies and American Indian peoples. In the Connecticut River Valley, local natives had already attacked Squakeag, Deerfield, and nearby Brookfield. The Springfield area had suffered some minor raids, but townspeople continued to believe that the neighboring Agawams were still loyal to the English, or at least neutral.

In late September and early October, the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England ordered the gathering of troops at the town of Hadley, Massachusetts. There they readied themselves for an expedition against enemy Native Americans north of Springfield. In response, Springfield community leader and military commander Major John Pynchon marched most of that town's troops north. With the town virtually undefended, a messenger arrived on October 4 with intelligence that Springfield's Agawam neighbors were plotting with Metacom to attack the town.

The next morning, October 5, Lieutenant Thomas Cooper and Constable Thomas Miller rode out of Springfield intending to talk with the local natives and dispel rumors of attack. Warriors ambushed the two men. Miller fell dead, whereas the mortally wounded Cooper managed to ride back to town and warn the inhabitants. Springfield's residents were thus able to withdraw safely to fortified garrison houses. They could do nothing, however, to prevent warriors from burning the settlement's undefended houses, barns, and outbuildings.

On learning of the native attack, two English forces under Pynchon and Major Robert Treat immediately marched south to relieve Springfield. Treat arrived first and attempted to cross the Connecticut River to assist the town, but his forces were driven back. The attacking natives, who had been reinforced by Nipmuck warriors, then withdrew with the midafternoon arrival of Pynchon's forces from Hadley.

The English suffered only minor casualties in the attack, with three dead and three or four wounded. Nevertheless, the town was virtually destroyed. More than 30 houses, countless outbuildings, corn and hay stores, and indispensable mills all burned to the ground. Nearly a third of the town's families were left homeless and destitute. Despite the tremendous destruction, English settlers and soldiers remained in Springfield, thus maintaining an English pres-

ence in the upper Connecticut Valley. Not surprisingly, the "treachery" of supposedly friendly natives led to greater suspicion of all neutral or English-allied natives. This resulted in the internment of Massachusetts' "Christian" natives on Deer Island in Boston Harbor. Furthermore, the English defeat at Springfield reignited the debate over colonial military policy. Clearly, the concentration of troops for offensive actions against hostile natives had left Springfield and other towns virtually undefended. As a result, the colonies began using a combination of garrison forces to protect exposed settlements and raiding forces to combat native enemies on their own ground.

DAVID M. CORLETT

See also

King Philip's War; Metacom; Pynchon, John; Nipmucks; Wampanoags

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Squanto

Born: Unknown Died: 1622

Patuxet native (New England) perhaps best known for his services as an interpreter for the Pilgrims. Squanto also showed the Pilgrims how to survive in New England. No information is known about Squanto's birth or early years. In 1614, Thomas Hunter seized a number of native captives, including Squanto, who was then taken to Spain to be sold as a slave.

Little is known about Squanto's time in Spain. However, by 1617, he was living in the London home of the Newfoundland Company's treasurer, John Slany. Hoping to use Squanto as an interpreter and intermediary, the English took him to Newfoundland in 1618. Squanto returned to his native Patuxets while serving as a guide for Thomas Dermer's 1619 expeditions to Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard. On his return to Patuxet, he discovered that the village had been wiped out by smallpox.

The Wampanoags subsequently took Squanto captive and he remained with them until March 1621. Working with an Abenaki named Samoset, Squanto helped the Wampanoags establish relations with the new English settlement at Plymouth. Squanto soon began spending more time with the English, serving as an interpreter between the Plymouth leadership and Wampanoag sachem Massasoit.

The Wampanoags then permitted Squanto to live with the English. There he acted as an interpreter and mediator for the English. He also obtained a quantity of maize and trained the English set-



Contemporary illustration of Squanto, a Patuxet Native American who served as an emissary to and interpreter for the Pilgrims. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

tlers in the planting and harvesting of the crop. His instruction in the cultivation of corn may indeed have helped the Pilgrims survive the first few harsh winters of New England.

Squanto also attempted to rebuild the Patuxets, scouring the region for survivors of the smallpox epidemic. This angered the Pokanokets, who saw this as a challenge. Thus, Plymouth Colony vowed to protect Squanto. Despite his difficulties with the Pokanokets, Squanto did exercise a degree of influence among native peoples. Toward the end of his life, which was spent among the Pilgrims, he lost some of that prestige when he was accused of playing the Wampanoags and Pilgrims against the other. Squanto died sometime in 1622, in the vicinity of the Plymouth Colony.

ROGER M. CARPENTER

See also

Abenakis; Massasoit; Plymouth; Puritans; Samoset; Wampanoags

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Stamp Act

Event Date: March 22, 1765

Parliamentary decree passed in March 1765 that levied a tax on virtually all paper goods, legal documents, newspapers, and so on in British North America. The Stamp Act was the first and only statute passed by Parliament that directly taxed the legal, commercial, and cultural activities of North Americans. The decree was also the first action by the British government that prompted delegates from several North American colonies to meet, without the authorization of British authorities, in a congress to draft a common declaration of their rights, which they believed to be violated by the Stamp Act.

The Stamp Act was part of a broader economic plan of imperial taxation developed by Prime Minister George Grenville. His plan was in response to the increased national debt accrued because of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Grenville hoped to have the North American colonists pay their fair share of imperial expenses.

The Stamp Act sailed through Parliament and received the assent of King George III on March 22, 1765.

The statute, designed to go into effect on November 1, 1765, required that specially stamped paper, or in some cases separately affixed stamps, be used for the preparation and sale of virtually all printed materials. These included newspapers, almanacs, pamphlets, broadsides, legal documents, insurance policies, licenses, and playing cards. Previous British taxes on the colonies had been levied on just a few imported goods, mostly molasses, refined sugar, and wine. Under the Stamp Act, all colonists who used or read a stamped document could readily see the impact of the tax. And rather than using salaried tax gatherers, as it did in collecting import duties, the British government designated an agent in each colony as the exclusive purveyors of the stamped paper or affixed stamps. This was supposed to create colonial trust and positive feelings. Finally, the Stamp Act declared that its purpose was to raise revenue to support British Army units and royal government in America.

The American response to the Stamp Act was immediately hostile nearly everywhere. In Boston, the reaction was explosive. That town saw two major riots in August that forced the resignation of the local stamp agent. Boston's action probably made it easier for radical leaders and aroused crowds in New York and Philadelphia to force the resignation of their agents without violence. But established political leaders in several colonies did not stop there. Nine colonies named delegates to meet in a congress in New York City in October 1765 to frame a common protest against the Stamp Act. On October 19, 1765, this congress asserted that the colonists held the same rights and liberties as British subjects living in the British Isles. The declaration further maintained that the colonists were

Important British Legislation Regarding the North American Colonies

Act	Date Passed	Function
Navigation Acts	1651-	Dictated types of goods and nationality of ships and crews involved in colonial trade
Molasses Act	1733	Imposed tax on non-British sugar, molasses, and rum imported by the colonies
Iron Act	1750	Reduced duty on colonial iron ore imported to England, restricted colonial trade in
Sugar (Revenue) Act	1764	iron goods Reduced duties on sugar, but provided for stricter enforcement
Currency Act	1764	Prohibited colonists from using paper money to pay off public or private debts
Stamp Act	1765	Required stamps or stamped paper for most printed materials (newspapers, licenses, etc.)
Quartering Act	1765	Required colonial authorities to provide supplies and bar- racks to British troops
Declaratory Act	1766	Stated that Parliament had the right to legislate for the colonies in all cases
Townshend Acts	1767	Imposed duties on glass, lead, paints, paper, paste- boards, china earthenware, silk, and tea

free from the legislated taxes of Parliament because they were not represented in that body, and that only their own elected assemblies could tax them.

Grenville fell from power in July 1765, and Lord Rockingham became head of the ministry. By the fall of 1765, the forced resignation of the stamp agents and the organization of non-importation boycotts forced both Parliament and the king to turn to a new policy. Prompted by committees of British merchants hurt by a colonial boycott of British goods, the Rockingham Whigs began preparing to repeal the Stamp Act and develop a more conciliatory approach toward the American colonies. In February 1766, the proposed repeal of the Stamp Act sharply divided Parliament.

By March, however, it was evident to the Rockingham Whigs that they could only secure repeal by agreeing to a simultaneous Declaratory Act that would affirm Parliament's right to legislate for America. On that basis, Parliament rescinded the Stamp Act and imposed the Declaratory Act on March 18, 1766. Americans in nearly every colony greeted the repeal with an outpouring of celebration, largely ignoring the ominous Declaratory Act. The first great crisis in British-American relations had passed. New parliamentary taxation the following year, however, would prove that deep problems in the imperial relationship remained unresolved.

CHRISTOPHER N. FRITSCH

See also

Mercantilism; Molasses Act; Pitt, William, the Elder, First Earl of Chatham; Sons of Liberty; Sugar Act

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Standish, Myles

Born: ca. 1584

Died: October 3, 1656

First military adviser and captain general of the Plymouth Colony. Later he served the colony in a number of capacities, including treasurer from 1644 to 1649. Myles Standish was born about 1584, most likely in Chorley, Lancashire, England, and was commissioned as a lieutenant in the army in 1602. Standish eventually caught the attention of Rev. John Robinson, the spiritual leader of the refugee Pilgrims in Leiden, Holland, where Standish was serving during the Twelve Years' Truce in the Dutch revolt against Spain.

Opting to leave the Netherlands and emigrate to the New World, the Pilgrims recruited Standish to manage the defense of the colony. Outfitted with his armor, helmet, rapier, dagger, and a musket, Standish—now a captain—was militarily the most well equipped of all the colonists when they set sail in August 1620. The diminutive Standish, with his deep red hair and prickly temperament, proved a formidable adversary to the New World natives, whom he regarded with much distrust.

On November 11, 1620, Standish and 40 other male passengers onboard the *Mayflower* anchored off present-day Provincetown, Massachusetts, and signed the Mayflower Compact, creating a civil government for Plymouth Colony. Standish immediately oversaw a reconnaissance of Cape Cod and ultimately approved of the site selected for settlement. During the first difficult winter in Plymouth, Standish was one of only 7 colonists untouched by ill health. Among the stricken was his first wife, Rose, who died in January 1621.

With growing anxiety over the ever-diminishing number of colonists and anticipating trouble from the natives from whom the colonists had previously commandeered corn, in February 1621 Standish removed four cannon from the *Mayflower* and positioned them on high ground near the settlement. Tensions subsided the following month, however, when Ousa Mequin (Massasoit), the grand sachem of the nearby Wampanoag Confederacy, forged an alliance with the colonists.

Meanwhile, Standish was elected "captain general" of the settlement. The alliance was mutually beneficial. It provided security for Plymouth and military aid for the Wampanoags in case of hostilities with their traditional adversaries, the Narragansetts.



Illustration depicting the landing at Plymouth in 1620 of Captain Myles Standish and other Pilgrims. Standish was subsequently elected captain general of the Plymouth settlement. (Library of Congress)

Standish did not hesitate to use aggression when faced with a perceived native threat. In 1623, he led a band of eight Plymouth men on a raid against the Massachusetts tribe after rumors surfaced of an imminent attack against Wessagusset, a small rival English fur-trading colony to the north (present-day Weymouth, Massachusetts). Standish saw the reportedly hostile natives as a threat to all colonists. Pretending to have come for the purpose of trade, Standish drew the suspected natives close to his party and then killed eight, including the sachem Wituwamet, whose head was later placed on display in Plymouth. In retaliation, Massachusetts warriors killed three Englishmen from Wessagusset. Fearing further reprisals, the remainder of the Wessagusset colonists abandoned their outpost and sailed back to England, leaving Plymouth, for the time being, with a monopoly on the fur trade.

Standish's heavy-handed preemptive strike did little for Englishnative relations and did not escape criticism. On learning of the incident, Reverend Robinson wrote Plymouth governor William Bradford from Holland about his concern that Standish had become "a terrour to poor barbarous people." Thomas Morton, a non-Pilgrim fur trader who was later arrested by Standish for "interracial cavorting" with the natives (and who referred to his jailor as "Captain Shrimp"), reported that Standish's ruthlessness led natives to regard all the English as "Wotowequenage" or "Cutthroats." Standish held a number of military and civil positions while at Plymouth. In 1635, the captain participated in an abortive attempt to reclaim a Plymouth trading post in Maine recently seized by the French. As a colonial agent and representative, Standish made several trips back to England to secure trade goods and negotiate debt repayments with the colony's merchant sponsors. From 1644 to 1649, he served as the treasurer of the colony. Standish died on October 3, 1656, in nearby Duxbury, a town he helped establish in the 1630s.

Alan C. Downs

See also

Massasoit; Narragansetts; Pilgrims; Plymouth; Wampanoags; Wessagusset Raid

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St. Augustine (Florida)

Spanish settlement founded in 1565 on the northeastern coast of Florida. The Spaniards established St. Augustine as a base from which they could defend their colonial interests in North America and especially the trade route for the treasure ships returning to Spain. Spain first claimed Florida as part of its empire when Juan Ponce de León explored the region in 1513.

Initial Spanish attempts at exploration and settlement there ended in disaster, however. The humid climate, frequent hurricanes, and hostile relations with the local Native Americans all but ruled out large settlements. Spain was thus content to leave Florida undeveloped.

The Spanish attitude changed in 1564, when French Huguenots established Fort Caroline near the mouth of the St. Johns River. This French outpost represented a direct threat to Spanish shipping interests, and in 1565 King Philip II dispatched Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Florida with orders to destroy the fledgling French settlement.

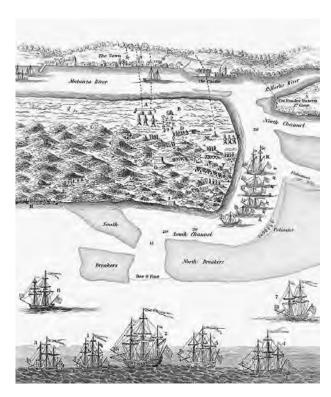
Accomplishing his mission, Menéndez established St. Augustine that same year to help secure Spanish sovereignty over Florida.

St. Augustine was not well defended or supplied during its early history. The Spaniards constructed a small wooden fort, but the inhabitants chiefly relied on a system of loosely organized Spanish missions and ties with the local natives to put their imprint on Florida. Heat, humidity, termites, and pounding storms all took a toll on the fort. Ultimately torn down, the fort was then rebuilt a total of nine times during the first 100 years of settlement.

Halfhearted Spanish attempts at ranching and agriculture came to little, and the struggling town was dependent on sporadic delivery of supplies from Cuba. Pirates sacked St. Augustine in 1668, exposing the glaring inadequacies of its defenses. With expanding English colonies and the establishment of Charles Town (present-day Charleston) in English Carolina in 1670, it became imperative that the Spaniards shore up the town's defenses. Construction of a stone fort, the massive Castillo de San Marcos, began in 1672 and was completed by 1695.

The fort successfully weathered two major invasions by the English in 1702 and 1740. It was protected by a series of barrier islands and a shallow harbor that prevented large ships from approaching too closely. Perhaps the most unusual feature of the fort was the unexpected benefit conferred by its construction material, coquina, a soft limestone made of sea shell fragments. Rather than breaking on impact of a cannon ball, coquina absorbs the blast, leaving a soft round dent in the wall, but holding firm. The Castillo de San Marcos was never taken by force, and no other serious attempts were made to capture it.

St. Augustine became a political pawn during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). In a major blow to Spanish pride, England captured Havana, Cuba, in 1762. As part of the peace treaty ending the war, England returned Havana to Spain in exchange for



Contemporary engraving by Thomas Silver depicting the British assault on Spanish St. Augustine, Florida, in June 1740. (Author's Collection)

Florida. When England took control of St. Augustine in 1763, all 3,000 inhabitants, mostly Spaniards, evacuated the town for Cuba.

DOROTHY A. MAYS

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1718–1721); Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Castillo de San Marcos (Florida); Florida; Florida, British Invasion of; Florida, Franco-Spanish Conflict over; Fort Caroline (Florida); French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Paris, Treaty of; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; St. Augustine, Battle of; St. Augustine, Siege of

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St. Augustine, Battle of

Start Date: June 13, 1740 End Date: July 20, 1740

Unsuccessful British siege of Spanish-controlled St. Augustine, Florida, that took place during June–July 1740 and the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744). In 1733, James Oglethorpe founded the

colony of Georgia at Savannah, near the mouth of the Savannah River. He established Georgia on land already claimed by Spain.

From the start, Oglethorpe made preparations for an eventual confrontation with Spain, biding his time until he could muster sufficient strength to attack St. Augustine, then Spain's most valuable stronghold in Florida. Meanwhile, London, wary of starting a war with Spain in the New World, restrained Oglethorpe from any effort to realize his military ambitions.

Assaulting St. Augustine would not be easy. Barrier islands protected the Spanish post, and the harbor was too shallow for large warships to approach. Occasional breaks between the islands did provide inlets through which smaller ships could approach St. Augustine and its principal defensive bastion, the Castillo de San Marcos.

The beginning of the Anglo-Spanish War in 1739 (the War of Jenkins' Ear) led London to encourage Oglethorpe to launch raids against the Spanish to his south, and in late winter 1739, Oglethorpe began making preparations for an attack on St. Augustine by both land and sea. Oglethorpe's land force of some 180 colonists and Native Americans easily took the small satellite forts to the north and west of St. Augustine: Mosé, Picolata, and Pupo. His primary forces arrived by sea off St. Augustine in eight ships on June 13, 1740, providing Oglethorpe with an additional 1,000 colonial troops and 200 Native American warriors, most of the latter being Cherokees.

Almost immediately the English secured control of Anastasia, the barrier island directly across from the Castillo. Seven hundred fifty Spanish troops defending the fort now faced Oglethorpe's 1,400 men.

The Spanish governor of St. Augustine, Manuel de Montiano, dispatched an immediate appeal to Cuba for reinforcements and supplies. As with their assault on St. Augustine in 1702, it soon became apparent to the English that their only hope of victory was to starve out the fort's defenders. Montiano estimated that he had rations for less than a month. Unlike Gov. Joseph de Zúñiga y Cerda, who had defended the fortress in 1702, Montiano was unwilling to wage a purely defensive battle.

Taking advantage of the fact that English land and naval forces were scattered because of the geography of the harbor and could thus not effectively coordinate defensive measures, Montiano mounted a sortie that reclaimed Fort Mosé on June 26.

Oglethorpe then initiated a bombardment of the Castillo de San Marcos that lasted 27 days. The fort was spared the full impact of the cannon fire, however, because of the shallow water and the resultant distance of Oglethorpe's ships from the stronghold. Further adding to Oglethorpe's troubles was the unique character of the fort's walls. It was constructed of coquina, a soft lime-stone formed by compressed shell fragments. Rather than shatter on impact, the walls absorbed the shock of cannon balls with surprising ease.

The greatest danger to the defenders was starvation, and in early July, Montiano ordered half rations. At the same time he received the welcome news that Spanish relief ships had been spotted off the coast approximately 70 miles to the south. Unfortunately for Mon-

tiano, these ships were unable to gain the harbor because Oglethorpe's ships were guarding most of the navigable inlets that allowed access past the barrier islands to the inland passage.

Montiano then dispatched five shallow-draft boats to retrieve the supplies. Waiting until an English warship was out of sight of the Matanzas Inlet, these boats were able to slip into the inland passage and reach the fort on July 3.

By mid-July, Oglethorpe's men were badly demoralized. Suffering from the heat and mosquitoes, they were close to mutiny. With hope of a quick victory evaporating and with hurricane season about to begin, on July 20 Oglethorpe lifted the siege and sailed for Savannah.

DOROTHY A. MAYS

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Castillo de San Marcos (Florida); Florida; Florida, British Invasion of; Fort Mosé (Florida); Fort Picolata (Florida); Georgia; Montiano, Manuel de; Oglethorpe, James Edward; St. Augustine

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St. Augustine, Siege of

Start Date: November 10, 1702 End Date: December 29, 1702

Abortive English siege of Spanish-held St. Augustine (Florida) at the beginning of Queen Anne's War (or War of the Spanish Succession, 1702–1713), from November 10 to December 29, 1702. The conflict was sparked by the death without heirs of Spanish king Charles II in 1700. The Spanish throne then passed to the grandson of King Louis XIV of France, who became king as Philip V and began the Bourbon dynasty in Spain. This Spanish-French alliance left Britain dangerously isolated. The English feared encirclement of their North American colonies by the Spanish to the south and French to the north and west and were therefore determined to destroy St. Augustine, the only substantial Spanish military base in North America.

In September 1702, Gov. James Moore of Carolina launched an expedition made up of between 800 and 1,200 (sources disagree) colonists and Native Americans to take St. Augustine. Most of the men traveled by sea in 14 vessels, but a small contingent led by Colonel Robert Daniel marched overland to attack St. Augustine from the west.

St. Augustine proved a challenging objective, as its strategically placed, well designed, and strongly built fort, the Castillo de San Marcos, provided an effective defense for the city. Spanish gover-

nor Joseph de Zúñiga y Cerda commanded the defenders. His strong leadership proved a major factor in enabling the defenders to endure a prolonged siege.

Moore mistakenly launched an unnecessary attack against a Spanish position on Amelia Island during the voyage to St. Augustine. This action deprived the English of the element of surprise. When their vessels arrived in St. Augustine a week later, Zúñiga was well aware of English intentions. He had also been able to dispatch by ship a plea to Spanish authorities in Cuba for reinforcements.

Zúñiga did what he could to prepare for the expected arrival of the English forces. He ordered his soldiers to round up cattle, and he opened the fort to the 1,500 inhabitants of St. Augustine. There they joined 323 soldiers. Zúñiga also ordered all structures within musket range of the Castillo to be razed in order to deprive the English of cover and allow the defenders clear fields of fire. On November 10, Colonel Daniel arrived from the west at the same time the Spanish soldiers were returning with a herd of 163 cattle. The Spanish were able to move the herd into the moat of the fort before the English could stop them.

When Moore's fleet arrived on November 10, the sand bar that lay at the entrance of the harbor prevented his larger vessels from approaching the Castillo. The cannon on them could thus not be fired against the fortress. Moore then dispatched an appeal to English authorities in Jamaica for additional troops and sea mortars, which could lob shells (known as bombs) over the fort's walls.

Knowing he was badly outnumbered, Zúñiga never attempted to engage the English in open battle. He was determined to endure the siege until reinforcements arrived. Although the Castillo de San Marcos was badly overcrowded, Zúñiga's firm discipline and his rationing of provisions would allow the defenders to resist for some time. If Moore could not starve the Spaniards out in the short term, his only hope of victory was to receive reinforcements himself before the Spanish also might reinforce.

On December 26, 1702, lookouts at the fort spotted ships' masts on the horizon. This sighting turned out to be four Spanish warships bearing supplies and reinforcements, enabling the Spanish to end the 50-day siege.

Faced with superior forces, Moore ordered the town of St. Augustine burned and his ships also destroyed. His forces then withdrew overland.

Both Moore and Zúñiga endured censure from their own governments. Moore had lost the element of surprise and, without effective artillery, his vastly superior manpower counted for little. Rather unfairly, Zúñiga came under criticism for failing to mount anything more than a defensive action to the English assault and allowing them to raze the settlement. An official Spanish inquiry, however, cleared Zúñiga of any wrongdoing and indeed praised him for his leadership during the siege.

DOROTHY A. MAYS

See also

Florida; Moore, James; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; St. Augustine

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Stevens, Phineas

Born: February 20, 1706 Died: April 6, 1756

Commander of the Fort at Number Four (New Hampshire), captain in the colonial militia, and intermediary between the English and Native Americans. Born on February 20, 1706, in Sudbury, Massachusetts, Phineas Stevens grew up in a prosperous colonial household. In 1723, his life assumed a dangerous turn. On August 14, 1723, a band of native warriors came on him and his three brothers walking. The warriors killed two of his brothers and took Phineas and his four-year-old brother captive. Taken to Canada, he was ransomed in 1724 and returned to his home.

In 1734, Stevens moved to a settlement named Number Four (later Charlestown) along the Connecticut River in New Hampshire, where he was one of the first inhabitants. In 1743, he was commissioned a lieutenant in the militia and charged with the defense of the frontier. He also commanded the Fort at Number Four. Thanks to his military abilities, some of which he learned while in captivity with the natives, Stevens became a militia captain. Over the next few years, he was charged with negotiating numerous treaties with frontier Native Americans. On frequent occasions, he concluded viable agreements. Colonial officials also charged him with negotiating with Native Americans who had kidnapped English settlers. For example, in 1752, he successfully negotiated for the release of kidnapped Englishman John Stark, who garnered fame during the American Revolutionary War. Stevens secured Stark's release in return for two ponies.

Recognized for his negotiating successes, Stevens once more assumed command of the Fort at Number Four, which served as a buffer fort for the defense of English settlements in western New Hampshire. Stevens's command of the post served as a vital part of frontier defense. Indeed, he successfully repelled a number of attacks during King George's War (1744–1748). Moreover, his policies toward Native Americans served as a model for negotiating and compromising, which would well serve the English in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). He took command of the fort again at the start of that war, although he moved his family to safety at Deerfield, Massachusetts. In 1755, Stevens participated in the expedition against the French in Nova Scotia, taking part in operations that led to the surrender of Fort Beauséjour in June. Stevens died at Chignecto on April 6, 1756, following a brief illness.

See also

Fort at Number 4 (New Hampshire); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns

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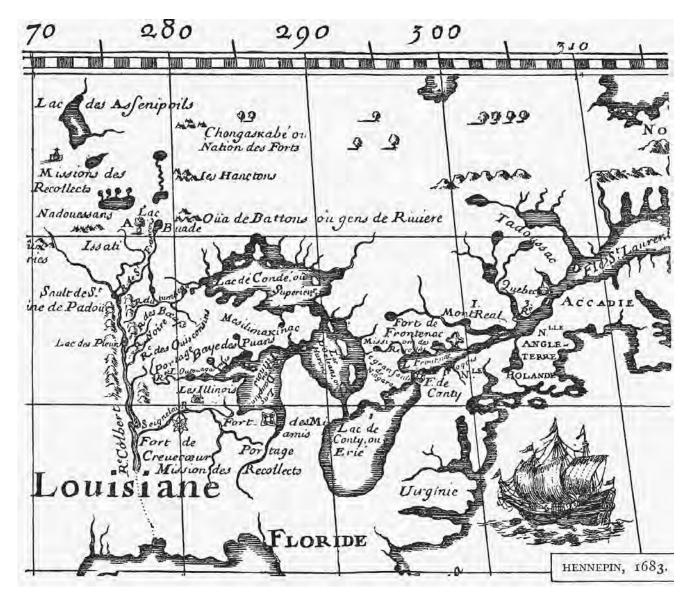
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St. Lawrence River

The St. Lawrence River begins at the foot of Lake Ontario and flows eastward to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, covering a distance of about 750 miles. It drains a 1,900-mile-long watershed that originates with the North River and the St. Louis River in Minnesota, includes the Great Lakes, and connects these bodies to the Atlantic Ocean.

Without the St. Lawrence, the history of North America would have been completely different. The early French presence deep in the continental interior was only possible because of the river. Indeed, France's first ally among the Native American nations, the Hurons, and its first enemy, the Iroquois, would likely not have been encountered until many years later had it not been for the river access.

Quebec, the first major settlement on the St. Lawrence and eventual capital of New France, was tied directly to the river's geography. Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec in 1608 on the north shore of the waterway near the confluence of the St. Charles River. The heights there commanded the narrowing river passage. Similarly, the rapid growth of Montreal, situated some 170 miles upstream from Quebec, was also predicated on the utility of the St. Lawrence. Merchants at Montreal collected furs from the western hinterlands for shipment to Europe. Meanwhile, incoming soldiers,



colonists, military supplies, and trade goods could be disembarked there directly from French ports.

Even the earliest confrontations between Britain and France in North America were conditioned by the St. Lawrence. The capture of Quebec in 1629 by the English, for example, was made possible by a blockade of the river mouth, cutting off New France from resupply. Although Quebec was returned following subsequent peace negotiations, the English success exposed the main strategic weakness of New France's locale, namely, its almost complete dependence on the St. Lawrence for reinforcement and resupply.

The river complicated not just defensive strategies, but offensive plans as well. A bombardment from the heights of Quebec could be decisive when directed against enemy ships in the St. Lawrence. This was the case, for instance, during the attack on Canada by New England forces in 1690. The river's tidal fluctuations affected both the times and places that an amphibious landing at Quebec could be undertaken, and without knowledge of these, an attacker's plans could go awry, as occurred in 1690.

An approach by land to the St. Lawrence and New France from the British colonies to the south entailed traveling through dense wilderness, whereas the French had fortified and garrisoned the easier route from Lake Champlain to the Richelieu River. To the west, the stretch of the river from Lake Ontario to Montreal was interspersed with treacherous rapids that could be fatal to a careless invasion force, such as the one led by the British Army's Major General Jeffery Amherst in 1760.

In the end, however, the river that gave life to New France also conspired to extinguish it. British naval supremacy in 1759 and 1760 and the attendant control of the St. Lawrence that this produced led directly to the capture of both Quebec and Montreal and put a permanent end to France's colonial presence in North America.

Steve Bunn

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; Beaver Wars; Canada, British Expedition against (1711); Canada, New England Expedition against; Champlain, Samuel de; Hurons; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Fort Frontenac (Ontario); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Lake Champlain; Lake Ontario; Montreal; New France; Quebec; Quebec, Attack on (1629); Quebec, Attack on (1690); Quebec, Attack on (1711); Quebec, Battle of; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns

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St. Mary's Fort (Maryland)

Defensive outpost built by the English in 1634 along the St. Mary River in eastern Maryland. St. Mary's Fort guarded the access to St. Mary's City, Maryland's first settlement and for 60 years its colonial capital. Like most in its day, the redoubt was a center of both trade with, and defense against, Native Americans in the area. It also provided protection against raids by rival Virginia colonists, pirates, and assorted marauders who threatened the exposed Chesapeake frontier. The fortification—a 120-foot square palisaded log garrison well mounted with ordnance—was built on land purchased from the Piscataways by Leonard Calvert, Maryland's first governor. St. Mary's Fort, a square-shaped structure, more than likely resembled the palisaded Native American settlements in the area.

In June 1634, Calvert had landed with 140 settlers on St. Clements Island at the mouth of the Potomac River. The land was located along a river he named St. Mary, where he founded a settlement of the same name. It was the fourth permanent English community in North America. Chartered in 1669, St. Mary's City became the colony's capital and remained so until 1694, when, following the Glorious Revolution, then-governor Francis Nicholson moved the seat of government to Protestant Annapolis.

During the English Civil War (1642–1649), Captain Richard Ingle and his men attacked and plundered St. Mary's City in 1645, hoping to claim the colony of Maryland for Parliament. Governor Calvert escaped, and controlling Maryland's militia from head-quarters in Virginia, he eventually restored proprietary control in 1647. Having by this time become neglected and fallen into disrepair, St. Mary's Fort played no role in these events. Its earlier functions were now fulfilled by Fort St. Inigoes, a replacement erected at Fort Point in 1644. St. Mary's Fort has now been restored and is part of a larger historical complex, including a reconstructed state house, a replica of original capitol buildings, and assorted archaeological exhibits.

KARL SCHWEITZER

See also

English Civil War, Impact in America; Fort St. Inigoes (Maryland); Glorious Revolution in America; Maryland; Maryland, Protestant-Catholic Conflict in

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Stono Rebellion

Start Date: September 9, 1739 End Date: September 1739

Slave revolt near Charles Town (present-day Charleston), South Carolina, that began on September 9, 1739. Beginning in the 1720s,

South Carolinians complained of encouragement by Spanish officials in Florida of slave runaways, Native American raids, and servile insurrections. In 1720, one slave rebellion was put down once the slaves' escape to Florida had been blocked. Rumors of uprisings persisted. By the late 1730s, most of the colony's slaves were African born, and a majority of them had been residents for less than a decade.

In 1738, tensions in the region mounted when Spain issued a royal proclamation conferring freedom to slaves who fled British colonies. The Spanish built a fortification for them, Fort Mosé, near St. Augustine, Florida. Adding to the growing frustrations in South Carolina was the considerable increase in numbers of slaves brought in to work the burgeoning rice plantations since the late 1720s.

In 1739, Lt. Gov. William Bull informed the South Carolina assembly that fugitive bondsmen had become the colony's principal problem. Concurring, the legislators created a committee to study steps that might be implemented in response to Spanish support of slave flight.

With spreading reports of servile unrest and with the successful escape of three bond servants to Florida, the South Carolina legislature approved three measures to check slave insurgence. These were a petition to the British Crown for aid, additional coastal patrol boats, and bounties for returning runaways from Georgia. As a deterrent, two apprehended fugitives were publicly punished. Bull lamented, "There was a growing awareness among whites that their Negroes which were their chief support may in little time become their Enemies, if not their Masters, and that this Government is unable to withstand or prevent it." Anxiety in South Carolina only intensified when Georgia jailed a Roman Catholic clergyman believed to be a Spanish agent inspiring slaves to rebel.

The Stono Rebellion coincided with a severe outbreak of yellow fever in Charles Town in 1739. A notice concerning a security act that commanded every white male to bear arms to Sunday worship by September 29 also affected the uprising's timing. The revolt began while many slave owners were at church and took place before the act's implementation. Finally, the start of the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744) helped trigger slave unrest and explains the rebels' trek toward St. Augustine.

On Sunday morning, September 9, 1739, some 20 slaves huddled near a tributary of the Stono River in St. Paul's Parish, 20 miles from Charles Town. Most were of Angolan descent. Their leader was a man named Jemmy. The slaves went to Stono Bridge and there stole weapons from Hutchenson's store. The slaves murdered the salesclerks and left their severed heads on the store's front stoop.

Once outfitted with firearms, the slaves looted and torched a nearby residence, slaying the proprietor and his children. The rebels then moved southward, tracing the principal roadway to Georgia and St. Augustine. The band reached Wallace's Tavern before daybreak. They did not harm the innkeeper, but the rebels did plunder a neighboring dwelling and killed the family there. They then went on along the Pon Pon Road, the main route to St. Augustine, destroying four more houses and butchering their white

occupants. The rebels pressured hesitant slaves to accompany them, but other slaves joined of their own will. The slaves continued to kill any whites they encountered.

By chance, Lieutenant Governor Bull and a small entourage were traveling northward on the same road taken by the rebels. Realizing the circumstances, Bull galloped off to arouse the countryside.

The rebels paused before sunset. Now more than 60 in number and having covered more than 10 miles since the start of the rebellion, they gathered in a clearing on the northern edge of the roadway, close to the site of the Jacksonborough Ferry. There they danced, sang, and beat drums, hoping to draw more recruits.

While the slaves celebrated their freedom, as many as 100 whites on horseback advanced on the field. Taken by surprise, the slaves hesitated, undecided whether to charge the planters or run away. Reportedly those with arms fired two volleys. As some reloaded and others fled, the colonists dismounted and discharged fire into the slaves' ranks, hitting 14. Survivors were captured, interrogated, and then executed. The white colonists then proceeded to behead the corpses and laid the heads out at each mile post along the road.

The following Saturday, six days after the outbreak of the uprising, South Carolina militiamen overtook the remaining rebels. Despite a lack of food, the slaves had covered 30 miles. A fierce engagement ensued, in which the rebels were taken.

The Stono Rebellion resulted in at least 20 deaths among the white settler population and at least 40 slaves dead. In general, South Carolina responded to the Stono uprising with surprising calm. Besides taking military action against Spanish Florida, the proximity of which was viewed as a continual provocation, the colony enacted two laws to prevent a reoccurrence. First, a high tax on slave imports was levied to drive down the number of foreignborn slaves. Second, a 1740 slave code further limited slaves' activities, prohibited them from learning to read and write, and forbade them from assembling in large groups. The slave code also penalized slave owners for the infliction of immoderate labor or cruel discipline that might stimulate slave discontent.

The Stono Rebellion demonstrated how political turmoil awakened slave turmoil, and it prompted planters to be more aware of servile unrest. Slave revolts and rumors of revolts typically paralleled political conflict and warfare. Rebellions or rumors of rebellions occurred in 1759, prior to the beginning of the Cherokee War (1759–1761), in 1766 during the Stamp Act controversy, and in 1775 at the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War.

RODNEY J. Ross

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Charles Town (South Carolina); Florida; Fort Mosé (Florida); Slave Trade and the American Colonies; Slavery; South Carolina; St. Augustine

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Strategy in Colonial North America

Geopolitical strategies—which include military, political, and economic considerations—are complex issues in colonial North American history. The time span and geographic area to be examined are considerable. And the sheer numbers of actors, ranging from sovereign states to joint-stock companies to colonists to Native Americans complicate the issue all the more.

From 1500 to 1600, the Spanish were the principal Europeans active in North America. After the discovery of mineral wealth in Central and South America, the Spanish moved to exploit the silver and gold in the region. The Spanish Empire in America gradually expanded to the North, both as a means to secure the "heartland" and in a quest for more gold and silver deposits. Two strategic problems confronted the Spanish: securing the region and securing the shipping routes out of the region and back to Spain.

Securing the region involved establishing effective and localized colonial governments and garrisons throughout the Caribbean Basin and Central America. The intent was to control the native populations and prevent other European states from securing colonial bases to raid the treasure fleets returning to Spain. The Spanish relied on their navy to escort and protect the annual treasure fleets.

In the third quarter of the 16th century, other powers began to intrude on the Spanish monopoly in the Americas. The Dutch, as part of their rebellion against Spanish rule, began raiding Spanish shipping. The English also began quasi-legal raids both at sea and on Spanish ports in the region. And with French Protestants operating from La Rochelle, France also participated in raids on Spanish shipping.

These attacks, although small compared to the vast wealth flowing out of America through the Caribbean Basin, encouraged the Spanish to extend small garrisons farther north along the Florida coast, establishing brief footholds as far north as the coast of southern South Carolina. Permanent garrisons and missions were established as far north as St. Augustine, Florida. The English and the Dutch were beginning to attempt settlements closer to the region to support their raiding efforts, but these proved unsuccessful, at least until the 17th century.

In perhaps the first "strategic" move of the period, the Spanish attempted in the 1580s to cut off the English raiders by invading England and supplanting Protestant queen Elizabeth I with a more amenable—and Catholic—monarch. This resulted in the 1588 defeat of the Spanish Armada, and the beginning of England's ascendancy to naval dominance and empire. The failure of the Spanish Armada and the continuing resistance of the Dutch further exacerbated the Spanish financial situation.

By 1640, French, English, and Dutch settlements were slowly developing along the eastern seaboard of North America, from the

St. Lawrence River to Virginia, as well as within the Caribbean Basin. However, until the late 1600s, strategic interactions among these settlements were still limited. Initially, most of them were isolated from one another, struggling to survive, and more concerned with the possible threats from Native Americans than from each other.

The French settled in Canada, principally along the St. Lawrence River. Their considerable economic interest in the fur trade resulted in limited numbers of settlers, which would plague them when conflict with England erupted at the end of the 17th century. However, the experiences of French traders with the Native Americans were an advantage to the French, for they helped forge valuable economic and military alliances. The French also required less land than did the expansive English settlements. This too drew more native support to the less-intrusive French. Between 1680 and 1750, the French extended their posts south and west into the valleys of the Ohio River and the Mississippi River. Nevertheless, their numbers in these regions were scant.

The French had also established colonies in the Caribbean, on islands like Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Haiti. During the late 1600s and 1700s, these so-called sugar islands would become the principal arenas of European competition, with repeated conquest and reconquest as the tides of naval power in the region shifted.

The English had a more aggressive settlement policy in North America. Eventually, their settlements ranged from Maine to Georgia. The English settlements were more populous and self-supporting than those of either the French or the Spanish. This would be a great strategic advantage for the English. However, local home rule in the various colonies propagated a lack of central direction and control, which oftentimes impeded successful united action by the English and their colonists.

England also had colonies in the Caribbean, ranging from the Windward and Leeward Islands to the island of Jamaica. These outposts produced great wealth in the form of sugar and tobacco and were a primary concern of the British Crown. These colonies also relied almost exclusively on slave labor. The British Navy would have the task of defending the island colonies and maintaining the lines of communication and trade between them, North America, and England.

The Dutch also had several settlements on the continent until 1664, when New Amsterdam was ceded to England and renamed New York. Dutch colonies were concentrated in the New York, New Jersey, and Delaware areas. The Dutch established alliances with the Iroquois as a result of Huron alliances with the French. These alliances were transferred to the English after the 1660s. Dutch settlers integrated into the English system, especially after the Dutch and English became allies in 1689. The Dutch continued to maintain colonies in the Caribbean Basin and also devoted naval resources to the region.

Native Americans are often seen as passive targets of European encroachment, but this was far from the case in many instances. Rivalry between tribes often resulted in alliances between tribes and the Europeans. The Hurons, for example, established a trading

relationship with the French, which implied to the Hurons that the French were their allies. Indeed, in the early 17th century they induced the French to accompany them on a raiding party against the Iroquois. The resulting encounter placed the French and the Iroquois on opposing sides throughout most of the colonial period (1609–1763). On their part, the Iroquois sought aid from the Dutch and then the English.

In the South, along the ambiguous frontier separating English claims, Spanish Florida, and French Louisiana, tribal rivalries saw various Native American nations playing one side against the other in what would become a deadly dance. Unlike the rather simple confrontation in the North between the French and the Algonquin and the English and the Iroquois, in the South the strategic situation was complicated by the presence of the three European powers as well as several rival native nations, the Cherokees, the Creeks, the Chickasaws, the Choctaws, and others. The strategic goal of the natives was to preserve their independence, to strengthen their own hand against other tribes, and to slow the encroachment of the Europeans, especially the land-hungry English.

The national economic strategy of the three principal colonial states—England, France, and Spain—in North America was mercantilism. This economic system viewed wealth as a finite commodity. The idea was to obtain through colonial holdings all the necessary imports and to export surpluses to foreign nations. This brought an inflow of gold to the home government, increasing its wealth and its ability to wage war. All three, especially the Spanish with their dependence on specie from the New World, saw their colonies as important. But the critical theater would be Europe until the British undertook a different strategy in the French and Indian War between 1754 and 1763.

The strategic pattern of the series of four major wars, generally known as the Great War for Empire, between 1689 and 1763, had been established in the first conflict, King William's War (1689–1697). The French were significantly outnumbered in Canada by the English settlers in New England, and New York resorted to a raiding strategy. The French, using their Algonquin allies and their own woods-savvy militia with small numbers of French regulars, attacked frontier settlements to roll back the English frontier and to force the English to commit regular troops to defending their colonies. The French government saw the war in North America as a way to distract the English from more important theaters, particularly Europe.

The English settlers relied on local militias and recruited rangers to contain the French raiding strategy, and raised colonial forces to invade and conquer French territory. As the French expanded their grip on the Ohio Country, the Mississippi Valley, and the southeastern Gulf of Mexico region, the English felt increasingly surrounded by French power and deprived of the ability to expand farther westward. English colonists and the Iroquois saw French Canada as an ever-present threat, and hoped to eliminate it entirely. Therefore, they launched abortive invasions along the Lake Champlain Valley and toward Lake Ontario to infiltrate the heart of New France and

the fur-trading routes. They also undertook offensives into the St. Lawrence River Valley in order to reach Quebec.

The English government preferred to keep much of its manpower in Europe, seeing that as the critical theater. If they dispatched forces to the New World, it was mainly to the Caribbean. For the English Crown, the wars in North America were a distraction from more important conflicts and rivalries. North American colonies were seen as bargaining chips during peace negotiations to gain ground in more preferred areas. Not surprisingly, this outlook did not sit well among English colonists, whose livelihoods and lives were on the line. This sharp divergence in strategic aims between the colonies and the home government plagued the English until the rise of William Pitt the Elder in 1757.

When Pitt became the principal minister in 1757, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), he changed the British approach significantly. Pitt saw the conflict as a global one, as more than just a conflict over the European balance of power. He viewed the British Empire as a unified whole and the sole source of British power; therefore, he aimed to protect it and to expand it. Indeed, he attempted to reduce the commitment of British forces in Germany by increasing subsidies to Prussia and by relying on mercenaries. Pitt then transferred men, material, and money to the colonial conflicts.

The British had begun to reinforce the colonials with regular forces as early as 1755; however, they attempted to force compliance with royal commands and exact monetary contributions from the colonial legislatures. The result was halfhearted efforts and abortive offensives led by British officers who had little patience with colonial forces and little understanding of the nature of colonial warfare. Pitt changed all that, treating the colonials much as he approached continental allies, with subsidies and incentives rather than threats.

In 1758, the British captured French-held Louisbourg in the Gulf of St. Lawrence for the second time, this time not as a bargaining chip for future negotiations but as the entry point to the St. Lawrence River and New France. In 1759, using predominantly regular forces, the British undertook four major offensives. The first three were along the long-established invasion routes, down the St. Lawrence River to Quebec, up the Champlain Valley toward Montreal, and westward along the Mohawk River to Lake Ontario. The fourth offensive headed west from Pennsylvania into the Ohio Country, with its objective to take the Forks of the Ohio and Fort Duquesne at present-day Pittsburgh. By 1760, all these offensives had succeeded, the French were essentially defeated, and New France had been absorbed. When the French and Indian War ended in 1763, the British had secured all of North America east of the Mississippi River to include Spanish Florida. They had also added additional island colonies in the Caribbean.

However, with all the new territory came new debt and new strategic considerations. British policy now became focused on cost reduction, and a significant portion of that cost reduction entailed attempting to limit conflicts between expanding American colonies and the Native Americans of the interior. Thus, the British govern-

ment promulgated the Proclamation of 1763 and attempted to restrict colonial expansion into the Ohio and Kentucky countries. This land had been long coveted by the colonists, who believed that they had earned their right to settle it. Additionally, colonial resentment over the apparent generosity of London's treatment of the Quebec province and the French settlers there was another bitter pill to swallow. The stage was now set for a new war in North America, one that would pit the English colonists against their own government.

JOHN T. BROOM

See also

France; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; Great Britain; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns; King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns; Mercantilism; New France; New Netherland; Ohio Country; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Spain

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Stuart, John

Born: September 25, 1718 Died: March 21, 1779

British merchant, frontier diplomat, and superintendent of Indian Affairs (1762–1779) in the southern colonies. Born in Inverness, Scotland, on September 25, 1718, John Stuart was educated in local schools and in London before traveling to Spain in 1736. There he worked as a clerk.

Returning to London, Stuart joined Commodore George Anson's 1740 expedition to the Pacific during the Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744). Stuart's performance in this difficult operation earned him both high praise from Anson and substantial prize money. These funds enabled him to begin a career as a merchant.

Stuart lived in Portsmouth and London before migrating in 1748 to Charles Town (present-day Charleston), South Carolina, where he established himself in business. In 1749, Stuart traveled to England and married, and in 1751 he returned to South Carolina. He held various political offices there, including a seat in the provincial assembly. His business ventures failed, however, in 1752.

Shortly after the outbreak of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Stuart secured a commission as a captain in the provincial militia and led his company to the frontier. His mission was to protect the pro-British Cherokees from Native Americans allied with the French. During his sojourn in the backcountry, he developed an admiration for the Cherokees and became close friends with one of their principal chiefs, Attakullakulla. Stuart was reassigned to oversee the construction of defenses at Port Royal (Beaufort) the following year. In 1759, he received orders to return to Fort Loudoun on the frontier, when hostilities began between the Cherokees and South Carolina. In August 1760, the Cherokees forced the surrender of Fort Loudoun following a five-month siege.

Although the garrison was permitted to march to another post with their arms, the Cherokees attacked the column on August 10, 1760. Stuart was among those captured in the ensuing battle, but Attakullakulla ransomed him shortly afterward. Attakullakulla then personally guaranteed his safe return to Charles Town. Stuart helped to negotiate the 1761 treaty ending the Cherokee War, and his intervention helped mitigate some of the colonists' harsher demands.

With the French and Indian War ending, the British government created two departments to manage native affairs. London named Edmond Atkin as superintendent of the Southern Department, which encompassed all natives living south of the Ohio River. On Atkin's death in 1761, Stuart became superintendent in early 1762.

Dedicating himself to the welfare of the American Indians, Stuart recognized that the colonists' unfair trading practices and land hunger were the chief sources of native-settler conflict. He therefore worked to regulate traders and vigorously opposed the efforts of southern governors and colonists to force the natives to cede land. These policies won Stuart the respect of the American Indians but made him extremely unpopular with the colonists.

When the American Revolutionary War erupted in 1775, Stuart worked to keep the southern natives neutral until the British government was capable of supporting them with regular troops. The Patriots, however, accused Stuart of planning to order the natives to attack the frontier. Mobs subsequently forced him to flee first from Charles Town and then from Savannah. He eventually established his headquarters at Pensacola, capital of the province of West Florida. Stuart indeed did not incite the 1776 Cherokee attacks on the southern frontier, but the colonists nonetheless held him responsible.

Stuart worked hard to keep the natives well disposed toward the British. With the defeat of the Cherokees in mind, he remained reluctant to encourage them to attack the colonists. This, along with the natives' own ambivalence, limited their contributions to the British. Stuart soon came under criticism from his superiors, who complained that the heavy expenses incurred to maintain native allegiance had yielded no substantial results. By 1778, illness had reduced Stuart's ability to perform his duties. He died at Pensacola on March 21, 1779.

See also

Atkin, Edmond; Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter); Cherokees; Cherokee War; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns; South Carolina

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Stuyvesant, Petrus

Born: ca. 1610 Died: February 1672

Dutch soldier and colonial official, the last director general of the Dutch colony of New Netherland (present-day New York). Petrus Stuyvesant was born in Scherpenzeel, near Wolvega, Netherlands, about 1610. His father was a pastor in the Dutch Reformed Church. Little is known about Petrus Stuyvesant's youth except that he entered military service at an early age and attended Franeker University during 1629–1630. By 1632, he was serving in the Dutch West India Company, which sent him to Brazil in 1635.

In 1643, Stuyvesant was appointed governor of Curaçao and other Dutch possessions in the West Indies. While participating in a campaign against the Portuguese in the West Indies in 1644, he was wounded in his right leg, which later was amputated and replaced by a silver-ornamented wooden one. This elaborately decorated leg became popularly known as his "silver leg." Soon after returning to Holland from Curaçao, Stuyvesant married Judith Bayard in the Walloon Church of Breda on August 13, 1645.

On July 28, 1646, the States General of the Netherlands commissioned Stuyvesant director general of New Netherland and other Dutch possessions in the New World. That same year, Stuyvesant sailed to Curaçao. He then went on to New Amsterdam (present-day New York City), landing there on May 11, 1647. Although he was an effective administrator who made determined efforts to provide New Netherland with an honest and efficient administration, Stuyvesant's religious intolerance and arbitrary methods made him an extremely unpopular governor.

Under Stuyvesant, a marked change in the appearance of New Amsterdam soon occurred as a result of numerous public works projects. Stuyvesant also made extensive changes in the city government. He created the Board of Nine Men to assist him in governing the settlement on September 25, 1647. Stuyvesant soon proved to be so autocratic, however, that the citizens of New Amsterdam, aided by directors of the West India Company, forced him to grant independent municipal control of the city on February 2, 1653.

Stuyvesant was also not very successful in settling a longstanding dispute between Connecticut and New Netherland. By



Petrus Stuyvesant, the last director general of the Dutch colony of New Netherland (present-day New York). (Library of Congress)

way of the humiliating Treaty of Hartford in 1650, Stuyvesant virtually relinquished Dutch control of the Connecticut River Valley. Pressures exerted by English colonists also resulted in Stuyvesant's granting to several Long Island towns the right to elect their own officials.

As a devout member of the Dutch Reformed Church, Stuyvesant was autocratic in his religious policies. He regarded all nonconformists as likely to foment rebellion and therefore dealt harshly with them, particularly Lutherans and Quakers.

With the West India Company on the verge of bankruptcy, Stuyvesant resorted to a policy of taxation to provide for badly needed improvements during his years as director general. Furthermore, he strove to eliminate smuggling to prevent loss of revenue. He also sought to improve relations with Native Americans by attempting to eliminate unscrupulous business practices long used by the merchants of New Amsterdam and Fort Orange (present-day Albany). Nonetheless, Stuyvesant was adamantly opposed to any governmental reforms that might lessen his own authority over New Netherland. Throughout his directorship, he rejected all demands for the creation of a popularly elected legislative assembly.

From 1653 to 1664, Stuyvesant's primary concern was to prevent the decline of Dutch influence on Long Island. Despite his arduous efforts, Stuyvesant's efforts met with only mixed success. His most notable achievement in this period occurred in 1655 and

involved a longstanding dispute over Swedish colonization of the Delaware Valley. To deal with this problem, he invaded New Sweden and forced its surrender. He was also able to keep the Native Americans restrained.

Despite his successes with the Swedes and the natives, Stuyvesant's dealings with aggressive colonists were far less successful. Increasing difficulties with the English over boundaries and trade eventually climaxed with the appearance of an English fleet in the harbor of New Amsterdam in 1664. Its commander, Colonel Richard Nicolls, demanded the city capitulate to the Duke of York, who laid claim to all the land between the Connecticut River and the Delaware Valley. Stuyvesant, whose plans for the defense of the city were opposed by the local burghers, was compelled to surrender New Netherland to the English without resistance on September 8, 1664.

In October 1665, Stuyvesant arrived in the Netherlands to defend himself against charges of misconduct. Returning to America, he retired to New York in 1667 and lived on his farm, or *bouwerij*, from which New York City's Bowery takes its name. He died in February 1672 and was buried beneath the chapel on his farm, which is now the site of St. Mark's Episcopal Church.

BRUCE VANDERVORT

See also

Anglo-Dutch War, Second; Dutch-Indian Wars; Fort Amsterdam (New York); New Netherland; New Sweden; New York

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Sudbury Fight

Event Date: April 21, 1676

Native American attack on Sudbury, Massachusetts. By mid-April 1676, almost a year into King Philip's War (1675–1676), the Massachusetts Bay General Court decided it could not afford to abandon the western frontier in the face of Native American attacks. The colony's leader decided to make a stand at Sudbury, the westernmost town still boasting a civilian population and only 17 miles from Boston.

On the evening of April 20, 1676, between 500 and 1,000 Wampanoag, Nipmuck, and Narragansett warriors, possibly led by King Philip (Metacom) himself, invested Sudbury. The next morning they attacked. The inhabitants had taken safety in garrison houses and the natives, unable to penetrate these strong defenses, instead burned several uninhabited homes and barns. Soon, assis-

tance for the beleaguered settlers arrived from nearby Watertown. The men of the two towns were then able to drive the attackers back to the western side of the Sudbury River.

As that fighting took place, captains Samuel Wadsworth and Samuel Brocklebank arrived from Marlborough with their two companies of militia, some 50–60 men in all. Arriving at the outskirts of Sudbury, the relief force spotted a party of retreating natives and quickly pursued them. Suddenly, the militiamen found themselves confronting several hundred warriors. The militia had fallen into a trap. The men fought their way to nearby Green Hill, where they waged a pitched battle with the natives throughout the afternoon. Local militia forces from Sudbury tried but failed to break through to the two surrounded companies.

As the afternoon wore on, the natives set fire to the brush on the hillside, blinding and choking the colonial defenders. In a moment of panic, some of the militiamen bolted and ran down the hill in an effort to escape. This action caused others, who could barely see, to believe that a retreat was underway and they followed. As the colonial defenses splintered, the natives, sensing a rout, fell on the militiamen and hacked them to pieces. Wadsworth and Brocklebank were both killed, along with some 30–40 of their men.

Following this slaughter, the native force withdrew from the town. The next day, a force of men from Sudbury, accompanied by a contingent of Christian native allies, crossed the river to bury the dead. To their surprise, they discovered 13 militia survivors in a nearby mill.

Sudbury was a demoralizing defeat for the colonial forces. Yet the native alliance that had made possible the attack was starting to splinter, as Mary Rowlandson noted in her diary on the return of the native victors from Sudbury.

Kyle F. Zelner

See also

Garrison Houses; King Philip's War; Metacom; Narragansetts; Nipmucks; Rowlandson, Mary White; Skulking Way of War; Wampanoags

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Sugar Act

Event Date: April 5, 1764

Legislation to increase tax revenues from the British American colonies in the period immediately following the British victory in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The American Duties Act of 1764, usually referred to as the Sugar Act, was designed to improve tax enforcement as well as change the tax structure itself in the North American colonies.

The Sugar Act, carried through Parliament by the government of Prime Minister George Grenville, became law on April 5, 1764. It replaced the Molasses Act of 1733. That decree had taxed American colonial imports of sugar, molasses, and rum from outside the British Empire to protect British Caribbean sugar from competition with cheap French colonial sugar. The act had been easily circumvented, however. Indeed, smuggling activity had increased during the French and Indian War. Although the new act lowered the duty on foreign molasses, it imposed the duty on all sugar or molasses regardless of its source. It also placed heavy taxes on coffee, wine, and other luxury goods. The revenues would be devoted to supporting the British Army in America. The act also increased taxes on rum distilled in the French Caribbean.

The Sugar Act contained several measures to improve the integrity and efficiency of the customs service. Dishonest officers were subject to stiff fines. The act also established a new vice admiralty court with jurisdiction over customs cases in the British colonies, and placed it in the garrison town of Halifax, Nova Scotia. There the judges would be safe from mob intimidation. Crown prosecutors could now insist that customs cases be heard in this court rather than colonial common law courts, where jurors were often sympathetic to the alleged customs evaders.

The Sugar Act aroused great resentment among the colonists, particularly in Boston and New York. James Otis of Massachusetts denounced it in his pamphlet *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved*, which enunciated the principle of no taxation without representation.

The New York Assembly also asserted that the colonies had the right to consent to their own taxation in its petition to Parliament against the act. Massachusetts, the only other colony to petition, was more moderate, complaining against its alleged bad effects on trade rather than its violation of colonial rights. Whatever the arguments against the act, the legislation undoubtedly stirred colonial anger. This ultimately would be manifest in increasingly rebellious colonial responses to additional British taxes and would lead inexorably to the American Revolutionary War.

WILLIAM EARL BURNS

See also

Admiralty Law; Mercantilism; Molasses Act; Navigation Acts; Rum Trade; Stamp Act; Townshend Acts

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Supplies

Provisioning an army during the colonial period was not unlike supplying a modern-day fighting force. Food, shelter, weapons, and fuel for horses in the form of forage were standard fare. Bread was the staple food item of an 18th-century army. Meat might accompany an army, but it was "on the hoof," that is, in the form of animals to be slaughtered as needed. In addition, civilian "sutlers" assigned to regiments would sell soldiers additional provisions, including rum and vegetables. Vegetables were helpful in preventing scurvy. When time and circumstance allowed, soldiers supplemented their diets by gardening, hunting, trapping, or fishing on their own or by buying—or stealing—directly from farmers.

An ideal regular weekly ration for a soldier in the British Army included seven pounds of beef or four of pork, fresh or salted; seven pounds of bread or sufficient flour to bake it; three pints of peas or beans; half a pound of rice; and a quarter-pound of butter. A subaltern was entitled to a double ration, a captain to a triple ration, and a colonel to six times the ration of an enlisted man. Officers could sell any extra back to the commissary at a fixed rate.

After 1756, provincial troops drew the same rations as British regulars. Provincials, however, were often found on fatigue details, such as road repair, which took them to isolated locations and often made supply difficult. Provincials considered their provisions to be a matter of contractual obligation. In fact, many, especially New Englanders, kept careful notes in their diaries of the quantity and quality of their food, rum, and other supplies. Failure to provide adequate supplies could bring desertions or mutiny.

Supplies other than food included blankets, tents, various tools, and ammunition (musket balls, powder). In colonial North America, adult males called into service were expected to furnish their own weapons. Forage might also be needed for horses.

The quantity of supplies carried by an army in the field depended on the extent of resources available in the region. In North America, that tended to be quite limited. Operations generally ceased during the winter, in part because of the difficulty of either finding or transporting supplies.

Access to supplies, of course, was vital to the outcome of a siege. British domination at sea in 1758 doomed Louisbourg by preventing its resupply. On the other hand, the British failure to stop ships from reaching St. Augustine in 1702 allowed the Spanish to hold out. Isolated frontier outposts, such as Fort Duquesne and Fort Oswego, were constantly at risk because of the precarious nature of their supply lines.

On at least one occasion, supplies were used for counterintelligence purposes. To deceive French agents about the true destination of a fleet bound for North America in 1711, the English provided it with only sufficient supplies for a trip to southern Europe. Unfortunately, when the fleet arrived in Boston, the city was already suffering a food shortage, and the addition of thousands of hungry men generated resentment among the local popu-

lation. Supplies could also be willfully withheld from troops, either as a punishment or as a result of corruption among officers.

During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), supplying soldiers in the field became more difficult—and more contentious—because of the sheer number of troops involved. Many colonial merchants made their fortunes selling their wares to the British and provincial units. However, the tight supply and large demand for goods often created shortages and led to inflated prices, which resulted in resentment and even hardship among the civilian populations.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Contractors, British Army; Logistics; Quartermaster General; Requisition System; Scurvy; Sutler

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Susquehannocks

Native American group concentrated in the Susquehanna River Valley. Among the most powerful tribes of the mid-Atlantic region at the time of the European arrival in North America, the Susquehannocks were exterminated in 1763. They spoke a dialect of the Iroquois language. The Susquehannocks lived in about two dozen fortified villages along the Susquehanna River and its tributaries in Maryland, central Pennsylvania, and southern New York. Their villages—the largest of which was located near present-day Lancaster, Pennsylvania-were vast stockades that surrounded longhouses. The longhouses were framed with logs and had a rectangular shape and vaulted roofs. They were 50 to 100 feet long and 18 to 25 feet wide, covered with bark, and had vent holes in the roof to allow smoke from fires to escape. Families slept together on raised platforms on either side of the structure and used animal furs for covers. Because the Susquehannocks were matrilineal, the oldest female was the head of the longhouse.

The Susquehannocks arrived from the north and occupied the Susquehanna Valley since at least 1150. Their earliest known village dates back to 1550. At the height of their power, during the early 17th century, their population numbered some 7,000 people.

The Susquehannocks were farmers, fishermen, and hunters. They planted corn, beans, and squash in the spring, then went south to the Chesapeake area to fish. They returned in the fall to harvest and hunt. Their first recorded European contact was with Captain John Smith in 1608 near the Chesapeake Bay.

"Susquehannock" was a descriptive term used by Smith's Algonquian-speaking guide to describe the tall Susquehannock he met. "Susquehannock" is an Algonquian word meaning "people of the muddy river," a reference to the Susquehanna River.

The Susquehannocks frequently fought with their neighbors, such as the Delawares (Lenni Lenape) to the east and the Powhatan Confederacy to the south. Although linguistically and culturally related to the Iroquois, the Susquehannocks were allies of the Hurons and bitter enemies of the Iroquois. During the first half of the 17th century, they were the only natives in the region to become major trading partners with the French, the English, the Dutch, and the Swedes. As such, the Susquehannocks made huge profits from the fur trade.

In their search for greater supplies of furs, the Susquehannocks became involved in increased intertribal rivalry between 1630 and 1700. As the Susquehannocks expanded their search for furs westward, they were drawn into the Beaver Wars (1641–1701), a period of intense native rivalry in the Great Lakes and Ohio River Valley region. Although primarily a competition between the Hurons and the Iroquois, the Susquehannocks contributed to the escalation of the conflict.

Because of their multiple alliances with European colonial powers, the Susquehannocks had more European weapons than any other natives in the region. They even possessed a cannon, a weapon not held by any other natives at the time. The Susquehannocks were placed in jeopardy when the Iroquois Confederation overwhelmed the Hurons in 1648–1649. The Iroquois had also been strengthened when they absorbed many of the defeated Hurons into their ranks. In 1651, the Mohawks attacked the Susquehannocks and fought a war with them that lasted until 1656. During the course of the war, the Susquehannocks were pushed farther south along the banks of the Susquehanna River.

In return for assistance from the English in Maryland, the Susquehannocks ceded much of their Maryland territory to the English in 1652. In 1654, a smallpox epidemic hit the Susquehannocks, which further weakened their ability to resist the Mohawks. The Susquehannocks also lost their major arms supplier when the Dutch seized the Swedish colony in Delaware in 1655.

Although the Susquehannocks eventually made peace with the Mohawks in 1656, the Iroquois attacked them in 1658. Another smallpox epidemic struck the Susquehannocks in 1661, further inhibiting their ability to withstand the Iroquois attack. In 1663, Maryland settlers, fearful of the Iroquois, provided the Susquehannocks with weapons. In 1664, however, the English took New York from the Dutch and formed an alliance with the Iroquois. Weakened by war and disease, the Susquehannocks were defeated by the Iroquois in 1675. They were also driven out of Pennsylvania.

The governor of Maryland then offered the Susquehannocks refuge on the upper bank of the Potomac River, much to the chagrin of the English colonists living there. The English colonists subsequently attacked the Susquehannocks, sparking the Susquehannock War (1675–1676). The Susquehannocks responded with retaliatory

raids on colonial settlements, but in 1676 they were forced to flee north. Ultimately, they either surrendered to the Iroquois or were dispersed among other regional natives.

The Iroquois resettled what was left of the Susquehannocks among the Mohawks and the Oneidas in New York. As such, they became part of the so-called Covenant Chain. In 1706, the Iroquois allowed 300 Susquehannocks to return to the Susquehanna Valley and establish the village of Conestoga. Quaker missionaries converted many of the Susquehannocks there to Christianity. In protest, the traditional Susquehannocks left to join the Mingos in Ohio. By 1763, there were only 20 Susquehannocks remaining in Conestoga. Although these 20 natives were living peacefully and causing no harm, the Paxton Boys, enraged by Pontiac's Rebellion (which did not involve the Susquehannocks) decided that all natives in the region were a threat and should be exterminated. Local officials arrested 14 members of the Conestoga community and placed them in a jail in Lancaster for their own protection. Meanwhile, the Paxton Boys killed the 6 Susquehannock Christians remaining in Conestoga. The Paxton Boys then proceeded to the Lancaster jail, where they murdered the remaining Susquehannocks.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Beaver Wars; Covenant Chain; Delaware; Hurons; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Mingos; Mohawks; Oneidas; Paxton Boys Uprising; Pennsylvania; Powhatan Confederacy; Smallpox; Smith, John; Susquehannock War

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Susquehannock War

Start Date: 1675 End Date: 1676

Frontier war between backcountry settlers in Virginia and Maryland and the Susquehannock Native Americans in the upper Potomac River region. In 1676, Virginia frontiersmen under the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon rebelled against their provincial government and burned Jamestown. The primary cause of their dissatisfaction was the colonial government's reluctance to prosecute a war between the backcountry inhabitants and the Susquehannocks, an Iroquoian people situated just north of the Potomac River.

The Susquehannock War began in 1675 when a dispute over stolen hogs escalated into a full-scale war. Virginia frontiersmen killed a group of Doeg natives who were trying to confiscate a farmer's hogs as payment for goods they had sold him. The killings set off a series of raids and counterraids. These quickly expanded to involve both Maryland residents and the Susquehannocks.

The Susquehannocks were relative newcomers to the upper Potomac River area. They had only recently accepted an invitation from Maryland to settle closer to their principal trading partners. Early in the conflict, Susquehannock leaders sought to negotiate a peaceful resolution. Nearly 1,000 Virginians and Marylanders led by John Washington, however, surrounded a principal Susquehannock town and murdered several Susquehannock headmen.

Outnumbered by the Virginians, the enraged Susquehannocks nonetheless wrought devastation across the Potomac frontier region, raiding and pillaging the settlers' isolated farms. Hard pressed by the natives, the frontier populace sought aid from the Virginia government. Colonial officials, fearful of potential disruptions in the profitable Native American trade, responded only with a bland and ineffective defensive strategy. Incensed, frontier settlers rallied around the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon, a young but out-of-favor Virginia aristocrat. Under Bacon's leadership, settlers began indiscriminately killing Native Americans—not only the hostile Susquehannocks but also friendly Algonquian-speaking groups such as the Pamunkeys and the Appomattocks.

Bacon's attacks greatly troubled Virginia lawmakers, who sought to avoid a general war with the natives. Thus, in early 1676 Gov. William Berkeley of Virginia declared Bacon an outlaw. That move touched off the brief but violent frontier uprising that bears Bacon's name.

Disaffected and disenfranchised frontier residents quickly rallied to Bacon's aid. In September 1676 his makeshift army chased Berkeley from Jamestown and then burned the town. However, Bacon died of dysentery only a month later and the rebellion quickly collapsed.

The Susquehannock War ended in 1676 as well. Reluctantly, the Susquehannocks migrated back into Pennsylvania, where they soon dispersed. Some joined the Delawares (Lenni Lenape) in southeastern Pennsylvania, whereas others were forcefully assimilated into the Iroquois Confederation and still others returned to their old home in the Susquehanna River Valley, where they became known as the Conestogas. After the war, the Susquehannocks in essence ceased to exist, reduced instead to a small constituency in other tribes or reconfigured as only a shadow of their former selves.

Daniel P. Barr

See also

Appomattocks; Bacon, Nathaniel, Jr.; Bacon's Rebellion; Berkeley, William; Iroquois Confederation; Maryland; Native American Trade; Pamunkeys; Susquehannock; Virginia

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Sutler

Individuals who traveled with troops in the field and sold provisions and other goods to soldiers. Sutlers were vitally important to the morale of the troops as they sold quality-of-life items that were otherwise difficult for soldiers to acquire. Irregular pay meant that many soldiers were often unable to buy simple necessities from local merchants, who refused to extend credit to transient soldiers. Sutlers usually accepted credit, and typically they sold such items as tobacco, soap, paper, needles, thread, sugar, and tea.

Liquor was by far the most lucrative item sold by sutlers. Despite problems of drunkenness, it was impossible to outlaw alcohol among the troops. Moderate alcohol consumption was generally regarded as a cheap means of pacifying the troops. Sutlers were happy to meet the demand.

Most sutlers were men, but it was not unheard of for women during the colonial period to work as sutlers. Although they were important for troop morale, unscrupulous sutlers could also cause dissension. Some sold goods had been looted from civilians. Such plundering tended to increase when there were too many sutlers within a regiment.

In an attempt to maintain order, sutlers were usually required to register with the commanding officer of a unit. Efforts were made to ensure that they were of good reputation, and commanders impressed on them the need to charge fair prices for their goods if they were to retain the privilege of remaining with the unit.

DOROTHY A. MAYS

See also

Contractors, British Army; Logistics; Quartering; Supplies

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Swansea, Attack on

Start Date: June 20, 1675 End Date: June 25, 1675

The opening attack of King Philip's War (1675–1676), carried out intermittently between June 20 and 25, 1675, by the Wampanoags. The attack on Swansea convinced the New England colonies that the Wampanoags were hostile, igniting war between the two groups.

Swansea, a Plymouth Colony village, lay on the border between English and Wampanoag lands. On June 20, 1675, Wampanoag warriors began to loot and burn outlying Swansea farms. The farmers fled north to Swansea proper and alerted their neighbors, who sent for aid and then retreated to their garrison houses. Colonial militiamen from nearby Bridgewater and Taunton arrived on June 21. In the meantime, the Wampanoags had left the area.

Evidence of what happened next is scant and contradictory. Apparently, on June 23 Wampanoag looters returned to Swansea. In the process, a Plymouth youth shot and killed one warrior. The following day Wampanoag parties ambushed several groups of colonists that had left their garrison houses. Nine English settlers were killed and two were mortally wounded. These deaths persuaded the governments of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay that the Wampanoags intended a full-scale war, and colonial militias mustered accordingly.

Metacom (King Philip), the Wampanoag sachem, had been preparing for war against New England for some time. However, it seems unlikely he would have chosen to begin the war in such fashion. Probably disaffected Wampanoags attacked Swansea on their own initiative, sparking the conflict before Metacom had intended.

Andrew Miller

See also

Garrison Houses; King Philip's War; Massachusetts; Metacom; Plymouth; Wampanoags

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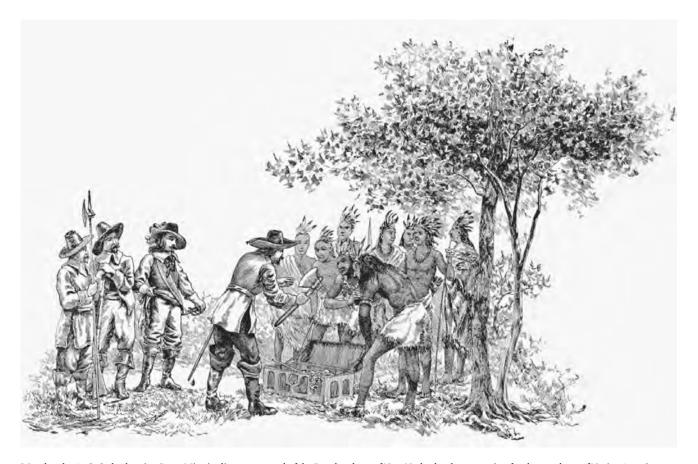
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Sweden

Northern European nation encompassing both Scandinavian and Baltic territories. On the eve of Sweden's colonial venture in North America, Swedish territory covered roughly twice as much area as it does today. It included Finland (part of Sweden since the 12th century), Estonia, part of Latvia, and much of the Baltic coast.

Sweden seceded from union with Denmark and Norway in 1523. More than a century of struggle ensued as Denmark tried to force Sweden back into the union. The long years of war allowed the Swedish nobility to amass great estates. The Crown gave land to the nobility in return for their support, and freeholders crushed by war taxes sold land to the nobles. The peasants who farmed these estates were called "freemen," but unlike serfs, they were permitted to live as tenant farmers where they chose. Sweden remained a largely agrarian nation. Less than an eighth of its population (approximately one million) lived in towns. Sweden possessed abundant timber, iron, and copper, which it traded abroad for finished goods.



Woodcut by A. C. Cady showing Peter Minuit, director general of the Dutch colony of New Netherland, contracting for the purchase of Native American lands. (Library of Congress)

King Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632) was 16 years old when his father died in 1611. He inherited a kingdom at war with Denmark, Poland, and Russia. Count Axel Oxenstierna, then 28 years old, became the new king's most influential adviser.

As he came to terms with his enemies, Gustavus Adolphus built his inadequate forces into a disciplined professional army. He also modernized the musket, developed the concept of mobile artillery, and revolutionized infantry and cavalry deployment. In 1630 he brought Sweden's armed might to bear on the floundering Protestant side in the ongoing Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Gustavus Adolphus landed some 13,000 soldiers and swept through Germany routing the imperial (Holy Roman Empire) forces opposing him. He died in battle in 1632.

Fear of Sweden's military might bears much of the credit for New Sweden's ability to survive in North America for as long as it did. However, decades of warfare depleted the national treasury and decimated generations of young men. More than 120,000 Swedes and Finns died in wars during the first half of the 17th century.

Sweden under Gustavus Adolphus took control of the Baltic coast, including Latvian and Prussian ports. However, the Dutch

dominated trade in the area by virtue of their central location and the skill of their mariners and merchants. Dutch vessels carried most of Sweden's foreign trade. As the Dutch played such a leading role in Swedish commerce, so they also loomed large in the founding of New Sweden. Shortly before his death, King Gustavus Adolphus granted a trading company charter to a group of Dutch merchants. However, they failed to raise enough money for an expedition.

The king's daughter and heir, Christina (1626–1689) became queen-elect at the age of six. A regency led by Axel Oxenstierna ran the government until Christina ascended the throne in 1644. In the meantime, several Swedish government officials, in cooperation with Dutch merchants, formed the New Sweden Company in 1637. The company, led by Peter Minuit, established an American colony in the vicinity of the Delaware River Valley for the dual purposes of fur trading and raiding the Spanish colonies.

New Sweden's proprietors attempted to organize the colony according to the same feudal system that existed at home, with peasants working on company-owned estates. Few Swedes were motivated to leave Sweden only to be tenants somewhere far away, however. Thus, the company resorted to the forced expatriation of

petty criminals and army deserters. New Sweden failed to show a profit, and its small population dwindled through death and desertion to neighboring colonies. In 1641 the Swedish Crown acquired from the disaffected Dutch investors their shares in the New Sweden Company, and ran the company virtually as a department of the national government.

Queen Christina had little interest in Sweden's colony on the far side of the Atlantic and ignored New Sweden for several years. Eric Oxenstierna, Axel's son, persuaded her to send another expedition to New Sweden in 1653. The following year, having secretly converted to Catholicism, she abdicated and was succeeded by her cousin, King Charles X. Sweden's official role in colonial America ended on September 15, 1655, when Gov. John Classon Rising surrendered New Sweden to New Netherland. This was the result not only of neglect on the part of the Swedish Crown, but also of simmering hostilities with a much-better-armed and supplied New Netherland.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Minuit, Peter; Netherlands; New Netherland; New Sweden; Printz, Johan Björnsson; Rising, Johan Classon

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Swedes in America

From 1638 to 1655, a number of Swedes emigrated to North America with the New Sweden Company, settling primarily along the Delaware River in present-day Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Although individual Swedes and their families had emigrated from Sweden prior to the establishment of New Sweden, that colony of 800 people represented the largest single Swedish settlement in America during the colonial period. By 1697, according to church records, an estimated 2,000 North American colonists spoke Swedish.

Swedes who moved to the New World came mostly from central areas of Sweden such as Stockholm, Uppland, and Västergötland. Finns living in Sweden also moved to New Sweden. Johan Björnsson Printz, governor from 1642 to 1654, sought settlers for New Sweden who could earn income for the company. Immigrants represented a variety of social classes, ranging from nobles to peasants. Mostly agrarians, Swedes were also skilled craftsmen and artisans whose methods and traditions impacted American culture in myriad ways. Although many early Swedish colonists had military experience, most were simply farmers, traders, or

other types of workers. Because so few Swedes wished to emigrate, a number of convicts were recruited to boost New Sweden's population. Most seem to have behaved lawfully in their new environment and, for the most part, the other colonists did not ostracize them.

Those Swedes who decided to emigrate endured a lengthy, miserable trip across the Atlantic and risked many hazards. One of 12 ships sailing to New Sweden wrecked in a storm, and the Dutch seized another. The Swedes brought with them to North America supplies, livestock, and belongings that they hoped would help them prosper in unfamiliar surroundings. In North America, they purchased maize from natives and learned to grow native crops. Their pastors assured the Swedes that they could continue practicing their Lutheran faith in the colony.

New Sweden's settlers pursued the company's commercial goals by building trading posts to purchase skins and pelts from natives. These goods were then shipped to European markets. Other colonists focused on raising food crops. Swedish officials urged the farmers to plant tobacco instead of grain, hoping to reap the profits enjoyed by the English colonists of Maryland and Virginia. The soil and climate in New Sweden were not suited to produce high-quality tobacco, however. Farmers planted mostly grain. They received only minimal funding from the New Sweden Company and Swedish officials, so much of their agriculture was subsistence farming. Swedes generally lacked sufficient tools and animals to pull cultivating and harvesting equipment. However, they proved resourceful in improvising required items from available materials. Swedish farmers also processed grain into beer.

Some Swedes became quickly dissatisfied with New Sweden's government. This was especially the case with Governor Printz, who sought to evict the natives forcibly from their lands. Some of the disaffected moved to Maryland or returned to Sweden. After the defeat of New Sweden by New Netherland in 1655, some Swedes returned to Sweden. Many others stayed on in America, however, even encouraging additional Swedes to emigrate. Many Swedes settled in New York City, most of them sailors and ship workers. Both the Dutch and the English communities welcomed Swedes, who gradually became assimilated in colonial society.

Other colonists adopted the Swedes' use of log architecture, devising such structures as log cabins for convenient shelter. Swedes built churches incorporating native design elements from Sweden for their Lutheran religion. The principal Swedish congregations were Christina (Delaware), Penn's Neck and Raccoon (New Jersey), and Wicaco (Pennsylvania). Some 1,300 Swedes belonged to the three congregations in 1754.

Some Swedish clergymen converted Delaware (Lenni Lenape) natives to Christianity. Rev. Johan Campanius, New Sweden's pioneering Lutheran minister, immersed himself in native culture and become fluent in the dialect. He put together a Lenni Lenape dictionary and prepared a catechism translation.

770 Swedes in America

The Swedes assimilated well into American society. William Penn admired their farming skills, which benefited Pennsylvania. Swedes milled grain, tooled leather, and made bricks. Many were shipwrights who helped build the vessels that filled colonial harbors.

Today the American Swedish Historical Museum in Philadelphia and the New Sweden Company replica farmstead in Bridgeton, New Jersey, preserve information and artifacts related to colonial Swedes.

ELIZABETH D. SCHAFER

See also

Delaware; Fort Christina (Delaware); Minuit, Peter; New Jersey; New Sweden; Pennsylvania; Printz, Johan Björnsson; Rising, Johan Classon; Sweden

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Talon, Jean-Baptiste

Born: Late 1625

Died: November 24, 1694

French Army administrator and intendant of New France (1665–1668, 1669–1672). Born in late 1625 and baptized on January 8, 1626, in Châlons-sur-Marne, France, Jean-Baptiste Talon pursued extensive studies in Paris before entering the military administrative services at age 28. Rapidly earning royal favor, Talon became army commissary in Flanders and a quartermaster general in 1653, commissary for the city of Le Quesnoy by 1654, and intendant (chief administrator) for the province of Hainaut the following year.

Named intendant of New France on March 23, 1665, Talon landed at Quebec on September 12. He was to become one of the most inventive and ambitious civil administrators in the history of the colony. Talon undertook and partly achieved the transformation of a small outpost into a profitable royal province, one that was well populated and capable of defending itself.

As intendant, Talon oversaw the lodging and supplying of the newly arrived Régiment de Carignan-Salières. He was also responsible for the logistics of the campaigns against the Iroquois during the winter of 1665–1666 and the autumn of 1666. In the wake of the resulting peace accord, he orchestrated the settlement in the colony of over 400 soldiers and officers. Recalled to France in November 1668, Talon's commission was renewed on May 10, 1669. However, his return to the colony was delayed until August of the following year.

During his tenure in New France, Talon remained preoccupied with the safety of French traders and the prevention of English expansion. In so doing, he advocated a movement of western exploration and the establishment of posts on Lake Ontario. Talon, who was the first royal-appointed intendant of New France, had author-

ity over all judicial and civil affairs. As such, he was responsible for colonial expenditures—including military budgets—public safety, sanitation, public health, and the regulation of trade.

Sailing from the colony for the second and last time in November 1672, on his return to France Talon was rewarded with the title of Comte (Count) d'Orsainville. He spent the remainder of his career as valet and secretary to King Louis XIV. A highly influential man at court, Talon died in Paris on November 24, 1694.

Jean-François Lozier

See also

Beaver Wars; France; France, Army; Iroquois; New France

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Tanaghrisson (Half-King)

Born: Unknown Died: Late 1754

Catawba-born Seneca leader and diplomat in the Ohio Country. The Iroquois seized Tanaghrisson during his youth and raised him as a Seneca. As with most Iroquois men who aspired to positions of leadership, Tanaghrisson had a career as a warrior, but he did not attract the attention of the English and the French until he became a diplomat.

In the wake of the Walking Purchase of 1737, the Iroquois, acting on the behalf of Pennsylvania, ordered the Delawares

(Lenni Lenape) to the westernmost reaches of the colony. At the same time, the Iroquois also assigned "supervisors" who would keep an eye on the Lenni Lenape, Shawnee, and Mingo peoples in the Ohio Country and report on their activities. The English and French referred to these administrative diplomats as "half-kings." When a half-king died, the Iroquois resuscitated the title and bestowed it on the man they selected as the new supervisor. Sometime in the late 1740s, the confederation council at Onondaga assigned Tanaghrisson to oversee the Mingo village of Logstown in what is now western Pennsylvania.

The English quickly recognized Tanaghrisson as authorized to speak for the English-allied tribes in the Ohio Country. As such, Conrad Weiser, Pennsylvania's representative to the Iroquois, negotiated with him, as did English trader George Croghan. And Virginia agents treated with Tanaghrisson in 1752.

Tanaghrisson most probably would have remained relatively unknown to most historians. However, in the last year of his life he participated in an action that ignited a global conflict. An English partisan, Tanaghrisson was concerned with the dispute between the French and the English over control of the Ohio Country and resented what he regarded as French intrusions. As a half-king, Tanaghrisson's authority rested in part on the acquiescence of the Delaware and Shawnee peoples he purported to lead. Their cooperation resulted from what he could provide them in the way of English trade goods, which were often of much better quality than comparable French wares.

Based on a 1744 treaty with the Iroquois, Virginia also laid claim to the Ohio Country. Troubled by French activity in the area of the Monongahela River and the Allegheny River, Gov. Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia dispatched a mission led by Lieutenant Colonel George Washington to demand that the French leave.

However, Washington and his men could not locate the French. At that point, they met Tanaghrisson and some of his Mingo warriors, who led them to the French encampment. Tanaghrisson and Washington's men encircled the French position and opened fire. The French soon surrendered, ending what came to be known as the Battle of Jumonville's Glen. Washington learned from the French officer in charge of the detachment that his was a diplomatic mission, sent to tell the British that this was the territory of the French king. To the surprise of Washington and the other Virginians, Tanaghrisson and his warriors began killing the wounded Frenchmen, including the officer in charge. Afterward, Tanaghrisson and his men accompanied Washington to the newly constructed Fort Necessity. But Tanaghrisson realized that the position was not defensible and he and his warriors departed before the French attacked the post. Tanaghrisson fell ill and died in late 1754.

ROGER M. CARPENTER

See also

Croghan, George; Delaware; Dinwiddie, Robert; Fort Necessity (Pennsylvania), and Battle of; Iroquois; Mingos; Ohio Country; Senecas; Shawnees; Walking Purchase

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Teedyuscung

Born: ca. 1700 Died: April 19, 1763

Delaware (Lenni Lenape) sachem, or chief, who rose to prominence rather suddenly in the mid-1750s, on the onset of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Teedyuscung was born sometime around 1700, probably near Trenton, New Jersey. Before the 1750s, he made a marginal living making brooms and baskets for English settlers in New Jersey. Teedyuscung became a Moravian Christian convert in 1755, taking the name Gideon. Disliking the life of a convert, he soon left the Moravians. Teedyuscung then settled with other Delaware peoples along the Susquehanna River.

In December 1755, at the start of the French and Indian War, Teedyuscung led a successful war party against the English, striking across the upper Delaware River. The English soon retaliated, driving most Delawares deeper into the French camp. Teedyuscung then reversed course and opened peace negotiations with Pennsylvania on behalf of the Susquehanna Delaware. Assuming a leadership role—despite his lack of any hereditary claim to do so—Teedyuscung used the negotiations as a platform on which to challenge the terms of the 1737 Walking Purchase, a controversial land acquisition agreement between Pennsylvania and the Delaware tribe.

Teedyuscung also used his newfound influence to challenge the Iroquois' domination of the Delawares. Bombastic, and with a profound liking for liquor, Teedyuscung boasted that he represented 18 Native American nations, and he insisted that he be provided a clerk to record conference minutes.

Pennsylvania authorities doubted Teedyuscung's claims. Be that as it may, he knew he had the backing of politically powerful Philadelphia Quakers. The Quakers hoped that Teedyuscung's allegations about the Walking Purchase would embarrass the colony's proprietors, the non-Quaker heirs of William Penn.

The matter soon came to the attention of the Privy Council, which then ordered Sir William Johnson, the British superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern colonies, to investigate. Johnson, who had close ties to the Iroquois, depicted Teedyuscung as a drunkard and blamed the Quakers for the controversy, accusing them of having inflamed the Delawares. Iroquois representatives also attempted to discredit Teedyuscung, arguing that he did not

have any real authority. Teedyuscung then backed away from his accusations, stating that the Quakers had misled him. Pennsylvania's governor subsequently presented him with gifts to distribute to his followers, whom many viewed as a reward for withdrawing his claims regarding the Walking Purchase.

By 1760 or so, Teedyuscung had asked Pennsylvania to deed land to the Delawares in Pennsylvania's Wyoming Valley. The colony did send laborers to build cabins for the Delawares. However, this was really an attempt to thwart Susquehanna Company claims to the area. Teedyuscung perished in Wyoming on April 19, 1763, when his cabin burned down. Many historians suspect that arson was the cause of the fire, with the Iroquois and the Susquehanna Company the most likely suspects.

ROGER M. CARPENTER

See also

Delawares (Lenni Lenape); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Johnson, Sir William; Pennsylvania; Walking Purchase

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Tequestas

An Arawak-speaking group of Native Americans who lived along the Miami River and on the coastal islands of southeastern Florida. Estimates of the Tequestas' (also spelled Tekestas) numbers at the time of European contact vary from 1,000 to 5,000. In large part, this wide variance is because the Spanish did not clearly distinguish between them and their more powerful neighbors, the Calusas. Europeans usually interacted only with the villages along the Atlantic shore, but it is believed that Tequesta villages may once have stretched far inland, into the Everglades.

The Tequestas showed a high degree of technical sophistication, as demonstrated by the 1998 archaeological discovery of the "Miami Circle," a stone arrangement 38 feet across. Post holes around the perimeter have led to speculation that it may have been an imposing ceremonial structure.

Early relations between the Spanish and the Tequestas varied widely between open hostility and peace. Juan Ponce de León encountered the Tequestas in 1513 and believed that he established peaceful contact. In 1521, however, Ponce de León was fatally wounded in a clash with a Calusa force that may also have included Tequesta warriors.

In 1565, Gov. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés attempted to repair the relationship with the Tequesta by leaving Francisco de Villareal and a company of soldiers to construct a mission in a Tequesta village. Villareal erected crosses and built meeting huts for converting the natives.

However, the Tequestas and the Spanish were soon again at odds. For unknown reasons, the Spanish garrison killed an important tribe member in 1568. In response, the Tequestas tore down the crosses, burned the meeting huts, and harassed Spanish soldiers. Whenever the Spanish attempted to leave the village to forage or retrieve water, the Tequestas ambushed them. Finally, Villareal and the Spanish company decided to abandon the settlement for the safety of Santa Lucia. Another attempt, in 1569, to build a missionary station also ran afoul of intercultural tensions. The Spanish withdrew entirely the following year.

Once a real power in the region, the Tequestas were already in decline when the Europeans arrived, mainly because of competition with large, aggressive rival tribes. The Tequestas continued to dwindle in number and importance in the 17th century. European diseases weakened them further, as did ongoing warfare with the more numerous Calusas. The Tequestas also drew the ire of the Spanish from time to time for taking in runaway African slaves and hiding them from their masters.

The Tequestas' decline accelerated further in the 18th century. In 1704, an English raid destroyed Tequesta settlements near the mouth of the New River. When Spain formally ceded Florida to the British in 1763, the Tequesta population stood at only a few hundred people. The majority of these soon successfully petitioned the Spanish to resettle them in Cuba. The remnants left behind in Florida assimilated into surrounding tribes.

Andrew C. Lannen

See also

Calusa; Florida; Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro; Spanish Mission System, Southeast

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Texas

Spanish-held province, known to the Spanish as Tejas. During the colonial wars in North America, Texas served as a buffer province between Spain and New France. Geographically, the region did not have the same composition as the modern state. Instead, the region considered Texas during colonial times was composed of the eastern half of the modern state of Texas and western Louisiana. Both Spain and France controlled different regions of Texas. The Spanish occupied the western half of the region, and the French held the eastern half.

During the colonial period, the desire of the European powers for territory and the search for profit largely determined the situation in Texas. The result was constant tension and fighting between the French and the Spanish over control of the territory and of trade with the region's Native Americans.

774 Theyanoguin (Chief Hendrick)

There were approximately 20 native groups and subgroups in Texas during the colonial period, but those who had the most interaction with the French and the Spanish were the Caddos of eastern Texas, the Atapakans and the Karankawas along the Gulf Coast, the Coahuiltecans in southern Texas, the Wichitas and the Tonkawas in central Texas, and the Jumanos and the Apaches of western Texas. In addition, after the Spanish introduced the horse to the New World, the Comanches and the Kiowas of the north Texas plains and panhandle region would emerge as feared enemies whose raids would terrorize settlements in Texas and northern Mexico until the second half of the 19th century.

Alonso Alvarez de Pineda made the first Spanish foray into Texas in 1519. After claiming the territory, Spanish authorities attempted to control Texas by establishing a series of missions and presidios across the region. The presidios served the dual purpose of protecting the missionaries and, more importantly, preventing French traders from encroaching on Spanish territory. Missions and presidios proved to be a financial burden to the Spanish government, but they were nevertheless essential to maintaining their claim.

From the eastern half of Texas, the French attempted to encroach on Spanish territory through trade with Native Americans in Texas. French traders entered Texas and established trading posts, not only for profit but also to exert control over the region. The most noted of the trading posts was Natchitoches, founded by French explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, in 1687. France resorted to other means to claim Texas, which evolved from a plan originated by La Salle. The explorer had planned to conquer Spanish Texas by establishing a line of forts along the Mississippi River, then use these as secure bases from which to invade the Spanish holdings. His plan was never implemented, however. Instead the French attempted to establish their influence by introducing colonists. The last major attempt in this regard involved a group of Napoleonic exiles in 1818 who settled along the Trinity River near the present-day city of Liberty, Texas. Because of poor planning, food shortages, and the constant Spanish threat, the French ultimately abandoned the colony.

Disputes over Texas finally ended in 1763, when France ceded the Louisiana Territory to the Spanish following their defeat in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). No longer concerned with competition for control of Texas, Spanish officials lost interest in the province. Eventually, Spain moved most of its missionaries and soldiers out of the region to ease the financial burden on the government. Spain remained in control of Texas until 1821, when the Mexican people under the leadership of Agustín de Iturbide and Vicente Guerrero successfully revolted and gained their independence from Spain and formed the nation of Mexico.

Although a frontier region in the period, Texas played a major role in the development of Colonial North America. The disputes between the French and the Spanish spurred further exploration and shaped the history of the state. Today, the colonial period provides some of the most colorful history of Texas. And the cities and

missions established several hundred years ago played important roles in some of the most defining events in Texas history.

CHARLES D. GREAR

See also

Aguayo Expedition; France; Louisiana; Presidio; Spain; Spanish Mission System, Southwest

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Theyanoguin (Chief Hendrick)

Born: ca. 1680

Died: September 8, 1755

Mohawk sachem (chief), warrior, orator, and diplomat as well as a notable ally of British settlers and interests in western New York and beyond. Theyanoguin (Deyohninhohakarawenh) was born in western Massachusetts about 1680 to a Mohegan father and Mohawk mother. Both tribes being longstanding allies of Dutch colonists in New York and English settlers in New England, Theyanoguin was raised in the tradition of friendship with those two colonial powers—including conversion to Anglicanism and adoption of an English name, Hendrick, around 1690. During the next 60 years, this Mohawk sachem played a major role in bringing about the destruction of New France, epitomizing his Iroquois name, which translates as "the western door is open."

Despite his allegiance to the English, Hendrick's first loyalty was always to his own people. In 1698, he joined another Christian Mohawk in accusing English and Dutch speculators of fraudulent land claims and in getting those claims overturned by the governor of New York, Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont. Three years later, Theyanoguin worked with other Iroquois chiefs to conclude a pact of neutrality with New France.

For the most part, however, Chief Hendrick was a friend to the English colonists, in peace and war alike. In 1709, he participated in an abortive attack on New France, and he visited England the following year. There, Theyanoguin obtained permission from Queen Anne to serve as a lay preacher for the Church of England. On returning from London, Theyanoguin settled and grew apples along the Mohawk River, near the mouth of East Canada Creek, and spent much of the succeeding 30 years preaching and consolidating his power.

It was after a second visit to London in 1740 that Theyanoguin truly distinguished himself as a friend of Great Britain. During King George's War (1744–1748), he led a negotiating party to Montreal to plead for peace. There he accepted French gifts and then attacked



Contemporary illustration of Mohawk sachem Theyanoguin (Chief Hendrick), who died fighting with the British in 1755 during the French and Indian War. (Library of Congress)

a French outpost at Île Lamothe in present-day Vermont. His warriors also aided Colonel William Johnson's attack on Montreal in 1746, and they harassed French forts and military expeditions in the region around Lake Champlain.

Following King George's War, Theyanoguin looked westward and attempted to enlist British support against French expansion into the Ohio Valley. For several years, his calls went unheeded and Theyanoguin drifted somewhat from his traditional allies. The rift came to a head at the Albany Congress in June 1754, when Theyanoguin, now chief sachem of the Mohawk, chastised the British colonials: "Look at the French.... They are fortifying everywhere; but, we are ashamed to say it, you are... bare and open, without any fortifications. It is but one step from Canada hither, and the French may easily come and turn you out of doors."

Shortly thereafter, the British colonists received substantial assistance from the mother country to challenge the French, including 1,000 men of the 44th and 48th Regiments under Major General Edward Braddock, the new commander in chief in North America. Braddock decided to launch four simultaneous attacks in 1755, with Theyanoguin joining Colonel William Johnson in an expedition against Crown Point.

At the Battle of Lake George on September 8, 1755, Theyanoguin's Mohawk warriors were among the first to be attacked on the "Bloody Morning Scout." Theyanoguin himself became separated from the main body in the disorderly retreat and was subsequently killed and scalped by some of his own distant brethren, the Caughnawagas, Iroquois allies of the French. Theyanoguin was not forgotten, however; his fellow Mohawks continued to serve the British with distinction throughout the French and Indian War and helped open the door to westward Anglo-American expansion.

MATT SCHUMANN

See also

Beaver Wars; Canada, British Expedition against (1709); Crown Point (New York); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Iroquois Treaties of 1700 and 1701; Johnson, Sir William; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Lake George, Battle of; Mohawks; Mohegans; New York; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns

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Timucuan Revolt

Event Date: 1656

Violent uprising of the Timucuas, a loose confederation of Native Americans inhabiting northern Florida and southern Georgia against the Spanish in 1656. After first contact with the Spanish in the 16th century, the Timucuas permitted the establishment of Franciscan missions throughout their territory. The Spanish paid Timucuas affiliated with the missions to clear roads, supply crops, and build new missions. The missions came at a terrible cost in terms of the spread of deadly disease, however. The Timucuas may have lost half their population to epidemics between 1612 and 1616.

By the mid-17th century, tensions between the Spanish and the Timucuas were mounting. Food shortages, disease, and the demoralizing effect of Spanish authority had eroded the authority of the Timucua chiefs. The Spanish governor, Diego de Rebolledo, also regularly requisitioned Timucua men for service at the Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine. Many Timucuas resented such servitude and disliked Spanish intrusions into their affairs.

In early 1656, Rebolledo, fearing an attack by the English, summoned an additional 500 men, including the chiefs, from the Timucua and Apalachee provinces. The men were instructed to carry their own food and supplies with them. Timucua society was highly stratified, and the suggestion that chiefs should carry their own food was an affront to their status as leaders.



Timucuan dugout canoes and dwellings in Florida. Engraving by Theodor de Bry, based on drawings by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues in 1564. (Library of Congress)

Timucua chief Lúcas Menéndez refused to send his warriors and encouraged other chiefs to rebel against the Spanish. Careful not to disavow loyalty to the Spanish king or the Franciscan friars, the Timucuas limited their assaults to Spanish soldiers. They attacked only sporadically, but the violence led to seven Spanish deaths in three separate skirmishes. Thereafter, the Timucuas abandoned the missions and left the fields unplanted.

In the meantime, the ringleaders of the revolt constructed a small palisaded fort and attempted to spread the rebellion to neighboring Apalachee tribes. Their efforts failed, for most Apalachees anticipated Spanish retaliation.

Because Rebolledo refused to be diverted from his defensive preparations against an English assault, the insurrectionist Timucuas had time to fortify their palisade. The fort proved a doubled-edged sword, however. Although offering a degree of protection for the rebels, it also concentrated them in a single location, ultimately making it easier for the Spanish to suppress the rebellion.

After several months of tension, rank-and-file Timucuas began losing faith in their leaders. Rather than spreading the rebellion to neighboring tribes, the rebellion appeared to have driven the Apalachees into an even tighter alliance with the Spanish, leaving the Timucuas dangerously isolated.

Four months passed before Rebolledo turned his attention to the rebellious Timucuas. He then sent 60 Spanish soldiers to suppress the revolt and persuade the Timucuas to return to the missions. The Spanish offered negotiations rather than warfare, which the Timucua leaders reluctantly accepted. Most of the rebels were allowed to disperse. But the Spanish placed the chiefs and principal warriors on trial. Ultimately, the Spanish executed 11 Timucuas and sentenced another 10 to hard labor at St. Augustine. The bodies of the executed chiefs were publicly displayed near their villages.

The revolt accelerated the destruction of Timucua culture. The demoralizing defeat, ongoing epidemics, and periodic slaving raids from the Caribbean whittled away the vitality and population of the villages. When Spain ceded Florida to England in 1763, it is believed that there were only 89 surviving Timucuas.

DOROTHY MAYS

See also

Apalachees; Castillo de San Marcos (Florida); Florida; Franciscan Order; Spanish Mission System, Southeast; St. Augustine

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Tolomato Presidio (Georgia)

A Spanish presidio (frontier fort) associated with a Franciscan mission to the Guale tribe. First built in 1595, Tolomato Presidio was probably located on a bluff overlooking a branch of the Altamaha River at present-day Darien, Georgia, near the coast. There were at least seven buildings associated with the presidio, including the fort and adjacent barracks. As in other Spanish presidios, manpower was usually in short supply.

Pedro Ruiz founded the original presidio in 1595 at the Guale village of Tolomato. In 1597 a Guale chief known as Juanillo led a rebellion at Tolomato because of Father Pedro de Corpa's efforts to prevent his accession to the position of head chief. The rebels destroyed the Spanish missions in Georgia and killed most of the mission priests. Spanish and allied Native American forces finally suppressed the rebellion in 1601.

Franciscan missionary Diego Delgado rebuilt the mission and presidio in 1605. Guale converts, who had been permitted to remain on their own territory before the rebellion, were now compelled to live in mission villages. This concentration of the population, however, contributed to the spread of epidemics.

Although the Spanish had dealt with English traders and raiders for some time, the founding of Charles Town (now Charleston, South Carolina) in 1670 directly threatened Spain's domination of the area. In 1670, England abandoned its claim to lands south of St. Helena Sound (now in South Carolina). The Carolina colony nonetheless launched an aggressive campaign against the Spaniards, particularly after 1680. It included an anti-Spanish alliance with the Yamasees, direct attacks on Spanish missions, and the capture of mission natives and their sale into slavery. By 1686, the Spanish had abandoned all the missions and presidios in Georgia, including Tolomato. The Carolinians erected Fort King George opposite the probable site of Tolomato Presidio in 1721.

SCOTT C. MONJE

See also

Fort King George (Georgia); Franciscan Order; Georgia; Guales; South Carolina; Spanish Mission System, Southeast; Yamasees

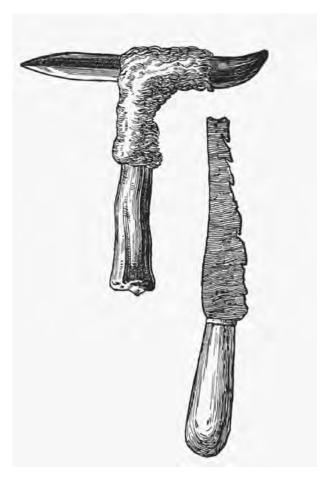
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Tomahawk

Derived from the Algonquian words *tamahak* or *tamahakan*, which designates a type of cutting tool, the colonial tomahawk was primarily a melee and missile weapon used by Native Americans. Tomahawks generally resembled lightweight hatchets. Initially, natives sharpened bone, stone, or wooden blades and fastened them to short wooden handles. However, European colonists introduced



Contemporary illustration of early Mohawk Native American weapons: a deer-shank tomahawk and a scalping knife. (North Wind Picture Archives)

superior iron and brass blades and themselves began using the weapons for military, trading, and other practical purposes. Well-crafted tomahawks remained prized trade items well into the 19th century. In the 21st century, armies continue to employ them as both tools and weapons.

Although the colonial tomahawk traditionally served as a hand or short-ranged missile weapon, it also had other purposes. American Indians and colonists both used tomahawks as tools in everyday work. Natives in particular employed them as ceremonial objects and symbols of leadership. Some natives equipped tomahawks with pipe bowls and hollow stems to create smoking pipes. Others elaborately decorated ceremonial tomahawks for burial, to signify peace with an enemy. Although certainly not used solely by Native Americans, the tomahawk has become a popular—and stereotypical—symbol of native culture alongside the tipi and the feathered headdress.

JASON MANN FRAWLEY

See also

Edged Weapons; Native Warfare

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Tomochichi

Born: ca. 1650

Died: October 5, 1739

Yamacraw (Creek) chief who allied with the English and served as emissary to Gov. James Oglethorpe of Georgia. Little is known about the majority of the life of Tomochichi (also Tomochachi). He was born about 1650 and apparently spent most of his years among the Creeks in the vicinity of southern South Carolina and Georgia as a warrior and a leader. Tomochichi participated in the Creek negotiations with South Carolina in 1721. But around 1728, he broke off from the Creek tribes to form his own band and relocated with them farther east.

Accompanied by about 200 followers of both Creek and Yamasee descent, Tomochichi settled along the Savannah River, near the present-day site of Savannah, Georgia. Once there, he negotiated with the officials of South Carolina to secure ownership of the territory and cement peaceful relations. As leader of this small



Yamacraw (Creek) chief Tomochichi, who allied with the English and served as emissary to Georgia governor James Oglethorpe. Wood engraving, American, 1887. (North Wind Picture Archives)

band called the Yamacraws, Tomochichi remained in contact with nearby traders and maintained cordial relations with the English. When Oglethorpe founded Georgia in 1733, he immediately sought out Tomochichi to secure his support and friendship for the new settlement.

In the earliest years of the nascent colony, Tomochichi proved a staunch ally and provided invaluable assistance to Oglethorpe. The Yamacraws welcomed the English to the immediate area and signed a treaty of friendship with them on May 18, 1733. They also served as hunters, fishers, and guides for the colonists.

Tomochichi himself intervened for peace and justice whenever problems arose. Peace with the larger Creek Nation was accomplished primarily through Tomochichi's negotiating on Oglethorpe's behalf. As his ally and personal friend, Tomochichi traveled with Oglethorpe first to Charles Town (Charleston) in March 1733 and later to England as an emissary to meet with King George II in the summer of 1734.

The visit to England reinforced the alliance between the English and the Yamacraws, and Tomochichi became convinced that his people should learn as much as they could of the white, English culture. In 1735, Tomochichi teamed with John Wesley, among others, to establish a school for the Yamacraws where they could learn the English language and religion. When political problems between the English and the Spanish developed in 1735, the Yamacraws served as military allies of the English.

Four years later, Tomochichi was again an important force in strengthening the British alliance with all the Creek tribes. Their loyalty to the British was reconfirmed with the Treaty of Coweta on August 21, 1739, which was the last great diplomatic achievement of Tomochichi. Before his death on October 5, 1739, near Savannah, Georgia, Tomochichi requested that he be buried within the town of Savannah near his English friends, and they happily complied.

LISA L. CRUTCHFIELD

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Creeks; Georgia; Oglethorpe, James Edward; South Carolina

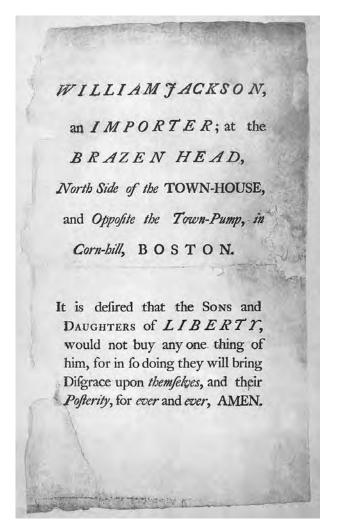
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Townshend ActsEvent Date: July 1767

A series of measures passed by Parliament in July 1767 that placed duties on certain goods imported into Britain's American colonies, reorganized the colonial customs service, and punished the New York Assembly for failing to comply with the Mutiny Act (Quartering Act) of 1765. Named for Charles Townshend, Britain's chancellor of the exchequer, the acts proposed to raise revenue to pay for



Sons of Liberty flyer from 1770, issued in protest of the Townshend Acts of 1767. (Library of Congress)

colonial administration and to reaffirm the authority of the Crown in colonial affairs. They were designed to pay heed both to colonial opposition to "internal" taxation of the colonies by Parliament and to the budgetary realities of the British government. Nevertheless, they were condemned by colonists and their passage increased tensions between England and the colonies.

The first of these bills was the Revenue Act of 1767. In response to domestic economic problems, Parliament reduced the English land tax, thereby removing approximately £400,000 from the government's revenue. Faced with this reality, Townshend hoped to increase the minuscule revenues from the colonies, which were providing only about £2,000 annually. King George III signed the act into law on July 2, 1767. The Revenue Act imposed customs duties on glass, lead, paints, paper, china earthenware, silk, and tea imported from Britain into the colonies.

According to Townshend, the expected revenues from the impost would be used to help pay the salaries of royal governors and judges, and to defray the cost of defending the colonies. The act was

in part an attempt to make British officials independent of colonial legislatures so that they would enforce Parliamentary authority more effectively. In addition, the act authorized the use of writs of assistance in the monitoring and seizure of contraband goods. These general warrants gave customs officers great latitude in searching both vessels and buildings for illegal or undeclared goods. The act thus rectified a controversy that had erupted in the colonies over which courts could issue such orders. On this point, it stipulated that warrants could be issued by the superior or supreme courts of the colony.

The second Townshend Act created the American Board of Customs in the colonies to assure the enforcement and collection of the new duties. In January 1767, the British Board of Customs reported that the great distance between England and the colonies, the lack of supervision of colonial officers, and the hardships under which they worked prevented effective enforcement of the law. Also, many customs officers were being harassed, fined, or imprisoned by local authorities when they attempted to carry out their duties. Head-quartered in Boston, the new board would oversee the collection of customs fees and monitor officials. Parliament increased the number of courts of admiralty to prosecute smugglers as well. The new courts would more effectively enforce British authority because, like royal courts, they were free from interference from provincial legislatures and they could sit without a jury.

The third measure of the Townshend Acts was the New York Restraining Act. This bill suspended the New York Assembly for failing to comply with the Mutiny Act of 1765. That act required colonies to provide funds to cover the cost of housing British troops stationed within their boundaries. In 1766, the New York Assembly had refused to fulfill all the requirements of the Mutiny Act because the legislators considered it an unconstitutional tax and the measure placed no limits on the number of troops a colony would be required to support. The New York Restraining Act, however, never went into effect. Previous to its passage, the assembly appropriated £3,000 to satisfy the requirements of the Mutiny Act.

The colonial response to the Townshend Acts was gradual. It followed a course from philosophical denunciation to political action and economic retaliation. Opposition first emerged in a widely read pamphlet titled *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer*. Its author, John Dickinson, argued that the acts undermined colonial liberties, increased the danger of martial law, and would establish a precedent leading to even more taxation.

Politically, the Massachusetts legislature led the way when it issued a circular letter on February 11, 1768. Largely the work of Samuel Adams, the letter affirmed the position of Dickinson and encouraged resistance to the Townshend Acts. As a result, Gov. Francis Bernard dissolved the Massachusetts legislature, and as violence against customs officials increased, the British moved more troops to Boston in October 1768. At its next session, the legislature further denied Parliament any power in the colonies when it declared that no person could be bound by a law that he, or his representative, did not consent to in person.

Revenue Raised in the Colonies by British Taxation

Act	1765	1767	1679
1673 Navigation Act	£2,954	£3,905	£1,294
1764 Sugar Act	£14,091	£33,844	£39,938
1765 Stamp Act	£3,292	N/A	N/A
1767 Townshend Acts	N/A	£197	£5,561

As the political crisis intensified, economic measures eventually brought an uneasy resolution to the conflict. Colonists boycotted British goods through non-importation agreements and intimidation. Merchants across the colonies agreed not to import British goods and women made purchasing locally produced goods a political statement. Colonists dressed in homespun clothing, found substitutes for tea, used homemade paper, and left their houses unpainted. The Sons of Liberty enforced the boycotts and, at times, violently forced violators to comply.

By 1770, the non-importation movement was losing momentum. Yet it had at least partially achieved its goal. By that year, the duties collected were less than £21,000, whereas the loss to British business from colonial boycotts amounted to nearly £700,000. British merchants and manufacturers, already affected by a depressed domestic economy, petitioned Parliament to rescind the duties. On March 5, 1770, the same day as the Boston Massacre, Parliament repealed the Townshend duties except for the three-pence tax on tea.

PETER S. GENOVESE JR.

See also

Boston Massacre; Boston Tea Party; Golden Hill, Battle of; Mercantilism; Quartering; Quartering Act Crisis; Smuggling; Sons of Liberty

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Trent, William

Born: February 13, 1715

Died: 1787

Colonial trader, land speculator, and soldier. William Trent was born on February 13, 1715, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He was the son of a prominent merchant of the same name who was associated with William Penn in founding the colony of Pennsylvania. Trent played a prominent part in the westward movement into the

Ohio Country. He was also a trading partner of George Croghan, the leading British trader in the region.

In 1746, during King George's War (1744–1748), Trent served as captain of one of four companies raised in Pennsylvania for an intended expedition against Canada that never materialized. He established his partnership with Croghan in 1750. Two years later, Trent became a commissioner to Logstown, the Miami settlement and important British trading post approximately 10 to 15 miles down the Ohio River from present-day Pittsburgh near Economy, Pennsylvania.

In 1753, Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia directed Trent to build a fort at the Forks of the Ohio. Construction of the fort, named Fort Prince George, began on February 17, 1754. Less than two months later, on April 16, the fort was surrendered to the French, who expanded it and renamed it Fort Duquesne.

Trent was a captain in the service of both Pennsylvania and Virginia during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Most notably, he attended the Indian council at Easton in 1757 and served as a guide for Brigadier General John Forbes's 1758 expedition against Fort Duquesne.

In 1760, Trent partnered with the London firm of Joseph Simon, David Franks, and Levi Andrew Levy to develop a large and prosperous Native American trading network. Trent took charge of the trading house of this new partnership at Fort Pitt. On the outbreak of Pontiac's Rebellion, he served as captain of the "militia" of traders organized to assist the regulars defending Fort Pitt during the 1763 native siege of that place. Trent's journal, kept from May 14 to September 19, 1763, along with his military orderly book, dated May 28 to October 16, 1763, present the most detailed contemporary account of the siege.

Following the French and Indian War and Pontiac's Rebellion, Trent became a leader of the so-called Suffering Traders, men who perennially requested from the Crown restitution for heavy trading losses in consequence of the Proclamation of 1763. Trent secured a large land grant on the Ohio River from the Iroquois but was never able to establish British legal recognition of his claim. Trent also served as an attorney for the Indiana Company and the Grand Ohio Company. He tried without success to establish a new colony, to be named Vandalia. Trent died sometime in 1787, probably in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Anna Kiefer

See also

Croghan, George; Forbes Campaign; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Pitt, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Native American Trade; Ohio Country; Pontiac's Rebellion; Proclamation of 1763

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Triangular Trade

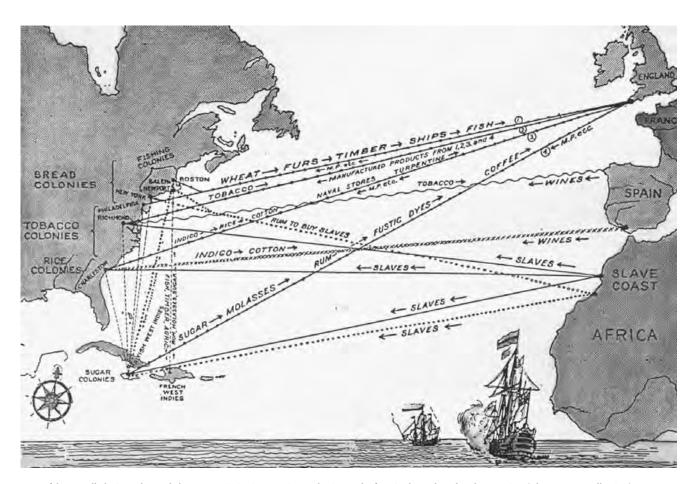
The Atlantic trade routes between Europe, Africa, and the Americas lasting from the 15th to the 19th centuries and involving the sale and transportation of African slaves, raw materials, and manufactured products. The triangular trade, which was largely a private endeavor, was first initiated by the Dutch and the Portuguese in the 15th century. The French and the British perfected the system beginning in the late 17th century.

Historically, the first stage of triangular trade occurred between Europe and Africa. In these transactions, European-manufactured goods were exchanged for African slaves. The colonists' increasing need for cheap labor to grow cash crops (such as tobacco and sugar) for European markets led to the trade in African slaves. The second stage consisted of transporting captured Africans from West Africa to the Americas. There slave traders exchanged slaves for cash or raw materials such as sugar or tobacco, timber products, and iron. The final leg of the triangle involved ship captains purchasing additional goods to take back to Europe based on the profits from the sale of slaves.

The development of colonial America highlighted the maturation of triangular trade routes. Vessels from the American colonies would set sail for Africa on the initial leg of the triangle, carrying kegs of rum and other goods produced locally. On the west coast of Africa, the products were exchanged for slaves and gold. From Africa, the second leg of the voyage commenced. This involved the infamous "middle passage" in which slaves were chained and confined to filthy and overcrowded quarters. This trip carried its human cargo to the West Indies, where Europeans exchanged slaves for molasses, sugar, or money. Many of the slaves were then sold to plantation owners in the southern colonies. The final leg brought the ships home to the colonies. They arrived filled with sugar or molasses, for making more rum, and a balance of gold and silver.

By the end of the 17th century, another busy trade route directly connected the colonies with the islands in the Caribbean Sea. Ships from the New England and mid-Atlantic colonies sailed southward with products such as grain, fish, meat, cloth, soap, lumber, shingles, and casks for molasses and sugar. On the return voyage, the ships carried sugar, molasses, and money.

Early industries such as shipbuilding and weapons manufacture grew as a result of the triangular trade. Although many individuals did profit from the transAtlantic slave trade into the 19th century, there were aspects of the economy not directly related to slavery that can also be attributed to the triangle route. Indeed, the return of profits to England provided the needed capital for the



Map of the so-called triangular trade between Britain, its American colonies, and Africa in the 17th and 18th centuries. (The Granger Collection)

Chief Exports of the British North American Colonies

Colony	Exports
Connecticut	Fish, horses, timber, sugar
Delaware	Grain, fruit, cattle, timber
Georgia	Rice, indigo
Maryland	Tobacco, wheat, flour
Massachusetts	Fish, horses, timber, sugar
New Hampshire	Mast and ship timber, naval stores, fish, horses,
-	timber, sugar
New Jersey	Wheat, flour
New York	Fur, timber, grain, livestock
North Carolina	Tobacco, mast and ship timber, naval stores
Pennsylvania	Wheat, flour
Rhode Island	Fish, horses, timber, sugar
South Carolina	Rice, indigo
Virginia	Tobacco

Industrial Revolution, which began in England in the late 1770s. In time, it eventually spread to the United States. In the 19th century, pressure to outlaw the transport of slaves from Africa all but ended the triangular trade.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

Rum Trade; Slavery; Slave Trade and the American Colonies

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Trois-Rivières

French fort and trading site. Trois-Rivières (meaning "three rivers") is located on the west shore of the St. Maurice River at its confluence with the St. Lawrence River, about halfway between Quebec and Montreal. Samuel de Champlain founded the settlement there in 1634. Trois-Rivières was the second French settlement in Canada and one of the oldest European settlements in North America.

Named after the three-armed delta formed by the islands at the St. Maurice River's mouth, Trois-Rivières was chosen for its strategic location as a military and fur-trading site. It was built on the site of an Algonquin stockade that had been abandoned some 30 years earlier because of Iroquois incursions. Once it was established, a number of Algonquins returned to live near or within the village, and many more natives visited the site to trade with the French.

From 1636, Trois-Rivières was under almost constant Iroquois attack, creating serious problems for the French who were unable to venture far from the fort. In July 1645, the French concluded a treaty there with the Mohawks, but efforts to secure peace with the other four Iroquois nations were not successful. Peace with the Mohawks did not last long, and they resumed their attacks in 1647. By 1649 the Iroquois had nearly halted the French fur trade and threatened French control of the St. Lawrence Valley.

Despite such setbacks, Trois-Rivières grew into a prosperous furtrading hub and place for converting the natives to Catholicism. Boasting a deep-water port, Trois-Rivières provided access to large merchant vessels and warships. Many Jesuit missionaries, including female Ursulines, chose to locate there, building, among other institutions, the St. Joseph Seminary in 1663 and the Ursuline Convent in 1697. During the wars between the French and the English in North America, Trois-Rivières also served on several occasions as an assembly point for French and native warriors raiding southward.

The French never heavily populated Trois-Rivières, however, and there were only 800 people in residence there at the time of the British conquest of New France in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Thereafter, Trois-Rivières remained an important strategic and economic location. During the American Revolutionary War, on June 8, 1776, British forces turned back a Patriot attack there.

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See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); Beaver Wars; Black Robes; Champlain, Samuel de; France; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Great Britain; Iroquois; Native American Trade; New France; St. Lawrence River; Trois-Rivières, Treaty of

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Trois-Rivières, Treaty of

Event Date: July 1645

Temporary peace agreement between the Mohawk Nation and New France reached in July 1645 at Trois-Rivières in New France (Canada). The Treaty of Trois-Rivières was the last serious attempt by one of the Iroquois Five Nations to secure peace with the French and the Hurons in the earliest stages of the Beaver Wars, which lasted until 1701.

Almost from the founding of the Iroquois Confederation, the Iroquois sought to convince the Hurons, who were linguistically and culturally related to them, to join the "Longhouse." The 1645 effort at Trois-Rivères, however, was not an attempt by the Iroquois as a whole to secure peace. Instead, it was undertaken solely by the easternmost of the Five Nations, the Mohawks, for their own benefit.

By the 1630s, the Iroquois had found that overtrapping had virtually wiped out the beaver in their own territory. Dependent on European trade goods, the Iroquois had to find another source of furs to maintain their relationship with their Dutch trading partners at Fort Orange (present-day Albany, New York). Huronia (which lay between Lake Huron's Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe) had relatively few fur-bearing animals. Nevertheless, the Hurons took advantage of their geographical position, trading maize to other native peoples farther north and west in exchange for furs. The Hurons then transported the furs to the French in Quebec and traded them for manufactured items like pots, hatchets, knives, and cloth. In 1642, however, the French established the post of Montreal, which by virtue of its location interfered with Mohawk trade and their raids on Huron fur-trading parties on the St. Lawrence River.

The principal Mohawk diplomat, Kiotseaeton, went to Trois-Rivières with two goals in mind. The first was to secure a trade agreement with the French that would allow the Mohawks to trap on lands north of the St. Lawrence. The second was to secure access to Huron trade routes. Written into the treaty was a "secret clause" in which the French agreed not to extend protection to Algonquins who had not converted to Christianity. Supposedly, this clause was inserted in an attempt to secure Mohawk and Huron goodwill.

The Treaty of Trois-Rivières is interesting from an ethnohistorical standpoint in that French Jesuits who witnessed the meeting were able to record the proceedings in detail. Kiotseaeton began by standing in the bow of a shallop (open boat), draped in wampum, greeting the French, the Hurons, and the Algonquins with words of peace. Using belts and strings of wampum as mnemonic devices, Kiotseaeton acted out the history of Huron and Iroquois relations and his voyage to Trois-Rivières. He also brought two French prisoners, who he then ceremoniously handed over to Gov. Charles Huault Montmagny of New France.

The Treaty of Trois-Rivières remained in effect for only a little more than one year. Although the French encouraged the Mohawks to convince other Iroquois Confederation members to seek peace with New France, their efforts came to naught. The Senencas and the Onandagas, for instance, persisted with their raids against French interests. In the fall of 1646, Mohawk warriors killed the French Jesuit missionary Isaac Jogues, and by 1649 the Beaver Wars were in full swing. The treaty had done nothing to stem long-term tensions.

ROGER M. CARPENTER

See also

Beaver Wars; Hurons; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Mohawks; Native American Trade

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Troupes de la Marine

Colonial regular troops in New France. The troupes de la marine descended from a detachment of 150 French marines sent to Canada in 1683 by King Louis XIV to defend the colony against the Iroquois. The troupes were Canadianized over the succeeding decades, becoming largely colonial in leadership and rank and file. The troupes de la colonie, as they were known in Canada, became the focus of a kind of proto-nationalism similar to that which existed in the English colonies to the south. As with their Anglo-American counterparts, the troupes de la marine did not get on well with regular army troops (troupes de terre), soldiers dispatched to the colony from the mother country during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). They are not to be confused with the *milice*, or militia, composed of able-bodied male settlers in each of the parishes of New France.

In 1690, the troupes de la marine of Canada became the largest single contingent of a French marine corps placed on a permanent footing by royal ordinance. Prior to that, small units of troops had been raised from time to time to guard ships in port or merchant vessels at sea during wartime. The "free" or "independent" company structure of these units was continually maintained—they were never amalgamated into regiments—but their number sharply increased. This reflected the heightened interest of Louis XIV and his officials in defense of the French Empire. At any given time from 1690 to 1760, an average of 28 companies of marines was on duty in French Canada. Each consisted of 100 enlisted men under the command of a naval officer with a captain's commission in the infantry. He was assisted by two ensigns and two cadet officers learning their trade.

Another 21 companies of marines were stationed in Louisiana. However, they were seldom at full strength because of disease and desertion. In even worse straits were the marine troops, sent to serve in the French Caribbean islands, primarily to guard against slave uprisings. Malaria and the oppressive heat made service there a virtual sentence of death for enlisted men. And officers earned a "danger money" supplement of 4,000 *livres*.

From 1683 to 1690, the French government sent some 10,000 soldiers and officers of the troupes de la marine from France to Canada. Most remained there once their time of service was up. This led to a rapid Canadianization of the marine officer corps. Already by 1690, one-third was Canadian-born. That figure had reached one-half by 1720 and three-quarters by 1750. By the mid-1700s, according to historian William J. Eccles, the officer corps of the troupes de la marine in Canada "had become a virtual caste, commissions being reserved for the sons of Canadian serving officers." Some of these officers took advantage of royal grants of land to transform themselves into rural magnates in Quebec. Others became wealthy by combining their military duties on the frontier with a sideline in fur trading. By the early 1700s, the officers of Canada's troupes de la marine had come to resemble no one more than the landed gentry

of the English enemy. Their sometimes avid materialism does not seem to have dulled their military ardor, however.

As the front line of colonial defense, the troupes de la marine manned forts across New France, from Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island to New Orleans near the mouth of the Mississippi River in the southwest, by way of the Great Lakes and the Ohio River Valley. The marines also played a major role, alongside the Canadian militia and the colony's Native American allies, in carrying the war to the enemy from King William's War (1689–1697) until the conclusion of the French and Indian War in 1763.

Skilled in wilderness warfare and flexible in their relations with native allies because of long service on the far-flung frontiers of New France, the troupes were able to hold their own in the 17th- and early-18th-century colonial wars, despite inferior numbers. By the time of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), however, the weight of numbers had begun to be felt. Already by 1750, the population of the 13 English colonies had reached about one million, compared to about 70,000 people of European descent in New France. When war came in 1754, it would be necessary to bring in troupes de terre from France to assist in the defense of the colony. The troupes de la marine were, nonetheless, present at all of the major engagements of the conflict, in spite of the ill-concealed contempt for their martial prowess on the part of regular officers, most conspicuously the commander in chief of French forces, Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm.

Although they probably made their greatest contribution in irregular warfare, particularly raids on Anglo-American settlements and ambushes of British supply trains, the troupes de la marine did not eschew pitched battle. This was most clear in their participation in the defeat of Major General Edward Braddock's force near Fort Duquesne in 1755.

Following the defeat of France in Canada in 1760, of the 300 officers, 76 sergeants, and 3,168 enlisted men in the French forces who chose repatriation to France under the Articles of Capitulation, 107 of the officers and 1,052 of the enlisted men were members of the troupes de la marine. They left despite their deep cultural and economic roots in the former French colony.

Bruce Vandervort

See also

Beaver Wars; Braddock's Campaign; France, Army; France, Navy; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Louisiana; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; New France; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns

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Tryon, William

Born: June 8, 1729 Died: January 27, 1788

British Royal governor of North Carolina (1765–1771) and New York (1771–1780) who won the War of the Regulation (1768–1771). William Tryon was born on June 8, 1729, in Surrey, England. After receiving a private education, in 1751 he purchased a lieutenant's commission in the elite regiment of Foot Guards. Over the next seven years Tryon rose rapidly in rank to lieutenant colonel. In 1767, he married a relative of Lord Hillsborough, a prominent British politician.

Tryon served in Europe during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) but feared that the return of peace would end his hopes of further army advancement. He therefore sought new opportunities in colonial administration. Through Hillsborough's influence, in June 1764 Tryon secured appointment as lieutenant governor of North Carolina.

Tryon became governor of North Carolina the following year, 1765, on the death of his predecessor, Arthur Dobbs. At New Bern Tryon constructed a spectacular new capitol building and governor's residence, called Tryon Palace. In 1768, high taxes and the corruption of local officials led to protests among the settlers in western North Carolina, who formed the Regulator Association. Although Tryon sympathized with the Regulators' grievances, he refused to tolerate their disruption of the courts and violent attacks on officials. In January 1771, the provincial assembly pronounced the Regulators guilty of treason. When they began assembling in the spring, Tryon personally led a force of militia to disperse them.

Tryon marched to Alamance Creek with 1,300 militiamen, where he confronted about 2,000 Regulators. After a two-day standoff, Tryon attacked and dispersed the Regulators. The defeat of the Regulators and the subsequent execution of seven of their leaders effectively ended the movement. His heavy-handed approach also made Tryon unpopular with many rural North Carolinians.

Tryon became governor of New York in July 1771. After the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War, he recruited several Loyalist battalions there. The British government appointed him major general of provincial troops in 1777, and Tryon then led several raids against American ports. Tryon returned to England in 1780, and died in London on January 27, 1788.

JIM PIECUCH

See also

Alamance, Battle of; North Carolina; War of the Regulation

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Tunicas

Native American people inhabiting the Louisiana region along the Mississippi River. The first historical reference to the Tunica tribe may have been in the chronicles of Hernando de Soto. It was in these that they were identified as the "Tanico." On European contact, the Tunicas were reportedly living along the Yazoo River in northwestern Mississippi. There they produced and traded salt. The French found them in the same general area in the late 17th century, and the Tunicas and the French soon became firm allies.

The Tunicas were noteworthy for their support of the French against the Natchez. This hostility apparently stemmed from a longstanding feud of unknown origin. During the Natchez War (1729–1733), the Natchez, knowing that the Tunicas were allied with the French, attacked them in April 1731 and killed the principal Tunica chief. The Tunicas reported many other casualties as well. In 1736, the Tunicas turned against the Chickasaws during the Chickasaw Wars (1736, 1739–1740) because the Chickasaws were allied with the English. The French long considered the Tunicas as vital to the defense of the lower Mississippi Valley.

The Tunicas also served important commercial roles. Indeed, they became key middlemen between European traders and other Native American tribes, handling both European and native-made goods. The Tunicas were also pivotal in the trading of horses from eastern Texas to Louisiana.

The Tunicas remained staunch allies of the French until they were forced from the region in 1763. From that time, the dwindling number of Tunicas assimilated with other tribes. By 1783, the Tunica population was down to only 80 people. The United States government finally recognized the Tunica-Biloxi tribe in 1989.

THOMAS J. BLUMER

See also

Chickasaws; Chickasaw Wars; Louisiana; Mississippi River; Natchez; Natchez War; Native American Trade; New France; Soto, Hernando de

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Tuscaroras

Iroquoian-speaking Native Americans whose territory included most of eastern North Carolina during the colonial period. The Tuscaroras were a loose confederacy of three tribes with an estimated population of around 25,000 people prior to European contact. The Tuscarora Nation was the most powerful in a vast region of the Southeast running from Virginia in the north to South Carolina in



Tuscarora Native Americans prepare to take captive surveyors John Lawson and Baron Christoph von Graffenried in North Carolina in 1711. (North Wind Picture Archives)

the south. The Tuscaroras were also the sixth nation to join the Iroquois Confederation in 1722.

The Tuscaroras were farmers, hunters, gatherers, and saltwater fishers along the lower Neuse, Tar, Pamlico, and Roanoke rivers. Many Tuscarora townships built oblong and oval houses, each serving several families. The longhouse was more typical in the Tuscarora-Iroquoian tradition. Structural frames of pine, cedar, and hickory were secured with bark and moss to form the shell of the longhouses. Cedar and cypress bark covered quadrangular arched roofs, which had smoke holes in the centers. Animal skins covered mats of reed sprawled over bed benches skirting the inner structure. Windowless granary structures and houses encircled the villages' council meeting area. Many times situated on slopes along waterways, some strategic villages were heavily fortified and palisaded.

Weapons and dress were tied to regional tribes and climate, but Tuscarora adornment was elaborate. Tattooing displayed tribal symbols, usually on the right shoulder. Regalia included pendants of bone and teeth, wampum ear pendants, necklaces, and beads of bone, copper, and colored stones. Chieftain adornments included pearls.

By 1650, the Tuscaroras were fully involved in the fur trade and slave trade with Europeans. Their primary town of Kentenuaka came to be regarded as a center for Native American trade and commerce by 1670. Described in 1701 as the largest tribe in the region, their population was greatly diminished by 1707. Both disease and slave traders helped decimate the population.

Their relationship with the English deteriorated in the early 18th century. In 1710, Baron Christoph von Graffenried founded the

German and Swiss colony of New Bern, North Carolina. Not content to stay there, he continued surveying along the Trent River and the Neuse River, the heart of Tuscarora country. Graffenried's bold encroachments, combined with abuses on the part of colonial traders in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, forced the Tuscaroras to war in 1711.

In what became known as the Tuscarora War (1711–1713), the Tuscaroras raided white settlements, killing some 200 Europeans. The war had two phases. The first was a conflict between the Tuscaroras and English settlers, and the second witnessed the Tuscaroras fighting Europeans and rival tribes, including their northern Tuscarora kindred the Creeks and the Yamasees.

The war ended in March 1713 with a Tuscarora capitulation. After that, in 1715, some Tuscaroras were forced onto a small North Carolina reservation. Some 2,000 others fled northward to live among tribes of the Iroquois Confederation. The Tuscaroras were officially recognized as the confederation's sixth nation in 1722. The Tuscaroras tried to remain neutral during the course of the American Revolutionary War. Still they were poorly treated. New York confiscated land there that they shared with the Oneidas and forcibly removed them to the Seneca reservation, near present-day Lewiston, New York. There they eventually purchased land in 1796 and in 1804.

RAESCHELLE POTTER-DEIMEL

See also

Iroquois Confederation; North Carolina; Tuscarora War

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Tuscarora War

Start Date: September 22, 1711 End Date: April 14, 1713

Major war between Native Americans and colonists in North Carolina. The Tuscarora War began on September 22, 1711, when Tuscarora and Algonquin militants attacked colonial settlements on the Neuse River and the Pamlico River. The uprising, proprietary North Carolina's largest and costliest native war, was the result of the colonists' fraudulent trading practices, land seizures, and forced native enslavement. When peace returned in 1713, political, religious, and economic reforms fueled North Carolina's growth. The defeat of the Tuscaroras also removed the last obstacle blocking European expansion in the colony.

The Iroquois-speaking Tuscaroras, the largest tribe in North Carolina's central coastal plain, occupied several towns along the Pamlico, Neuse, and Trent rivers. Resentment toward Europeans began when Baron Christoph von Graffenried occupied a vacated Tuscarora town. Other colonists followed suit, establishing communities on or abutting tribal lands. Although colonial expansion increased trade between natives and Europeans, mistreatment, cultural prejudice, and fraud engendered hard feelings. The prohibition of hunting in newly settled areas also enraged the Tuscaroras.

The enslavement of children, however, produced the greatest outcry. Although the colony's lord proprietors forbade the practice, native slavery flourished throughout the Carolinas. The Tuscaroras discovered, however, that their children, entrusted to neighboring colonists for apprenticeships, were often enslaved.

By 1710, the Tuscaroras sought to escape the abuses and encroachments by moving north. Pennsylvania's leaders, however, rejected the tribal diplomats' petition to relocate. Hancock, chief of the southern Tuscaroras, responded with force.

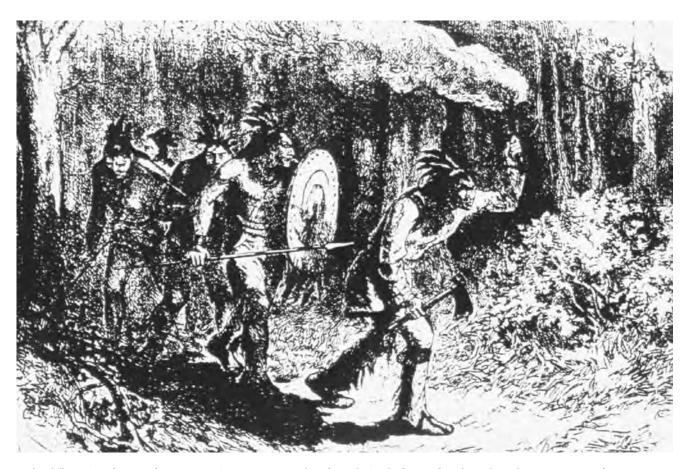
On September 22, 1711, some 250 Bear River, Pamlico, Neusiok, Coree, Machapunga, and Tuscarora warriors visited unsuspecting homes. Once welcomed into the colonists' abodes, the natives brandished weapons and killed the inhabitants. Nearly 130 men, women, and children perished during the attacks. Many others, including Baron von Graffenried, were captured. News of the onslaught shocked colonial leaders. Political instability, civil unrest, disease, and drought initially prevented Gov. Edward Hyde from organizing a military response or providing relief to those in need.

Thomas Pollock, president of the provincial council, immediately marched militia to the war zone. Problems resulted, however, when soldiers from Bath Town refused to cross the Pamlico River to join troops from New Bern. As a result, New Bern's forces were stranded without reinforcements in hostile territory.

Governor Hyde, meanwhile, appealed to neighboring colonies for assistance. Lt. Gov. Alexander Spotswood of Virginia responded by securing the neutrality of several tribes with promises of trade, bounties for enemies, recognition of tribal boundaries, and protection. He also dispatched Peter Poythres, a veteran scout and interpreter, to neutral Tuscarora settlements. His diplomacy produced treaties with the eight upper towns, thereby halving the Tuscaroras' fighting power and diminishing the hostiles' chance of victory. Spotswood also secured the safe release of Baron von Graffenried and other prisoners, while ratifying treaties with the Nottoways, the Saponis, and the Meherrins, thereby further isolating the militant Tuscaroras.

In 1712 Spotswood sent blankets and clothing to help ease the plight of war refugees. He also readied Virginia's militia, bolstered by 100 native allies, to march against the hostiles. Plans for the expedition fell through, however, when North Carolina's leaders failed to provision Spotswood's army.

South Carolina officials responded to Hyde's pleas by recruiting Catawba and Yamasee warriors to march against their traditional enemies. Many volunteers saw the campaign as an



Undated illustration of a party of Tuscarora Native Americans searching for settlers in the forests of North Carolina. The Tuscarora War of 1711–1713 was a punitive campaign against the Tuscaroras, who had attacked settlers for taking their land. (Hulton Getty/Archive Photos)

opportunity to secure native slaves, a line of reasoning encouraged by Governor Hyde.

Colonel John Barnwell, a South Carolina trader and experienced soldier, commanded an army of 495 natives and 30 colonists. On reaching New Bern in February 1712, Barnwell's force encountered fierce resistance. A short time later the colonel learned that two-thirds of his force had deserted, taking a large supply of slaves and goods with them. Sixty-seven locals bolstered what remained of Barnwell's force in a campaign against Fort Hancock, a fortified Tuscarora town along the Neuse River. Although Barnwell's first assault was unsuccessful, his use of cannon ultimately produced a negotiated settlement.

The truce did not last long. Shortly after negotiating the agreement, Barnwell enslaved those who had accepted his terms. Not surprisingly, the colonel's treachery sparked a series of Tuscarora raids during the summer of 1712, a situation exacerbated by food shortages, Quaker politicians' refusal to support the war, and Governor Hyde's death in September 1712.

Once again, South Carolinians responded with military force. In March 1713, Colonel James Moore Jr. led 50 colonists and 1,000 native allies against Nehucke, a Tuscarora town protected by pal-

isades, blockhouses, and escape tunnels. Moore achieved victory only after setting fire to the town's palisades. He later estimated that 558 natives had perished in the fight. Nearly 400 others were captured. Following the victory all but 180 of Moore's soldiers deserted him, taking their slaves and plunder with them back to South Carolina.

Moore's campaign signaled the end of the Tuscarora War. By 1713 both the natives and North Carolina officials lacked the resources needed to prolong the conflict. News of Nehucke's destruction also prompted residents of other lower Tuscarora settlements to escape a similar fate by fleeing west to the headwaters of the Roanoke River.

On April 14, 1713, Thomas Pollock concluded a peace with the remaining Tuscaroras. Tom Blunt, declared "king" of all Tuscaroras, accepted a reservation established for the tribe between the Neuse River and the Pamlico River. Although the treaty did not end hostilities, it marked the end of Tuscarora dominance.

Peaceful Tuscaroras, now the targets of frequent enemy raids, depended on their colonial neighbors for supplies and protection. North Carolina officials approved relocation to a new reservation along the Roanoke River following Catawba attacks during the

788 Tuscarora War

1720s. Later removals to New York to join the Iroquois Confederacy, which had adopted the Tuscaroras around 1722, finally brought the promise of revitalization to a defeated people.

Jon L. Brudvig

See also

Barnwell, John; Captivity of Indians by Europeans; Iroquois Confederation; Moore, James, Jr.; North Carolina; Spotswood, Alexander; Tuscaroras; Yamasees

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U

Uncas

Born: ca. 1588 Died: 1683

Leader of the Mohegans. Most Americans think of Uncas as the fictional character in James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*. The historical Uncas, however, was a Mohegan, not a Mahican (Mohican), and not the last of his tribe. Uncas closely allied himself with the New England colonies and presided over the rise of the Mohegans. Perhaps born in 1588, Uncas gave military assistance to the colonies at Plymouth, Connecticut, and Massachusetts Bay during the Pequot War (1636–1638) and King Philip's War (1675–1676). These alliances, along with his part in the slaying of the Narragansett sachem (chief) Miantonomo, have caused some historians to cast Uncas as a traitor to native peoples. However, his actions also strengthened the Mohegans and helped them retain a measure of independence in colonial New England.

A small tributary group dominated by the more powerful Pequots, the Mohegans occupied the lands between the Connecticut River and the Thames River. When the Pequot War erupted in 1636, Uncas participated in planning and leading the attack on the Pequots' Mystic River fort. As a reward for his services, he was given a large share of Pequot prisoners, most of whom were incorporated into the Mohegan tribe.

Uncas proved useful yet again when Miantonomo, an English ally during the Pequot War, began to speak out against them. At the same time, Uncas's Mohegans began attacking Narragansett hunters. Following a treaty he had signed with Massachusetts, Miantonomo sought and was granted permission to attack the Mohegans. The Mohegans captured Miantonomo, and Uncas

turned him over to the colony of Connecticut. Not wanting Miantonomo's blood on their own hands, Connecticut authorities gave Miantonomo back to Uncas, who had him executed.

During King Philip's War in 1675–1676, Uncas allied the Mohegans to Massachusetts Bay and assisted them in crushing the rebellion. After the war, Uncas reaffirmed his alliance to the colony. Uncas died in 1683.

ROGER M. CARPENTER

See also

Cooper, James Fenimore; King Philip's War; Massachusetts; Mohegans; Mystic Fort Fight; Pequot War; Plymouth

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Underhill, John

Born: 1597

Died: July 21, 1672

English-born mercenary, privateer, and militia officer. John Underhill was born sometime in 1597 at Bagington, Warwickshire, England. He gained his first military experience in the Netherlands, where he also married a Dutch woman. He arrived in Massachusetts in 1630 to train the colonial militia. He also served as a Boston town official.

Underhill served as a captain in command of a Massachusetts militia contingent during the Pequot War (1636–1638). In May

1637, Underhill's force participated in the massacre of the inhabitants of a Pequot village on the Mystic River in Connecticut. The village contained between 400 and 700 people, mostly women, children, and elderly men. The New Englanders set the village afire and killed anyone trying to escape the flames. Underhill later wrote an account of the Pequot War entitled *News from America*.

A 1639 accusation of heresy led to Underhill's banishment from Massachusetts Bay Colony. He subsequently moved to New Hampshire, then Connecticut, and finally in 1643 to New Netherland. There he lived among other English settlers on Long Island. Gov. Willem Kieft hired Underhill to command militia during the early phase of the Dutch-Indian Wars (1641–1664). Underhill's unit participated in another massacre of a native village in February 1644. This time, his men burned and shot a reported 500–700 inhabitants of an Algonquin village near present-day Westchester, New York. Toward the end of the war, however, Kieft abruptly dismissed Underhill.

Continuing to live in New Netherland, Underhill served as the sheriff of Flushing, Long Island, and defended English interests there. Following the outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654), Connecticut officials wrote to him in 1653 and asked him to investigate a possible Dutch conspiracy to arm natives against the English. Dutch officials then arrested Underhill when he publicly accused them of inciting the natives against the English. On his release, Underhill openly worked against Dutch rule on Long Island, calling on English residents there to overthrow the Dutch. When the English failed to heed his calls, he fled to Rhode Island. There he accepted a privateer's commission to raid Dutch shipping and was called on to organize an English force to attack New Netherland.

When the English took over New Netherland in 1664, Underhill again moved to Long Island. There he held a number of official posts. Underhill died on July 21, 1672, in an area then known as Killingworth on Long Island.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Anglo-Dutch War, First; Dutch-Indian Wars; Kieft, Willem; Kieft's War; Long Island; Mystic Fort Fight; New Netherland; Pequot War

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United Colonies Confederation

See New England Confederation

Uprising of 1747

Start Date: Spring 1747 End Date: September 1747

Revolt of Ohio Country Native Americans against the French during King George's War (1744–1748). The Uprising of 1747 reflected the volatile interplay of tribal rivalries and imperial ambitions on the North American continent. By the early–1740s, the area south of Lake Erie had become an arena for commercial competition between New France and rapidly encroaching English traders from Pennsylvania. In this borderland between colonial empires, gaining the allegiance of a recently relocated tribe of Hurons, known as the Wyandots, was a key factor in regional politics.

Huron/Wyandot chief Orontony had requested resettlement deep within French territory to protect the Wyandots from predations by the Ottawas, located near Detroit. His collaboration with the Cherokees in an earlier assault on an Ottawa war party had ruined his standing within the Great Lakes region, however. Rejected by French colonial overseers whom he likened to slave owners and hostile toward their Algonquian-dominated confederation, he moved his people instead to the periphery of French power. The Wyandots finally settled at Sandusky Bay. Ambitious and prone to conspiracy, Orontony immediately cultivated relations with the English by traveling to Albany and obtaining trading privileges.

This new partnership brought Orontony into contact with the most successful and charismatic merchant in the region, George Croghan. It also earned him the enmity of the French. An Irish immigrant well versed in native languages and customs, Croghan was developing a vast economic network. By 1746, he had secured permission to build a blockhouse at the Wyandot village of Sandusky, located between Detroit and the Cuyahoga River in what was the first British military emplacement in the Ohio Country. Already apprehensive over losing influence with the powerful Iroquois Confederation as a bulwark against the British, French authorities placed a bounty on Croghan's head. Quick to joke about his newfound notoriety, Croghan remained undeterred. Meanwhile, Orontony agitated among the Miami (Twightwee), Ottawa, and Shawnee tribes to stage assaults on overextended French positions with an emphasis on taking Detroit. His plan was to establish himself as a figure worthy of leading a new nation, independent of French authority.

The onset of King George's War in 1744 created an opportunity for Orontony to strike at the French and gain leverage by requesting British support. The threat of a British invasion of Quebec received the highest priority in French preparedness, which left the Ohio Country sparsely defended. In the spring of 1747, five French traders who were unaware of Orontony's machinations were murdered while visiting Sandusky. Then, a French fort on the Maumee River was partially burned and the Miamis razed a trading post within their territory.

The Uprising of 1747 had begun. Orontony arrived at Detroit purportedly to seek peace, but a party of natives killed several Frenchmen nearby. Natives, including the Ottawas, planned a massive attack against the settlement, but the work of an informant scuttled the operation.

Although not always in coordination with one another, numerous native villages rose against the French as the entire frontier became destabilized. Croghan's precise role in encouraging Orontony remains unclear, but the trader likely promised British assistance to him and provided gunpowder to the native rebels. Sensitive to his own credibility, Croghan convinced the governor of Pennsylvania to provide logistical support lest the rebelling tribes reassess their loyalties. The French proved quick to identify British intrigue as the primary cause of the uprising, but the true explanation was more complex. Indeed, the ongoing success of the British Navy in denying supplies to Canada had rendered French trade with the natives far less appealing. That forced many tribes to turn against the French and ally with the British.

In September 1747, the deployment of French reinforcements compelled Orontony to destroy Sandusky and retreat eastward into the Ohio River Valley and then Pennsylvania, where he died in 1750. The Wyandots ceased hostilities, but the Miamis continued fighting until 1752. Only the hiring of French allies from distant locations brought the insurgency to a close. Although ultimately successful in quelling the revolt, the French suffered heavy losses at their commercial outposts and were fortunate to retain Detroit.

Slowly, during the early 1750s, the French improved their standing with the tribes of the Great lakes. The Uprising of 1747 factored into an attempt by natives to renegotiate within a rapidly deteriorating French alliance system. One measure of mounting desperation among the French was the abrogation of the policy of pardoning warriors who had fought against them. Clearly, France's native allies were growing more cognizant of the shifting balance of power in favor of the British.

JEFFREY D. BASS

See also

Croghan, George; Hurons; King George's War, Land Campaigns; Native American Trade; New France; Ohio Country; Orontony (Orontondi, Rondoenie, Wanduny, or Nicholas); Sandusky Bay (Ohio)

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Utrecht, Treaty of Event Date: April 11, 1713

Diplomatic settlement that ended the War of the Spanish Succession in Europe (1702–1713, Queen Anne's War in North America).



The Congress of Utrecht in the Netherlands resulted in the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, ending the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713). Wood engraving, English, 19th century. (The Granger Collection)

The Treaty of Utrecht was actually one in a series of agreements signed at Utrecht in the Netherlands between January and July 1713. The principal agreement involving France and Britain marked a significant turning point in both European history and in the struggle for dominance in North America.

Negotiations between the combatants began in early 1712 at Utrecht. These talks culminated in the signing of the principal peace treaty on April 11, 1713. The Utrecht settlement ended what has sometimes been referred to as "the first world war" and dealt with a wide number of territorial and dynastic issues around the world.

The issue touching off the war had been which major dynastic family power would inherit the throne of Spain and its considerable holdings in Europe and America. Both King Louis XIV of France and Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I had sought to place a member of their family on the Spanish throne and keep the Spanish inheritance intact. The terms of the treaty ended that. Spain lost its European possessions but retained the territory it held in America. Louis XIV's grandson was confirmed as king of Spain but with the provision that the two kingdoms of France and Spain never be united under one ruler. The Austrian Habsburgs were indemnified for the loss of their claims on the Spanish throne by receiving the substantial Spanish

holdings in Europe, apart from Iberia. These included Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the Spanish Netherlands (which were then known as the Austrian Netherlands and are today Belgium and Luxembourg).

The Dutch received guarantees of their territorial integrity and recovered the border fortresses. The Scheldt River was to be open only to Dutch ships, meaning the ruin of the port of Antwerp in the Austrian Netherlands. Both Brandenburg and Savoy were rewarded for their contributions for the allied cause. The elector of Brandenburg was confirmed in the title of king of Prussia, an important step forward in the rise of the House of Hohenzollern. The ruler of Savoy also received the title of king and received the former Spanish island of Sicily, which it exchanged in 1720 with Austria for Sardinia, becoming the kingdom of Sardinia. Sardinia would be the driving force behind the future unification of Italy, and the kingdom of Prussia would play the same role among the German states.

Great Britain was the biggest winner at Utrecht, however. The union of England and Scotland had occurred during the war. The French king recognized the legitimacy of Britain's Protestant succession and agreed to end all support for the Stuart pretenders to the English throne. Britain also acquired important territories in Europe and North America. In Europe, the British retained Gibraltar and Minorca, both important to British naval dominance in the Mediterranean. In North America, the British acquired Acadia (Nova Scotia), Newfoundland, Hudson Bay, and Saint Kitts (St. Christopher) in the Caribbean. Britain also secured a favorable tariff on goods sent into Spain through the port of Cadiz and the asiento (contract) allowing the British South Sea Company (formed in 1711) a monopoly on the annual importation of 4,800 African slaves into Spanish America for a period of 30 years. It also allowed Britain to send one trading ship a year to the Spanish colonies, an open license for British smuggling into Latin America.

The bulk of New France remained intact. On Cape Breton Island the French would soon begin construction of the fortress of Louisbourg. They also held Prince Edward Island and the entire Mississippi River Valley. In addition, France retained its colonies in the West Indies: Martinique, Guadeloupe, and western Hispaniola. In addition, the French retained claims to the islands of Dominica and St. Lucia.

Spanish America remained largely unchanged. Spain retained Florida and the large viceroyalties of New Spain (Mexico), New Granada (modern Colombia and Venezuela), and Peru (including present-day Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay).

The treaty satisfied Britain's major objectives of preventing the French domination of Europe. Much of the fighting in the war had been on French soil, and France had suffered greatly economically from the burden of fighting alone, save Spain, in virtually the whole of Europe. Britain had secured economic and territorial advantages and had substantially reduced French power in North America.

Britain's acquisition of Newfoundland, Acadia, and Hudson Bay enhanced significantly its merchant, fishing, and fur-trading industries. The new land acquisitions gave rise to the possibility of further expansion of British settlements in North America. Yet the British colonists in America were disappointed by the treaty's outcome. Ambiguous boundaries, questionable fishing rights, and Native American relations wore heavily on the English colonies. In America, the Treaty of Utrecht was only a long truce; the English colonies would again be at war with New France in 1744.

RICHARD J. SHUSTER

See also

Acadia; Acadia, British Conquest of; Acadia, New England Attack on; Canada, British Expedition against (1711); France; Great Britain; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns; Slave Trade and the American Colonies; Spain

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V

Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Pierre de Rigaud de

See Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Pierre de, Marquis de Vaudreuil

Venango (Pennsylvania)

Pennsylvania post and supply station located at the juncture of French Creek (Rivière au Boeuf) and the Allegheny River. Originally the site of a native village, Venango was the third in a chain of French posts (after Fort de la Presque Isle and Fort Le Boeuf) that connected Lake Erie with the Ohio Valley. Venango was some 50 miles from Fort Le Boeuf. Briton John Fraser operated a trading post at Venango from 1741. Beginning in 1749, French authorities ordered him to quit the area and, when he refused, in August 1753 Philippe-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire seized Fraser's house. Virginia militia major George Washington stopped at Venango on December 4–7, 1753, on his mission to warn the French to leave the Ohio Valley. While he was there, Joncaire and other French officers bluntly told Washington of the French intention to control all of the Ohio Country.

The French were slow to fortify Venango, but they did erect a fort there in 1755 during the French and Indian War and a larger one two years later. Resembling forts at Presque Isle and Le Boeuf, it was named Fort Machault in honor of Minister of Marine Jean-Baptiste de Machault d'Arnouville.

Following his destruction of and departure from Fort Duquesne in November 1758, Captain François Marie de Marchand de Lignery withdrew to Venango, where he assembled forces for a counterattack on Duquesne in 1759. On July 13, 1759, however, Lignery

learned of the British attack on Fort Niagara. His lines of communication threatened, he destroyed Fort Machault and marched with 1,200 troops and natives to Niagara, only to be ambushed and defeated near there by the British and allied natives on July 24.

During Pontiac's Rebellion, when British colonel Henry Bouquet moved his troops from Pittsburgh to Lake Erie, he built a blockhouse at Venango. In early June 1763, however, Seneca natives captured Venango and burned it, the British garrison there perishing to the last man.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Bouquet, Henry; Chabert de Joncaire, Philippe Thomas; Fort de la Presque Isle; Fort Le Boeuf (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Ohio Country; Pontiac's Rebellion; Senecas; Washington, George

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Vernon, Edward

Born: November 12, 1684 Died: October 30, 1757

British Navy admiral. Born at Westminster, England, on November 12, 1684, the son of James Vernon, secretary of state to King

William III, Edward Vernon was educated at Westminster School. He joined the navy in 1700, and during the next dozen years he served in seven different ships. He won promotion to captain in 1706 during the War of the Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War, 1702–1713). After 1712, Vernon saw extensive service in the Baltic.

Elected to Parliament in 1722, Vernon again served in the Baltic and at Gibraltar. In Parliament, Vernon was an outspoken proponent of war with Spain, boasting that he could take Spain's Caribbean base of Portobello with only half a dozen ships. When war began with Spain in 1739 in the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739–1744), Vernon received promotion to vice admiral and was given command of a squadron to fulfill his boast.

In November 1739, with only six ships of the line, Vernon attacked Portobello and captured it in a highly acclaimed victory. Vernon's subsequent operations against Cartagena, Santiago, and Panama all failed, largely because of the reluctance of the British ground commander, Major General Thomas Wentworth, and an outbreak of yellow fever.

Vernon returned to England in 1742, resuming his seat in Parliament, where he was critical of the administration of the Royal Navy. Promoted to full admiral in 1745, Vernon took command in the North Sea, but an investigation into a series of anonymous pamphlets he had published critical of the navy led to his retirement in April 1746. He continued to serve in Parliament until his death on October 30, 1757.

Although Vernon is best known for his victory at Portobello, he is also known for more esoteric reasons. In 1740, he concocted a diluted rum ration for his sailors to reduce drunkenness, and the special brew came to bear his nickname, "Grog," a name Vernon earned for his tendency to wear a grogram cloak. He also lent his name to a number of towns and buildings throughout England and the United States, including President George Washington's Mount Vernon estate.

Jason Mann Frawley

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); Cartagena, Expedition against; Great Britain, Navy; Portobello, Attack on; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns

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Vetch, Samuel

Born: December 9, 1668 Died: April 30, 1732

English colonial politician, diplomat, merchant, military leader, and governor of Nova Scotia (1710–1713, 1715–1717). Samuel

Vetch was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, on December 9, 1668. While Vetch was still a child his family moved to the Netherlands, where he was educated and served as an officer in the Dutch Army. After extensive campaigning in Europe, Vetch attained the rank of captain and in 1698 joined an English expedition to Panama. Conflict with the Spaniards, however, led the English to abandon the colony. Vetch then traveled to Albany, New York, where he married Margaret Livingston of the influential Livingston family.

Vetch began trading with the local Native Americans, but in 1702 he moved to Boston. In 1705, he secured an appointment to a diplomatic mission in Quebec. Part of his assignment there was to obtain information about the town's defenses. While in Canada, his desire for wealth led him to begin the sale of arms to the French, despite the fact that France and England were at war (Queen Anne's War, 1702–1713). When Massachusetts authorities learned of his activity, they arrested Vetch. Tried and convicted of smuggling, Vetch went to England, where in 1708 he succeeded in convincing officials to overturn his conviction.

That same year Vetch began promoting his plan for a British invasion of Canada. British leaders approved his proposal and ordered him back to America in company with Colonel Francis Nicholson to organize the expedition. Vetch arrived in Boston in the spring of 1709 and began raising troops for a seaborne attack via the St. Lawrence River. The plan had to be abandoned when British reinforcements failed to arrive. Nevertheless, Vetch employed this force to attack and occupy French Acadia in September 1710. The British government renamed the territory Nova Scotia, and rewarded Vetch for his services by appointing him governor and military commander there. British control of Nova Scotia was affirmed when France officially ceded the territory in the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht.

Vetch, meanwhile, joined a British expedition assembling in Boston for another attack on Canada. The fleet sailed for Quebec in July 1711, with Vetch in command of the provincial forces. After a disaster the following month in which several ships struck rocks and sank in the St. Lawrence, drowning hundreds of British soldiers, Vetch nonetheless urged his superiors to press on to Quebec. However, they chose instead to return to Boston.

Returning to Nova Scotia, Vetch engaged in a lengthy dispute with Nicholson. That, along with Vetch's constant demands to be reimbursed for expenses he had incurred to support the British post at Annapolis Royal, caused British officials to remove him from his post in 1713. Nicholson succeeded him.

Vetch then returned to England to defend himself. He won reappointment as Nova Scotia's governor in 1715. He held the post for two more years, until replaced by Richard Philipps. In 1719 Vetch journeyed once again to England, but his efforts to secure reimbursement for his expenses were not successful. Destitute, Vetch was remanded to an unknown debtors' prison, where he died on April 30, 1732.

See also

Acadia, British Conquest of; Acadia, New England Attack on; Canada, British Expedition against (1709); Canada, British Expedition against (1711); Nicholson, Sir Francis; Quebec, Attack on (1711); Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns

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Villasur, Pedro de

Born: Unknown Died: August 14, 1720

The Spanish lieutenant governor of New Mexico (1719–1720). Little is known of Pedro de Villasur's early life. He arrived in New Mexico during the 1680s and was appointed lieutenant governor in 1719. Since early colonial times, Spain had steadfastly claimed the entire Great Plains region. Nonetheless, French traders, trappers, and explorers had been present in the region since the 17th century. When war broke out between Spain and France in 1719, the Spanish government decided it had to halt the extensive trading activities between the French and the natives. Rumors abounded that the French were supplying the natives with weapons.

Gov. Antonio de Valverde y Cosío of New Mexico ordered Villasur to lead an expeditionary force into the Great Plains to show the flag and to disrupt French activity there. Although Villasur was evidently an able administrator, he had little or no military experience.

Villasur set out from Santa Fe on June 16, 1720. His expeditionary force consisted of 40 Spanish soldiers, 60 Pueblo warriors, 10 Apache guides, a Catholic priest (Father Fray Juan Minguez), and a merchant. In August, the expeditionary force arrived at the Platte River in Nebraska, somewhere in the vicinity of Grand Island. The area was then heavily populated with Pawnee and Oto natives.

The desertion near present-day Schuyler, Nebraska, of one of his principal aides, Joseph Naranjo, greatly alarmed Villasur. Believing that Naranjo might be acting in collusion with the Pawnees, Villasur moved his force back to the Loop River, where on the evening of August 13 the men set up camp probably just south of present-day Columbus, Nebraska.

There, at dawn on August 14, a large force of Pawnee and Oto natives, then allied with the French, attacked the Spanish expeditionary force. Most of the soldiers were still asleep. Within minutes, Villasur, the priest, the merchant, most of the Spanish soldiers, and some of the native warriors and guides lay dead.

Seven of the Spanish soldiers managed to escape on horseback. The Pueblo natives were in a separate camp and did not bear the brunt of the initial Pawnee attack. They too were soon heavily engaged, and 11 of them died.

The survivors withdrew to Santa Fe, arriving there on September 6. Many blamed French fur traders, active among the Pawnees, for the defeat. In any case, this event signaled the end of Spanish power in the Great Plains and left the French in undisputed control of the Missouri River Valley region.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

New Mexico; Pueblos

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Vincennes (Indiana)

Trading outpost formally established in 1732 by the French roughly 150 miles north of the confluence of the Wabash River and Ohio River (the southwestern corner of Indiana). Vincennes is today the oldest city in Indiana. The trading post was one of a series of forts and posts built to restrict the British from encroaching on French territory. In 1724, Pierre Dugue, Sieur de Boisbriand, commander of Fort Chartres, and Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, governor of Louisiana, agreed that another post was needed near the Wabash.

François Marie Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes, was detached from service in Canada and charged with establishing the new fort. He selected a site located on the Wabash and 150 miles upriver from the junction of the Wabash River and the Ohio River. The fort was completed in 1732 and named Poste des Pianguichats, after a branch of the Miami tribe. In 1736, Vincennes and several others were captured and burned at the stake when the Chickasaws defeated the French and their native allies. The post was then renamed in honor of Vincennes.

When the French and Indian War (1754–1763) ended, the Treaty of Paris (1763) required France to cede to Britain its claims to Canada and all territory east of the Mississippi River, except New Orleans. The fort and settlement at Vincennes remained under martial law until September 1764. The British finally assumed command in 1766 and renamed the post Fort Sackville. During the American Revolutionary War, in 1777, after a period of neglect, the fort was garrisoned and rebuilt by the British. Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clark led a daring winter raid against Vincennes, forcing its surrender on February 25, 1778.

THERESA L. STOREY



Settlers dancing with Native Americans in Vincennes, Indiana, during a period of friendly relations in the 1700s. (Library of Congress)

See also

Fort Chartres (Illinois); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Paris, Treaty of

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Virginia

The first permanent English settlement in the Western Hemisphere, Virginia occupied a prominent place in colonial America. Virginians developed an agrarian, plantation-based economic system rooted in tobacco cultivation. An insatiable demand for land, quickly depleted by tobacco, fueled the colony's rapid westward expansion. Initially dependent on indentured laborers, planters eventually turned to African slaves to work their holdings. Politically, a tradition of self-government, shaped by the colonial planter elite, spread across the colony. Adapted to a largely rural setting, English social and political customs anchored the experiment. Vir-

ginia became the most prosperous colony in colonial English North America during the 17th century.

English explorers, fishermen, and traders probed North America from 1500 onward. England nevertheless lagged behind its European competitors in the colonization of the New World. Several English courtiers, notably Sir Walter Raleigh, sponsored settlements in North America. Those efforts failed, although none so mysteriously as Raleigh's "lost colony" of Roanoke in a region he named Virginia. Then, after the Anglo-Spanish War of 1585–1604, a group of prominent public figures formed a joint stock company to renew the drive for colonization. In 1606, the London Company dispatched three ships and 140 colonists to the Chesapeake Bay. After surveying the region, the 100 men who survived the voyage decided to plant a settlement on the northern bank of the James River in April 1607.

The colonists at Jamestown confronted staggering problems. The marshy peninsula, though easily defended, bred devastating diseases. The gentlemen adventurers, moreover, arrived ill equipped for life in the wilderness. Under company orders to find commodities (particularly gold) for export, the colonists did not capitalize on the region's natural abundance. Malnutrition, mate-



Map of Virginia, as described by John Smith in 1606. Smith was one of the founders of the Jamestown colony and helped ensure its survival. The map depicts Native American leader Powhatan, Chesapeake Bay, and the Potomac River. (Library of Congress)

rial deprivation, internal discord, and tense relations with local natives of the Powhatan Confederacy threatened the colony; an appalling mortality rate quickly thinned the ranks. In 1608, Captain John Smith took command of the settlement and improved conditions through the application of military order, assigning each man an essential task and denying provisions to men who refused to work. The colony's future nonetheless remained in doubt.

Meanwhile, in London, colonial planners reorganized the London Company, streamlined its administrative hierarchy, and raised money for a massive reinforcement of Jamestown. In 1609, it dispatched 500 colonists, including some women and children, to Virginia. Yet foul weather and sheer misfortune delayed the convoy. The 400 settlers that finally landed at Jamestown quickly overwhelmed available supplies. Only 60 Virginians survived the winter of 1609–1610, a miserable period known as the "Starving Time."

When Sir Thomas Gates arrived in May 1610, he discovered the colonists preparing to quit Virginia. Gates; Sir Thomas West, Lord

De La Warr; and Sir Thomas Dale reversed the situation through reinforcements, resupply, and sound leadership. The settlement survived, but to the chagrin of English investors it remained without a viable economic base.

English settler John Rolfe came forward with an unlikely solution to Virginia's economic problem: tobacco. He planted indigenous tobacco on his Virginia farm in 1612 but soon discarded the leaf as too coarse for European consumers. Rolfe then imported some Spanish seed from the West Indies and, having learned proper curing methods from the natives, in 1614 he sent the first shipment of Virginia tobacco to England. Two years later, Virginians exported 20,000 pounds of tobacco. The trade grew exponentially in the decades that followed; exports topped 50 million pounds in 1760.

Tobacco provided for the rapid economic expansion of colonial Virginia, and the rise of the colony's planter elite. It nonetheless brought certain structural problems. Virginians became dependent on foreign credit, and sometimes-unstable overseas markets.

Population Growth in the British Colonie
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Year	Population (including slaves)	
1630	4,600	
1650	50,400	
1670	111,900	
1690	210,400	
1710	331,700	
1730	629,400	
1750	1,170,800	
1770	2,148,100	

Indeed, by 1776 Virginians owed two million pounds sterling to English creditors. Too frequently, overeager growers flooded the European market, deflating tobacco prices. In about 1700, a tobacco warehousing network, inspection system, and economic concentration strengthened the colonial economy. Still, Virginians were incapable of shedding their dependence on the lucrative weed.

Ecologically, tobacco cultivation exhausted the colony's soil. It also triggered erosion and encouraged deforestation. Colonists dealt with these problems by pushing west into new lands. From 1625 to 1700, Virginians spread across the coastal Tidewater region and into the Piedmont. Then, in 1716, Lt. Gov. Alexander Spotswood led an expedition over the Blue Ridge Mountains, opening the Shenandoah Valley, an area soon populated by Scots-Irish and German migrants from Pennsylvania.

As the colony grew, Virginians displaced (rather than incorporated) Native Americans; disease and conflict led to the rapid depopulation of indigenous communities. Even so, frontier insecurity became a near constant feature of life in colonial Virginia. Even before the development of tobacco agriculture, conflict with the natives overland and trade had resulted in the First Anglo-Powhatan War (1610-1614). The spread of tobacco plantations afterward encroached on native lands and helped provoke a massive Powhatan assault in May 1622 that killed some 350 colonists. The resulting Second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622–1632) ended in the natives' defeat, as did the final native effort to preserve their lands, the Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1644-1646). The colonists' victory in the conflict removed the last native threat to Virginia's westward expansion. The Second Anglo-Powhatan War had also brought down the London Company, clearing the way for the Crown to convert Virginia into a royal holding.

In the 1670s, colonial native policy, social tension, and political controversies sparked an internal uprising known as Bacon's Rebellion. In 1675, against the governor's orders, Nathaniel Bacon raised a private army to attack natives along the frontier. Political and military maneuvering ensued. When Gov. William Berkeley declared Bacon a rebel, Bacon marched on Jamestown, his militia torched it, and the governor fled. The insurrection collapsed when Bacon died suddenly of natural causes. His actions nevertheless showed how native relations, elite rivalries, and class conflict might threaten the prevailing political and social order.

Bacon's Rebellion aside, Virginians constructed relatively stable governing institutions. With little interference from London, they adopted a variant of the British political system. The chief executive, or governor, represented the London Company and, later, the Crown. Appointed by officials in England, some governors, such as Berkeley, significantly influenced colonial life. Many others presided over colonial affairs from England, delegating routine matters to subordinates in Virginia.

The provincial council, composed of English gentlemen and native Virginians (all appointed by English authorities), served as special advisers to the governor. Under the leadership of John Blair, the council dominated colonial politics between 1680 and 1720. Among its many accomplishments, the council chartered the College of William and Mary (1693) and built a new colonial capital city at Williamsburg in 1699.

Unlike governors and councilors, local representatives to the general assembly, known as the House of Burgesses, derived their authority through popular election. Sanctioned by the London Company, the assembly, the first legislative body in the Americas, first convened in 1619. For several decades, with one exception (1655), all freemen could vote in assembly elections; balloting statutes limited participation to property holders during the 1670s. Designed only to handle standard local business, the House of Burgesses instead evolved into a strong colonial parliament, tackling a host of complex legislative issues, including the creation of the colony's labor code.

In 1619, the assembly organized a program of indentured servitude, the basis of the labor market through the mid-1600s. Servants, generally young English men, agreed to work for a landholder for a set period of time in return for passage to America. A "headright system" allowed a planter to acquire additional land for each family member or servant he brought to the colony. But landholders often found indentured servants difficult to control, as demonstrated during Bacon's Rebellion. When improved economic opportunities in Britain drained the pool of prospective servants, Virginians turned to chattel slavery.

Dutch traders brought the first Africans to the colony in 1619. The number of bondsmen in Virginia, however, remained low through the 1660s, and many Africans were considered indentured servants but served longer terms than white servants. After the assembly legalized slavery in 1661, the number of African slaves gradually increased, reaching 10,000 by 1700. In 1770, roughly 187,000 slaves, or 42 percent of the colony's total population of 447,000, worked in Virginia. Over time, the assembly adopted measures to prevent slave revolts, passed runaway slave laws, and wrote codes defining the legal status of blacks.

As the practice of slavery spread, troubling moral, social, and racial questions moved legislators to limit slave imports through taxes. The Crown forbade those measures, deemed threatening to the Virginia labor market, economy, and royal revenues. Overall, the experience of individual slaves depended on local conditions and was sometimes brutal, sometimes benevolent. Throughout,

slaves combined African traditions with New World customs to shape, when possible, the circumstances of their own existence, increasingly concentrated on large plantations.

By 1700 the plantation network was dominating colonial life: even small farmers relied on the great planters for essential goods and services. Clinging to the region's river network, Virginians shunned town-centered settlements. Estates plugged into the larger trans Atlantic commercial network at riverside landings.

In this mostly rural environment, certain public institutions developed slowly. Whereas the New England township system provided for public education, wealthy Virginians relied on tutors, and the elite often sent their children overseas to study. The homes of major planters served as courtrooms, banks, and political parlors. Printing presses and published materials were scarce, although some elite planters acquired impressive personal libraries.

The Church of England, sanctioned by the colonial government, failed to attract and retain a sufficient number of clergy. Anglican officials were prominent in some areas, but the colony (without major population centers) had few large congregations, leaving space for other denominations and sects.

From 1607 to 1660, royal authorities showed little interest in Virginia's religious or secular development. New imperial regulations during the 1660s and 1670s, partly a response to Bacon's Rebellion, gave way again to a long period of salutary neglect.

Until the 1750s, Virginia had little direct involvement in the colonial wars between England and France. However, the decision of Virginia land speculators and the provisional government to control territory claimed by the French in the Ohio River Valley provided the catalyst for the French and Indian War (1754–1763). After the French drove British traders from the region and refused Virginia governor Robert Dinwiddie's demand that they withdraw, in 1754 Dinwiddie sent Lieutenant Colonel George Washington and some Virginia militiamen to oust the French from the contested region. Although the French forced Washington to surrender on July 3, the confrontation led the British government to send troops to assert its claims in the Ohio Valley. Virginians participated in many of the subsequent campaigns, and the colony's frontiers suffered from frequent raids by French-allied natives.

The French and Indian War brought Britain into closer contact with the colony and spawned mutual distrust. After the war, the Crown, burdened with heavy debt, worked to bring its American colonies under closer supervision and imposed new taxation, with lasting consequences.

Virginians such as Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, and George Washington opposed British encroachment on perceived colonial rights. They railed against the Stamp Act (1765), Townshend duties (1767), and Coercive Acts (1774), measures particularly distasteful during a time of economic recession in Virginia. The Virginia General Assembly dispatched representatives to the First Continental Congress in 1774, where Virginians occupied key leadership positions. In December 1775, the Virginia Militia defeated British forces at Great Bridge near Norfolk. British

military units did not return to Virginia again until just before the climactic 1781 showdown at Yorktown.

Bradley Lynn Coleman and Jim Piecuch

See also

African Americans; Anglo-Powhatan War, First; Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Anglo-Powhatan War, Third; Bacon, Nathaniel, Jr.; Bacon's Rebellion; Berkeley, William; Dinwiddie, Robert; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Jamestown; Ohio Company; Powhatan Confederacy; Slavery; Slave Trade and the American Colonies; Spotswood, Alexander; Virginia-Indian Treaty (1646); Virginia-Indian Treaty (1677/1680); Washington, George

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Virginia-Indian Treaty Event Date: October 5, 1646

Treaty between Virginia and the remnants of the Powhatan Confederacy that concluded the Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1644–1646). Faced with the rapid expansion of the colony of Virginia, Powhatan leader Opechancanough launched a full-scale attack on the settlers in March 1644 in a desperate bid to preserve native sovereignty. Despite initial successes that claimed the lives of as many as 500 Virginians, the colonists quickly regrouped and counterattacked, devastating Powhatan towns and crops. Opechancanough was taken prisoner and ultimately murdered by one of his guards in the late summer of 1646.

After Opechancanough's death, his successor, Necotowance, began peace negotiations with Gov. William Berkeley. The war had reduced the once-extensive Powhatan lands to a small core of communities. In a treaty signed on October 5, 1646, Necotowance agreed that the Powhatans would be confined to small territories (in effect, the first native reservations in America) north of the York River. He further conceded that the natives' remaining land was held by them as if granted by the English Crown. Future Powhatan leaders would be confirmed by the Virginia government, to which the Powhatans acknowledged their dependency and pledged loyalty. Other provisions of the treaty required the natives to return runaway servants to Virginia officials and pay an annual tribute of 20 beaver skins to the colonial government.

In return for these concessions, Virginia authorities promised the Powhatans legal and military protections and strict policing of the new Anglo-native boundaries. Native messengers wishing to enter colonial territory were required to wear special striped shirts for identification. Unauthorized contact between settlers and natives was punishable by the death penalty for all offenders, with an exception made for young native servants. To prevent traders from cheating the natives, an issue Virginia officials believed had helped provoke the war, trade was restricted to designated frontier forts. Over time, however, the impracticality of these draconian measures became clear and penalties were reduced. Eventually, the colonial government relaxed its control over trade and ignored settlers' encroachment on native lands. After 1649, Virginia ended its policy of dealing with the Powhatan Confederacy and began renegotiating treaties with the separate constituent tribes. Virginia's native policy continued to undergo piecemeal alteration until it was recodified by the Virginia-Indian Treaty of 1677.

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See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, Third; Berkeley, William; Opechancanough; Powhatans; Virginia

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Virginia-Indian Treaty

Event Date: May 29, 1677 and April-June 1680

Following Bacon's Rebellion in 1676–1677, representatives of King Charles II negotiated the Virginia-Indian Treaty of 1677/1680, also known as the Treaty of Middle Plantation, with several Virginia native tribes to rectify the wrongs done to the natives during that conflict. Bacon's Rebellion began with skirmishes between a few natives and colonists on the frontier of English settlement, but quickly evolved into an attack on innocent Indians who had no part in the original dispute. Following the conflict, commissioners sent by the Crown to investigate the rebellion exonerated the native tribes who had been unfairly attacked and made the Virginia-Indian Treaty of 1677/1680 to strengthen the tribes' rights as loyal subjects of the king.

A first version of the treaty was signed on May 29, 1677, at Middle Plantation (rechristened Williamsburg in 1699) by Queen Cockacoeske of the Pamunkeys and her son, a Nansemond chief. As word spread of the treaty's fairness, representatives of several other tribes, including the Meherrins, the Monacans, the Saponis, the Pattanouchus, and the Portabaccos, signed the agreement between April and June 1680.

This liberal treaty granted tributary natives the same civil rights enjoyed by the English. For example, individual natives could settle disputes in county courts, where they would be treated as any subject of the Crown would be. The treaty also established protections for natives employed by English colonists, so that they would not become de facto slaves.

Additionally, the treaty sought to resolve problems surrounding land use; tribes would have perpetual ownership of land in a three-mile radius from their towns for foraging and hunting. Tributary natives could also hunt on unfenced English lands and forage almost anywhere for things not valued by the colonists, such as the edible tuckahoe found in the marshes.

In return, the tribes that signed the treaty accepted their status as subjects of the king and agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Virginia governor. They also had the responsibility to report the presence of foreign natives and take up arms against them alongside the English, when necessary.

The treaty represented the objectives of the royal government rather than those of the colonists in Virginia. Although London ordered strict observance of the treaty, the governor quietly allowed the rights of the natives under the treaty to erode away in the quarter century following its enactment. Various laws brought native land into English hands and curtailed their civil rights. Most significant was a 1705 law, directed against all nonwhites, which took away the natives' right to vote; bear arms; testify in court; or hold civil, military, or religious office. Thus, the Virginia-Indian Treaty of 1677/1680 ultimately did little to protect the natives from colonists increasingly anxious over issues of race and power.

JENNIFER BRIDGES OAST

See also

Bacon's Rebellion; Cockacoeske, Queen of the Pamunkey; Nansemonds; Powhatan Confederacy; Virginia

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Von Graffenried's Fort (North Carolina)

Redoubt constructed sometime in late 1710 or early 1711 at the confluence of the Trent River and the Neuse River, not far from the central North Carolina coast. In 1710, Christoph von Graffenried led a group of Swiss-Palatine settlers to eastern North Carolina, where he founded the settlement of New Bern (named for the Swiss city). This latest encroachment rankled the Tuscaroras, who already had a long list of complaints regarding European colonists. North Carolina proprietors, however, had been anxious to settle the Swiss-Germans on their territory. To make the arrangement more attractive for von Graffenried, they offered him a grant of 5,000 acres, along with the title of baron.

Von Graffenried was motivated more by the hope of locating precious metals than he was with establishing a Swiss presence in the new world. Nevertheless, he took the offer and arrived at the place he would call New Bern in late 1710.

Little is known of what became of von Graffenried's Fort. It was probably a small post with little in the way of fortifications. On September 22, 1711, the lower towns of the Tuscaroras launched a major attack against both the English and Swiss settlements in eastern North Carolina. This sparked the Tuscarora War (1711–1713). Perhaps as many as 75 Swiss settlers died in the attack, and von Graffenried himself was taken prisoner. He struck a deal with the Tuscarora leader Hancock, however, who spared von Graffenried's life and released him in October. Whatever fort had been built was likely destroyed in the September assault. It was rebuilt thereafter, and the colonists there

were not again bothered by native attacks, as they adhered to their end of the agreement struck between Hancock and von Graffenried.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

North Carolina; Tuscaroras; Tuscarora War

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W

Waccamaws

Native American tribe who were Catawban speakers of the Pee Dee branch. In the 15th and 16th centuries, the Waccamaws lived in what is now southeastern North Carolina, south of the Cape Fear River. They originally lived in six villages. In the 1520s, the Spaniard Francisco de Chicora was the first European explorer to identify the Waccamaws.

The Waccamaws were skilled in the domestication of animals, including deer. They also kept poultry and raised crops such as corn, beans, squash, melons, pumpkins, and tobacco. European diseases wiped out much of the population, however.

By 1715, the Waccamaws were living about 100 miles northeast of Charles Town (present-day Charleston), South Carolina. At that time, they numbered some 610 people in four villages. For a short time, the Waccamaws fought on the side of the Yamasees in the Yamasee War (1715–1717), but they soon made peace with the English. In 1715, English traders helped the Waccamaws build a trading post. The tribe fought the Waccamaw War of 1720 against the settlers, in the process losing some 60 of their men, women, and children. Others were deported and sold into slavery. In 1755, Cherokee and Natchez war parties killed additional Waccamaws.

In the mid-1700s, the Waccamaws established a settlement near Doug Bluff, South Carolina. It is believed that they continued to exist as a separate tribe until well into the 1770s. In 1771, several Waccamaws were thought to be in John Austen's Company of Catawbas. Some of the Waccamaws incorporated with the Catawbas, and descendants of others remained in southeast North Carolina. Others live in Conway, South Carolina, where they are recognized as a native nation by the state government.

THOMAS J. BLUMER

See also

Catawbas; Cherokees; Natchez; North Carolina; South Carolina; Yamasees: Yamasee War

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Waldron, Richard

Born: 1615 Died: 1689

New Hampshire trader and militia officer who oversaw military and diplomatic operations in northern New England during King Philip's War (1675–1676). Born in Alcester, Warwickshire, England, Richard Waldron (also spelled Walderne) immigrated to Boston in 1638, and by 1640 he had established himself at Dover, New Hampshire. There he began both a trade in furs and lumber and a career in public service. By the outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675, Waldron was among the wealthiest and most prominent citizens of New Hampshire.

Waldron's reputation, ability, and well-known friendship with his native trading partners, the Pennacooks, made him a natural choice to be Massachusetts' northern agent. As a major in command of the militia, Waldron led several military expeditions against the Pennacooks and the Abenakis, and he headed several diplomatic initiatives to them as well. Waldron used these enterprises to increase his own fortunes: On at least three occasions he imprisoned or murdered native diplomats who met with him to arrange a peace, plundering the goods of the dead, and selling the living into slavery. Enraged by his behavior, the Abenakis kept up a war they would otherwise have ended. In 1677, they informed authorities in Boston that Waldron's actions were solely responsible for the continuance of the conflict.

In the decade after the war, Waldron's fortunes reached their zenith: he became New Hampshire's ranking military officer and president of its provincial council. In 1683, having been ousted from these posts by rivals, he returned to his commercial interests, which included trade in furs with his Pennacook neighbors. Angered by his abuses, both old and recent, the Pennacooks chose to enter King William's War in 1689 with a surprise attack on Waldron's Dover estate. Some Pennacooks entered his home under pretense of friendship and then admitted a war party, which tortured Waldron to death. Indian anger at Waldron was so intense that in 1704, 15 years after his death, the natives who attacked Deerfield, Massachusetts, explained their actions as just retribution for Waldron's crimes.

Andrew Miller

See also

Abenakis; King Philip's War; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Massachusetts; New Hampshire; Pennacooks

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Walker, Hovenden

Born: ca. 1660 Died: ca. 1726

English naval officer. Born about 1660 to Irish parents, Hovenden Walker attended Trinity College in Dublin in 1678. He did not graduate but joined the Royal Navy. Promoted to captain in February 1692, Walker participated effectively in several engagements.

In 1702, during the War of the Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War in North America, 1702–1713), Walker commanded an expeditionary force of six ships of the line transporting four battalions of troops with orders to take part in an attack on French possessions in the West Indies. Walker's squadron inexplicably lingered for two months at Barbados before proceeding to a rendezvous with land forces at Antigua. After the failure of this Caribbean mission, Walker participated in a larger attack on the French in Newfoundland. In September 1703, the English decided, because of the approaching freeze-in, to abandon the mission and return to England.

After serving as a commodore in European waters, Walker received promotion to rear admiral in 1710. In 1711, he was awarded a knighthood and assumed command of some 70 British naval vessels and 6,000 seamen and marines for the planned campaign to capture Quebec. Accompanied by Brigadier General John Hill commanding some 5,000 British regulars, Walker's fleet arrived at Boston on June 25, 1711.

The expeditionary force of about 12,000 men, including New England militiamen and regular British forces, embarked for Canada on July 30. On August 22, Walker, befuddled by darkness, fog, and wind in the St. Lawrence River, relied on a captured French pilot for guidance. During the passage upriver eight transports and other vessels ran aground, drowning more than 900 men. Walker and Hill immediately convened a council of war and decided to abandon the operation. They considered moving against Newfoundland, but recalling the events of 1703, Walker again decided on a hasty return to England.

While Walker reported to his superiors in London, his flagship, the *Edgar*, blew up with great loss of life. Although Walker received a new command, the disaster eventually led to his dismissal from the service in 1715. Walker emigrated to the Carolinas, where he served as deputy governor of North Carolina and then as president of South Carolina's council. A few years later he returned to London, and there he published his attempt at self-vindication, *A Journal or Full Account of the Late Expedition to Canada*, in 1720. Walker died in Dublin about 1726.

ROBERTA WIENER

See also

Quebec, Attack on (1711); Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns

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Walking Purchase

Event Date: August 1737

Land agreement between the Delawares (Lenni Lenape) and colonial Pennsylvania. From the time of first European settlement of Pennsylvania in the 1680s, the Delawares enjoyed generally good relations with the colony. However, as the colony expanded the English began encroaching on more of the natives' land. In 1735, James Logan, the colony's chief justice and acting head of Native affairs, presented Delaware chiefs with a purported copy of a 1686 deed that granted Pennsylvania most of the Lehigh Valley. The deed also seemed to grant the colony as much land west of present-day Wrightstown as a man could walk in a day and a half. The Delaware

chiefs protested that they knew of no such document. Furthermore, they quickly pointed out that the colony's founder, William Penn, had guaranteed them their lands.

In 1737, despite Delaware protests, Logan persuaded them to have the boundaries paced off in accordance with the 1686 deed. To ensure that they would acquire as much land as possible, Pennsylvania officials arranged for trees and brush to be cut, clearing a path through the woods. They also designated three men who had trained specifically for the walk to carry out the task. They would be followed by mounted men carrying food and provisions for them. The walkers ended up running most of the course, traversing an area of approximately 60 miles.

The Delawares immediately complained that the walk was not conducted in accordance with the deed. Indeed, they pointed out that the wording on the document said "walk." The men who had paced off the land ran almost the entire way. The Delawares subsequently refused to vacate their lands. Unwilling to use force against the Delawares, Pennsylvania officials approached the Iroquois Confederation for assistance in removing the Delawares. The Iroquois agreed to act as the final arbiter of native land disputes in Pennsylvania.

Now outnumbered and potentially outgunned, the Delawares had little choice but to capitulate. In August 1737, Delaware leaders met with Logan and signed the so-called Walking Purchase. During a 1742 conference in Philadelphia, the Onondaga leader Canestego ordered the Delawares to leave for Shamokin or Wyoming, Pennsylvania, and to vacate eastern Pennsylvania. Although most Delawares did go there, many of them went farther west, settling in the Ohio Country.

ROGER M. CARPENTER

See also

Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Iroquois Confederation; Logan, John (Tachnedorus); Pennsylvania

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Walley, John

Born: 1644

Died: January 11, 1712

Major in the New England militia and judge of the Superior Court of Massachusetts Bay. John Walley was born in England in 1644, the son of a London clergyman. Before moving to Bristol, Rhode Island, in 1680, he seems to have been a member and officer of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston. In June 1685,

Plymouth Colony was divided into three counties and its militia was accordingly divided into three regiments, one of which—the Bristol County Regiment—was under Walley's command.

In April 1690, an intercolonial convention met in New York City. There, delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Plymouth—including Walley—joined those from New York to organize an invasion of French Quebec. In June 1690, Walley, who had recently moved to Barnstable, Massachusetts, was appointed second-in-command and commander of the land forces in the expedition against Quebec led by Sir William Phips.

In planning his attack, Phips decided to land the main force, commanded by Walley, on the Beauport shore east of the St. Charles River and then use ships to attack Quebec itself. Walley and the main force of 1,200 men landed on the Beauport shore below Quebec on October 18, 1690. Canadian militia under Jacques Le Moyne de Sainte-Hélène harassed Walley's force almost immediately. Walley's situation grew worse when English ships landed their artillery on the wrong side of the St. Charles.

Phips decided not to land his remaining force; instead, he anchored before Quebec and began to bombard the town, which was defended by Governor-General Louis de Buade de Frontenac. The bombardment continued for two days and was broken off when the English ran short of ammunition and their ships had suffered considerable damage by return fire from the town batteries. As Walley's men were suffering from cold and smallpox, his force remained inactive during the bombardment. His men were withdrawn three and a half days later without accomplishing anything and leaving most of their cannon behind. Walley was criticized for the failure, but the absence of trained soldiers and adequate supplies had probably doomed the enterprise from the start.

In 1700, Walley became a judge of the Superior Court of Massachusetts Bay. He apparently held that office until his death in Boston on January 11, 1712.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Canada, New England Expedition against; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Phips, Sir William; Quebec, Attack on (1690)

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Wampanoags

The Wampanoags, or "People of the Morning Light," once inhabited a region ranging from the eastern shore of Narragansett Bay to the tip of Cape Cod, including the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. The Wampanoags were farmers, fishermen, hunters, and gatherers. At the time of European contact, there were approximately 12,000 Wampanoags divided among 40 villages. The term



A battle between colonists and Wampanoag Native Americans during King Philip's War, 1675-1676. (Library of Congress)

"Pokanoket," the name of one of the principal Wampanoag villages and home to Ousa Mequin (Massasoit), the grand sachem (chief), who treated with the Pilgrims, was often mistakenly used in the early 17th century to identify the Wampanoags.

Epidemic diseases introduced by European fishermen and slave traders in the late 16th and early 17th centuries decimated the indigenous population of New England. The coastal Wampanoags were especially affected. By the time of the establishment of the English colony at Plymouth in 1620, there were perhaps no more than 2,000 Wampanoags left on the mainland. Some villages, such as Patuxet (site of the Plymouth Colony), were entirely wiped out. Island Wampanoag populations fared slightly better owing to their relative isolation.

In addition to the devastation wrought by disease, the Wampanoag Confederacy was weakened in the early 17th century by raids from Micmac war parties to the north and encroaching Pequots to the south. The formidable Narragansetts, essentially untouched by the epidemics because of their isolation on the islands of Narragansett Bay, grew in power and prestige during this period, ultimately forcing the Wampanoags to pay them tribute. Seeing his power diminish, Massasoit skillfully concluded a treaty of alliance with the colonists at Plymouth in 1621. The treaty provided security for the vulnerable Englishmen in exchange for aid to the Wampanoag Confederacy in case of hostilities with their rivals. The alliance also served to keep the Wampanoags out of the Pequot War (1636–1638) and enabled Massasoit to resist Puritan efforts to Christianize his people.

The death of Massasoit in 1662 ushered in a dramatic change in the relationship between the Wampanoags and the English colonists. Massasoit's eldest son, Wamsutta, succeeded his father as grand sachem and began selling land to colonies other than Plymouth. Seized at gunpoint by Plymouth colonists who interpreted his land deals as a threat, Wamsutta was taken to the Plymouth court in 1662 and forced to defend his actions. Before he could do so, the grand sachem fell ill and died. His untimely death—there is some circumstantial evidence that he was poisoned by the English—shifted power to Wamsutta's younger brother, Metacom, also known as King Philip.

Over the next decade, Metacom grew increasingly distrustful of the colonists. English encroachments onto Wampanoag land, interference in native political affairs, and establishment of Christian missions and "praying towns" ultimately drove the Wampanoag grand sachem to the breaking point. The resulting conflict, known as King Philip's War (1675–1676), proved devastating to the Wampanoags as well as to the indigenous population of southern New England. One-fourth of the estimated 3,000 Native Americans killed in the war were Wampanoags. Many of the Wampanoags who were captured or surrendered were subsequently sold into slavery. The survivors (possibly as few as 400 people) were relocated, along with remnants of other native communities, onto Cape Cod or mixed into praying towns. Their descendants can be found today around Gay Head on Martha's Vineyard and at Mashpee on the mainland.

Alan C. Downs

See also

King Philip's War; Massasoit; Metacom; Narragansetts; Pequot War; Pequots; Plymouth; Praying Towns and Praying Indians; Wamsutta (Alexander)

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Wampum

Native American form of currency and exchange, also used as a sign of friendship and alliance, sometimes worn as jewelry or adornment. The word "wampum" comes from the Narragansett word for "white shell beads." Wampum beads were in two colors: white (wòmpi) beads (wompam) from the heavy whelk clam shell (meteaûhock) and purple-black (súki) beads (suckáuhock) obtained from the growth rings of the qahog shell (suckauanaûsuck). The purple beads were the more valuable.

Native Americans have treasured shell beads for thousands of years; indeed, the oldest beads found in archaeological digs are quite large. Working with stone drills meant that bead manufacture was both tedious and difficult, and so the beads were highly treasured. Before contact with Europeans, wampum often was made of wood. The resulting wooden beads were then painted white and black.

With the introduction of metal awls obtained from white traders, particularly from the Dutch, the manufacture of wampum enjoyed a golden age. Small holes could be drilled in the shell, and coastal natives soon set up primitive factories. In the process they often created large shell middens (refuse heaps) of cast-off shell fragments. Because European coins of silver and other metals were scarce in the colonies, wampum soon became crucial as a medium of exchange. For instance, six feet of strung wampum beads were worth 10 shillings. Six feet of purple wampum was worth 12

shillings. Belts of wampum were worth far more than that on the open market.

Wampum was used as money, jewelry, ornamentation, and for bonds between nations. Wampum, when exchanged, sealed a pledge. Wampum belts, such as the famous Hiawatha Belt, were used to seal a pledge that created the union of the five original Iroquois nations. A belt found in the Vatican Library represented a concordat between the Roman Catholic Church and the Micmacs of French-held Nova Scotia. This wampum belt, presented in 1610, is thought to be the oldest in existence.

THOMAS J. BLUMER

See also

Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Micmacs; Narragansetts; Native American Trade

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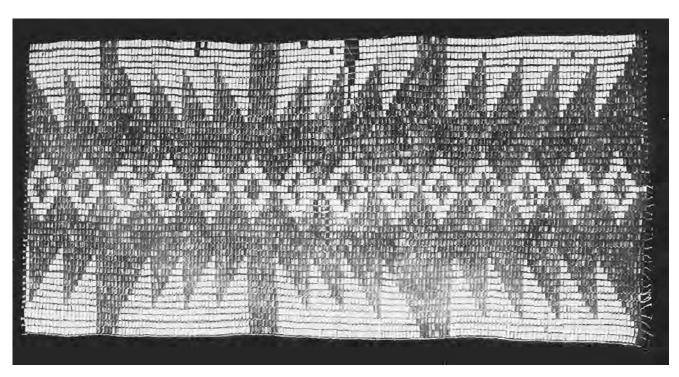
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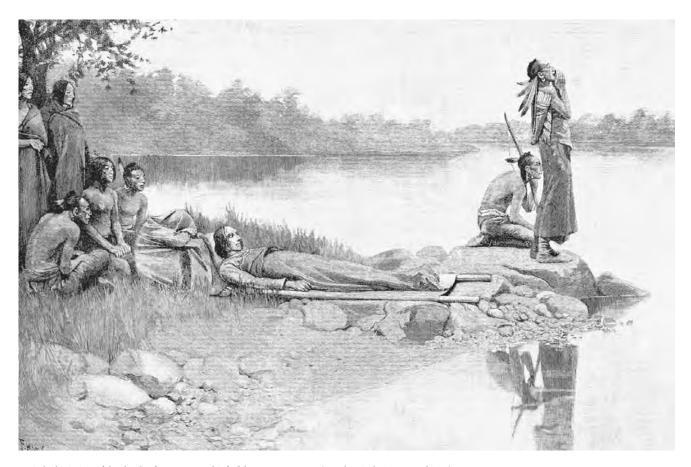
Wamsutta (Alexander)

Born: Unknown Died: 1662

Leader of the Wampanoag natives, 1660–1662. Wamsutta (Alexander) was the son of Massasoit, the Wampanoag grand sachem (chief)



Wampum belt symbolizing a covenant chain. (Library of Congress)



Artist's depiction of the death of Wamsutta, chief of the Wampanoags. (North Wind Picture Archives)

who signed a peace agreement with the Plymouth Colony in 1621. Massasoit kept the peace with Plymouth and occasionally sold land to the English. Wamsutta, known to the English as Alexander, became the leader of the Wampanoag on the death of his father in 1660.

Shortly after Wamsutta came to power, Plymouth officials became concerned when he sold land to the colony at Rhode Island. The Plymouth leadership informed Wamsutta that he could only sell land to the Plymouth Colony. Apparently this had little effect on Wamsutta, however, as he continued to sell land to the Rhode Island settlers.

Frustrated with what they regarded as Wamsutta's intransigence, Plymouth resorted to sterner measures, in 1662 sending an armed party under Major Josiah Winslow to seize the sachem. Winslow captured Wamsutta while he was hunting and took him and his son under guard back to Plymouth. There the Plymouth authorities questioned him at length, and according to some reports, they attempted to get him to abrogate an earlier agreement that gave the Wampanoags full control over their lands. They finally released Wamsutta but held his son hostage to ensure his good behavior.

There are conflicting versions as to what happened next. Some sources claim Wamsutta became ill while in English custody, and others say he became sick on the way home. The English claimed that his illness was brought on by hot weather, but the Wampanoags believed that the colonists had poisoned him. In any case, Wamsutta died shortly thereafter.

On Wamsutta's death, his brother Metacom (known to the English as Philip) became the sachem of the Wampanoag. If anything, Metacom was a more implacable foe of the English than his brother, launching the conflict that came to be known as King Philip's War in 1675–1676.

ROGER CARPENTER

See also

King Philip's War; Massasoit; Metacom; Plymouth

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Wappingers

Conglomeration of American Indian nations in the Hudson River Valley. At the time of European contact, seven Algonquin bands,

including the Wappinger proper, constituted the Wappinger Confederacy. The Wappingers were situated on the eastern side of the Hudson River Valley. In fact, the word "Wappinger" has been translated as "easterner." The French referred to them as *loups* (wolves).

The Wappingers were an agricultural people who raised corn, beans, squash, and tobacco. They also fished and during the winter months they relied on hunting. The Wappingers lived in a mix of wigwams and wooden long house dwellings, but in the winter moved into larger fortified dwellings. Estimates vary widely as to the confederacy's population in 1600, from as high as 20,000 people to a more reasonable figure of 3,000. This great variance was due in part to the difficulty of knowing which tribes considered themselves Wappingers.

During the 17th century, the Wappingers engaged in more than two decades of intermittent warfare with the Dutch, who settled the region. Beginning in the 1620s, Dutch settlers increasingly moved into the Hudson River Valley. The pace of European settlement picked up further in the early 1640s, putting pressure on Dutch governor-general Willem Kieft to remove or exterminate the Wappingers to open land for expansion.

Kieft therefore orchestrated a war—known as Kieft's War—by ordering the February 1643 massacre of Wappinger men, women, and children. This sad incident came to be known as the "Slaughter of the Innocents." Enraged, the Wappingers and allied Mahicans declared war and drove the Dutch back into last-ditch fortified positions. Finally, with help from hired English soldiers led by Captain John Underhill from New England, Kieft turned the tide of the war. He also brutally punished his opponents, slaughtering more than 1,600 Wappingers before concluding a peace treaty with the survivors in 1645.

Wappinger anger against the Dutch continued to simmer, and the killing of a Delaware woman in 1655 triggered the Peach War. That conflict saw the Wappingers ally with the Delawares and, later, the Esopus. The Dutch-Indian Wars dragged on until 1664, when Gov. Petrus Stuyvesant used hostages as leverage to force the natives to surrender. When the English attacked and conquered New Netherland the same year, the Wappingers lent their support to the invaders. They continued to support the English in future wars.

The long period of warfare proved utterly destructive to the Wappingers. The nation began a steady decline in influence, and its population plummeted. By the 1730s, only a few hundred Wappingers remained in the Hudson River Valley. Some joined nearby tribes; others settled in other areas of New York.

The last great sachem of the Wappingers was Daniel Nimham, whose people had relocated near Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in the mid-1700s. For decades he lobbied colonial and British courts to return native lands taken from his people. During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), he fought on the British side, perhaps with the hope of improving his legal claims. The effort proved fruitless. British courts denied Wappinger petitions at every turn. When the colonists went to war against Great Britain, it was thus under-

standable that Nimham chose to support the Patriots against the English crown. The American Revolutionary War claimed the lives of nearly half of the remaining Wappinger men. In the 19th century, many of the surviving Wappingers were relocated to a reservation in Wisconsin.

Andrew C. Lannen

See also

Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Dutch-Indian Wars; Esopus; Esopus Wars; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Kieft, Willem; Kieft's War; Mahican; New York; Slaughter of the Innocents; Stuyvesant, Petrus

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War Belt

A form of wampum used in various diplomatic capacities, primarily among the Native American nations of the Northeast and the Northern Plains. The colors and designs on the belts transmitted various messages. War belts thus served an important function in Native American diplomatic proceedings.

The war belts were made up of dark red or purple beads. The darker colored beads were considered more valuable in trade as well. The specific design signified the precise meaning of the belt. The belts could transmit various messages, including declarations of war, the summoning of natives to make war, or appeals for assistance in a conflict. The belts did not, however, automatically constitute an order to go to war.

JAMES R. McIntyre

See also

Native Warfare; Wampum

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War Club

A blunt-force weapon used by Native American warriors for closein fighting. Usually made of maple or ironwood, the war club possessed a long shaft and heavy ball end. The ball end could be fabricated out of wood or stone. Clubs were often decorated, sometimes with a record of the accomplishments of the warrior who carried it, sometimes with various other designs.

The war club, along with the bow and arrow, were the principal weapons of the various Native Americans from New England to the Great Lakes before Europeans introduced the musket. Raiding parties throughout these regions employed the war club, both



Native American war club from New England. (Wildside Press)

in their ceremonies and in combat. During the 18th century, the European-produced tomahawk gradually replaced the war club among these natives.

JAMES R. McIntyre

See also

Bow and Arrow; Native Warfare; Raiding Party; Tomahawk

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War of Jenkins' Ear

See Anglo-Spanish War (1739-1744)

War of the Austrian Succession

See Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); King George's War, Land Campaigns; King George's War, Naval Campaigns

War of the Conquest

See French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; French and Indian War, Naval Campaigns

War of the League of Augsburg

See King William's War, Land Campaigns; King William's War, Naval Campaigns

War of the Regulation

Start Date: April 1768 End Date: 1771

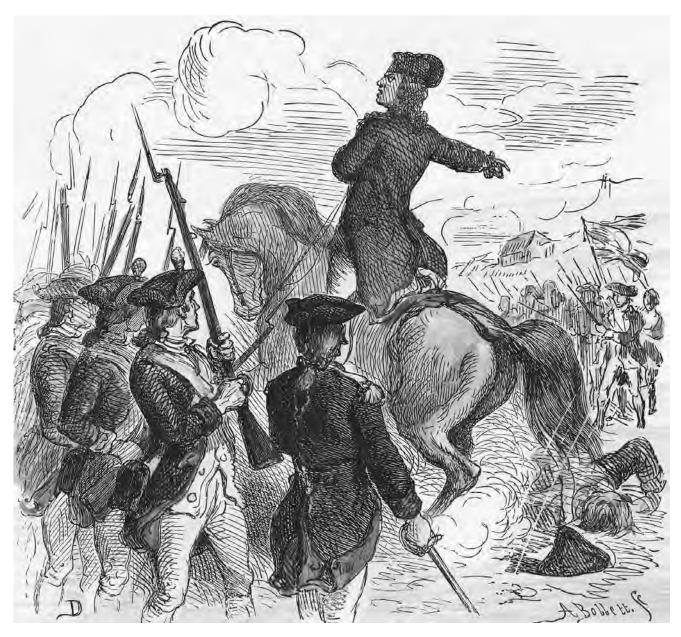
A series of confrontations between militia forces under the command of Gov. William Tryon of North Carolina and western, back-country settlers—known as Regulators—between 1768 and 1771. The North Carolina Regulators had begun protesting several issues as early as 1765, mostly through peaceful means. Among other things, they were angered at the lack of representative government, high and unfair taxes, corrupt local officials, the lack of clear land titles, and a cavalier assembly. By 1768 several Regulator leaders had been arrested, prompting some 3,000 farmers to descend on the town of Hillsborough in Orange County.

There were several phases of the War of the Regulation. The first involved loosely organized protests and acts of violence in Orange County. In April 1768, several Regulators fired gunshots into the house of a local official who had been accused of corruption and fraud. Later that summer, after an intermittent campaign of intimidation, two Regulator leaders faced charges of inciting rebellion. In response to the arrests, approximately 700 Regulators descended on the county jail. There they forced officials to release the Regulator leaders. By the time the Regulators came to trial, Governor Tryon had mustered a force of about 1,500 militiamen near the county seat of Hillsborough. At the courthouse they faced a force of about 3,700 poorly armed protesters. Nevertheless, there was no bloodshed or skirmishing of any sort. Most Regulators simply returned to their homes after Tryon ordered them to disarm.

In 1769, the Regulators turned to peaceful means to press their agenda, electing several members to the lower house of assembly. Although these victories were encouraging, it was difficult to achieve much in the assembly because most representatives from eastern counties were generally unsympathetic to Regulator grievances.

The next phase of the War of the Regulation began in 1770, after the Regulator assemblymen failed to win reelection. Late in the year, Regulators descended on Hillsborough and seized the superior court. They also severely beat one official and destroyed his home. During this outburst of violence other officials sent urgent pleas for Tryon to send forces to put down the growing rebellion.

Tryon then began raising a militia to establish order in the central and western counties in March 1771. After gathering some



Contemporary illustration showing North Carolina governor William Tryon suppressing the revolt of the Regulators in 1771. (North Wind Picture Archives)

1,000 men, Tryon marched toward Hillsborough. He sent orders to General Hugh Waddell, commander of militia units in the western counties, also to march toward Hillsborough. After Waddell left the town of Salisbury in Rowan County, a force of about 2,000 Regulators blocked his path. Outnumbered and uncertain of Tryon's whereabouts, Waddell retreated west across the Yadkin River to wait for news from Tryon.

On May 15, 1771, as Tryon marched from Hillsborough to relieve Waddell, he encountered a large force of 2,000 to 3,000 Regulators at Great Alamance Creek. Tyron demanded that the Regulators lay down their weapons and turn over their leaders. Fighting began the next day shortly after Tryon executed a Regulator he had

taken hostage during one of several failed battlefield parleys. The Regulators had no discernible command structure, and their resistance to Tryon's force began to crumble when some began running out of ammunition. The Battle of Alamance lasted for about two hours and resulted in the deaths of 9 men on each side.

In the months after the battle, Tryon marched through the western counties to establish order. He also offered a reward for anyone capturing or killing the principal leaders of the movement. A year later, several leaders stood trial but were freed when all charges were dropped.

Historians have debated the causes of the Regulator movement for over a century. Older interpretations viewed the conflict as a struggle between western settlers and east coast elites allied with the governor. Later scholars have argued that other factors like class and religion contributed to the environment of dissension. Other historians have focused on the Regulators' demands to reform corrupt governmental practices and to facilitate the settling of land.

CRESTON LONG

See also

Alamance, Battle of; North Carolina; Tryon, William

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War of the Spanish Succession

See Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Naval Campaigns

Warren, Peter

Born: March 10, 1703 Died: July 29, 1752

British naval officer, politician, and governor of Louisbourg and Cape Breton Island (1745–1746). Peter Warren was born on March 10, 1703, at Warrenstown, County Meath, Ireland. On his mother's side of the family there were at least two admirals. Warren enlisted in the British Navy in April 1716 as an ordinary seaman. In 1719, he became a midshipman, and in 1723 was promoted to lieutenant. He made post captain in 1727. During much of the time from 1730 to 1745, Warren was on the North American station, much of the time in command of the station ship *Solebay*. He spent time at Boston, New York, Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina), Annapolis Royal, and Canso (Nova Scotia). This gave him an intimate knowledge of the conditions in the colonies as well as their waters.

During King George's War (1744–1748), Warren played a key role in the 1745 British siege of the French fortress of Louisbourg. Following the English victory, he became governor of Louisbourg and Cape Breton Island, serving in that capacity until December 1746. Warren became immensely wealthy from prize money awarded for the French ships taken at Louisbourg.

Warren returned to sea duty as a rear admiral under Vice Admiral George Anson and thus shared in the British naval victory over the French 70 miles off Cape Finisterre, Spain, in the Bay of Biscay

on the afternoon of May 3, 1747, when Anson's 14 ships of the line intercepted a force of 38 French ships under Admiral Jacques-Pierre de Tafanel de la Jonquière in two convoys bound both for New France and India. La Jonquière formed into line of battle ahead with his 12 strongest ships and ordered the rest to crowd on every stretch of canvas and flee. In the ensuing battle, without any loss to themselves, the British took those French ships that had remained to engage them as well as 7 vessels of the convoy and 2 of their frigate escorts. In recognition of this victory, Warren was made a Knight of the Bath and promoted to vice admiral. When Anson returned to the Admiralty, Warren took over his position as commander of the Western Squadron.

Warren was elected to the House of Commons representing Westminster in 1748. He never again returned to sea duty. Warren died while on a trip to Ireland after a brief illness in Dublin, on July 29, 1752.

THERESA L. STOREY

See also

Anglo-Spanish War (1739–1744); King George's War, Naval Campaigns; Louisbourg, Siege of; Louisbourg Expedition

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Warships

At the beginning of the colonial period, the dominant warship type was the three-masted ship, known in England as a carrack, in France as *caraque*, and in the Netherlands as *kraeck*. The carrack predominated in Europe until the 17th century. The earliest types had a rounded stern in a carvel-built (planks flush rather than overlapping) hull. The ships were rigged with square sails on the fore and mainmast and a lateen sail on the mizzen. A centerline ladder led to the round top of the mainmast. By the 16th century the carrack had become a larger vessel of up to 125 feet in overall length by about 34 feet in beam. They also gained a fourth mast aft: an extra mizzen, known as the "bonaventure mizzen," or "bonaventure" for short.

Traditionally, in time of war merchant ships were simply fitted out to carry weaponry. With the introduction of gunpowder weapons at sea in the 14th century, the carrack's armament might range from as few as 18 to as many as 56 small guns, some of which were placed in the tops of the masts ("the fighting tops" as they became known).

The carrack had considerable advantage as a gun ship over the rowed galley, which mounted only a few guns forward. Because fighting at sea was very much like that on land, the higher structures fore and aft, which might actually be built up in time of war to gain height advantage, were known as the castles: the forecastle and the aftercastle.

Ship Designations during the Colonial Era

Common Name	Rating	Number of Guns
Ship of the Line	First	100+
•	Second	90-98
	Third	64-84
Frigate	Fourth	50-60
· ·	Fifth	30-44
	Sixth	20-28

About 1500 a major change occurred in the way ships were armed with the invention of gun ports cut in the side of the ships. Up until this point, most guns were lighter types, carried high in the ship. Gun ports have been credited to a French shipwright at Brest named Descharges in 1501. Gun ports could be lowered shut in bad weather, and they allowed the placement of larger guns on the lower decks, producing greater stability, although at least two great warships—the *Mary Rose* in England in 1545 and the *Vasa* in Sweden in 1628—were lost when they suddenly heeled over with too much weight topside and the gun ports open.

The caravel was another important ship type, at least for the Age of Discovery. The lateen-rigged caravel was able to sail into or against the wind. Although Christopher Columbus's *Santa Maria* was a carrack, both the *Nina* and the *Pinta* were caravels. Long and narrow, caravels were some 50–60 feet in overall length and had two or three masts. As warships, caravels were employed primarily on scout and escort duty.

Galleons were the predominant warship types of the early 16th century. Appearing by about 1525, galleons predominated until about 1650. The galleon was essentially a streamlined carrack, both longer and narrower. The carrack had a forecastle that projected far out over the bow. In the galleon this was both lowered and moved back into the hull. With heavier guns now mounted low in the ship, such structures were no longer required. The galleon's most distinctive feature, however, was a large beakhead projecting forward from the stem designed to assist in working the sails.

Although usually associated with the ships used by the Spanish in transporting treasure from the New World and forming the Armada of 1588 sent against England, most warships of the period were galleons. English king Henry VIII's large *Henry Grâce à Dieu* was rebuilt in the 1530s in galleon form and the English ships that opposed the Spanish Armada were sleeker vessels of the galleon type employing longer range cannon to good advantage.

Gradually the larger warships evolved into the type of warship most identified with the age of fighting sail, the ship of the line. By 1650 such ships had emerged with two and three gun decks. Warships grew both longer and wider in beam, to the maximum size their wooden frames could sustain without "hogging," that is, drooping at the ends. Improvements in rigging and sail system enhanced the maneuverability of the largest ships.

The largest and most majestic vessels of the age of fighting sail, ships of the line (or "line-of-battle ships," a term that yielded in the

late 19th century to "battleship"), were so known because, with up to 30 inches of wooden planking protection, they were capable of standing in the main battle line that characterized naval tactics of the day. They were heavily timbered, three-masted, square (full) rigged vessels of 2- to 4-gun decks.

More than 200 feet in length and 50 feet in beam, ships of the line carried crews of 600–800 men. The bigger the ship, the more expensive it was to build, yet the larger warships were less expensive to maintain per gun than smaller vessels.

In the ship of the line the three masts—the foremast, the main-mast, and the mizzenmast—held up to five separate sails each. The mainmast usually consisted of three separate sections that could tower 200 feet above the waterline, with the main yard extending horizontally over 100 feet across. A large ship of the line could take seven years to complete and consume 2,000 trees (approximately 60 acres of mature forest). Oak, because of its hardness, was the preferred construction wood.

Ships were first known by "establishment," then they were "rated" according to the number of guns they carried. Thus the largest ship of the line was a first rate mounting 100 guns or more, whereas the fourth rate mounted 64. Despite this rating system, armament varied widely from ship to ship, even those of the same class. Individual captains had their own preferences and there were frequent changes in regulations.

Ships often carried more guns than their rate because captains generally wanted as much ordnance on their vessels as possible. This was partly a matter of prestige and partly from the desire to be ready to meet an opponent with the maximum possible firepower; but overloading a ship affected its sailing qualities and could actually damage a vessel by producing hogging, thus impeding the chances of it escaping pursuing ships.

By the end of the colonial period, the smallest ships of the line were those of 64 guns, although there were some who believed the smallest that could effectively stand in the line of battle was one rated at 74 guns. The third rate 74 was in fact the most prevalent English ship of the line at the end of the colonial period.

Complementing the ships of the line were smaller, specialized warships. The next largest warship was the frigate, the workhorse of navies in the age of sail. It was comparable in function to the later cruiser. Fast and powerful, frigates scouted ahead of the main battle fleet in order to provide warning of the approach of enemy vessels. They also served on detached service, as commerce destroyers, and as convoy escorts.

Frigates were square-rigged ships (each mast had cross yards) mounting their principal ordnance on a single covered gun deck. The open (spar) deck carried the lighter guns. Armament varied greatly, depending on ship size. Small frigates might mount 24–30 guns; the larger ones, 50–60. Frigates grew in size over the years and, at the beginning of the 18th century, were up to 175 feet in length and up to 2,000 tons or more.

"Sloop" was a general term applied to small warships capable of great range that carried their main battery guns on a single deck.

This category of light warship might mount between 8 and 24 guns. Small vessels were used where a larger warship was not required, such as in carrying dispatches and escorting merchantmen. Large sloops could also be used to attack enemy commerce. These warships were comparable to destroyers of the 20th century.

Brigs, two-masted square-rigged ships, were next in line, followed by cutters, single-masted, fore-and-aft-rigged ships. The smallest warships were gunboats; carrying a variety of rigs, they mounted only one or several guns.

Probably the single most important ship type in American waters during the colonial period was the schooner (an American term). These small, fast, and inexpensive-to-build ships were usually two-masted vessels carrying chiefly fore-and-aft sails and whose aftermast was not shorter than the foremast. Often employed for fishing and smuggling, they could in wartime carry 4 to 10 guns. Schooners served notably as privateers during the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

Among specialized vessels was the bomb brig or bomb ketch, usually referred to simply as a "bomb." The French successfully employed five such vessels in the shelling of Algiers in 1682 and against Genoa two years later. Bomb vessels were about 100 tons burden and 60–70 feet long on deck. Bombs were strongly built to enable them to withstand the shock of the discharge of their heavy mortars. The bomb was a fore-and-aft-rigged vessel with a tall mainmast and smaller mizzenmast. Armament consisted of one or two high-angle fire mortars, usually of 10- or 13-inch bore size.

Transports and storeships were essential in expeditionary operations. Fire ships were any expendable vessel that would be loaded with combustibles and explosives and sent against an enemy anchorage. Blockships were other expendable vessels, such as hulks that might be sunk in channels to prevent enemy access to one's own harbor.

Although wooden warships required frequent repair and refit, they could also have extraordinarily long service lives. HMS *Victory*, possibly the world's most famous wooden warship, was commissioned in 1765. Although it underwent a number of refits, it remained in active sea service for more than half a century.

Contrary to popular conception, the British did not always build the best ships. Many French and Spanish vessels were more strongly constructed and faster than their British counterparts, and some were more heavily armed. Such differences were not major. In any case, Britain's rivals at sea often failed to use their ships properly—the result of a lack of government commitment, poor leadership, and insufficient training and practice. A vessel's speed was determined less by its design than by its condition and especially whether her hull was clean or fouled with barnacles.

Sailing warships were highly efficient and developed instruments of war. They were also self-contained communities designed to store supplies sufficient for their crews for months at sea in varying weather conditions without revictualing. Supplies included not only food, shot, and shell, but any resources the crew might require, including spare cordage and spars sufficient to make most

repairs at sea. By the end of the colonial period, beginning in the 1770s, the introduction of copper sheathing and bolts below the waterline slowed the buildup of marine growth that hindered a ship's sailing qualities.

Frank Harper and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Artillery, Naval; France, Navy; Great Britain, Navy; Spain, Navy

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Washington, George

Born: February 22, 1732 Died: December 14, 1799

Virginia surveyor, planter, and militia officer, commander in chief of the Continental Army during the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), and the first president of the United States (1789–1797). One of seven children and the eldest son of his father Augustine Washington's second marriage, George Washington was born into a wealthy planter family at Wakefield in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on February 22, 1732. After his father's death in 1743, he received little formal education beyond tutoring from his half-brother Lawrence.

Washington became a surveyor in Culpepper County in 1749, when his mother blocked plans by Lawrence to have him join the Royal Navy. Washington spent several years surveying Virginia's western land claims prior to inheriting the estate of Mount Vernon on Lawrence's death there in July 1752. That same year he received (with help from Lawrence) an appointment from Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie as a major in the Virginia Militia.

Washington's military career actually began in 1753, when he volunteered to investigate reports of French incursions into the Ohio River Valley. Traveling with a small party, he arrived at Fort Le Boeuf that December with a message from Dinwiddie that called on the French to withdraw. Washington returned to Virginia the next month with news that, although he had been correctly received, the French had been noncommittal. Washington's journal of the arduous trip was soon published, bringing him favorable public notice.

In the spring of 1754, Dinwiddie ordered the formation of a Virginia regiment to oppose the French. Lacking the necessary military experience, Washington did not seek its command but he did ask for, and received, a commission as a lieutenant colonel and the post of second-in-command. When the designated commander died accidentally in May, Washington himself took command and led a small force of some 160 Virginians and allied natives across the Alleghenies.

Arriving at Great Meadows (near present-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), on May 28, 1754, Washington led a preemptive strike



Portrait of Virginia militia colonel George Washington, 1772, by C. W. Peale. (National Archives)

against the French, surprising a small French force. The Virginians suffered 3 casualties and the French 12 to 14. Among the dead on the French side was the commander, Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville. In effect, this action began the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Villiers had been slain while wounded by Washington's native allies and controversy surrounded Washington's precise role in allowing his death. A large French force led by Jumonville's brother, Captain Louis Coulon de Villiers, soon sought out the Virginians, who had meanwhile constructed a stockade fort nearby, dubbed Fort Necessity.

Five weeks later, Fort Necessity surrounded and cut off, Washington surrendered on July 3. He was allowed to return home with his men after he had unwittingly signed a statement admitting to responsibility in Villiers's death at Great Meadows.

Washington was upset to learn that with the arrival of British regulars in America, on Dinwiddie's suggestion the Virginia provincial troops were to be made into independent companies, leaving Washington bereft of command. Facing the prospect of being reduced to captain in command of a company, Washington resigned his commission in October 1754.

In February 1755, British major general Edward Braddock arrived in North America to command an expedition against the French position of Fort Duquesne near present-day Pittsburgh. Washington asked to accompany him, and Braddock agreed to take him along as a volunteer aide-de-camp. This avoided the issue of rank and allowed Washington to observe the British Army in the field. Washington demonstrated both leadership and courage during the virtual annihilation of Braddock's two regiments in the French and native ambush on July 9, known as the Battle of the Monongahela. Washington sought to assist the fatally wounded Braddock and had two horses shot out from beneath him and four bullets through his coat. He demonstrated considerable leadership in helping to organize the British retreat.

Washington did not attempt to blame Braddock and came out of the debacle a hero. In August 1755, he accepted command of the Virginia Regiment as a full colonel. He set about training the regiment in the hopes that it could be incorporated into the British Army as a regular regiment and that he and his officers would thus obtain regular British Army commissions. During the war, Washington's troops were primarily engaged in policing the 350 miles of Virginia's frontier, building and garrisoning a string of forts there. Washington's men defeated a series of native raids in 1756 and 1757.

During the course of the war, Washington received high marks for creating a thoroughly professional force marked by high esprit de corps. Washington gained a reputation as an excellent commanding officer and administrator, who both led by example and was sympathetic to the needs of his men. He was, however, critical of his superiors for not immediately mounting a new offensive against Fort Duquesne and he often failed to understand the strategic picture or appreciate the myriad problems facing the British.

Washington's repeated efforts to secure acceptance of his regiment into the British Army met with rebuff. He did secure permission to accompany Brigadier General John Forbes during the latter's successful capture of Fort Duquesne in 1758. Forbes, who generally disparaged colonial officers, thought highly of Washington, and gave him command of a brigade of some 700 provincial troops. During the expedition, Washington gained valuable command experience.

At the end of 1758, Washington resigned as colonel of the Virginia Regiment in order to marry the wealthy widow Martha Custis and take a seat in the Virginia House of Burgesses. During the next 16 years he enjoyed life among Virginia's leading families, expanding Mount Vernon, and supporting the move toward the American Revolution as a delegate to both the First and Second Continental Congresses. When war erupted between the colonies and Great Britain in 1775, Washington wore his old provincial uniform to Congress's meetings as a reminder that he deserved command of the new Continental Army. His military experience during the French and Indian War, the fact that he was native born, his political and social ties from the most populous and prosperous British colony in North America, and his reputation as a man of integrity who supported the principle of civilian rule, all made him the logical choice.

Washington ably led the Continental Army during the American Revolutionary War. Merely holding it together was a considerable feat. He made numerous mistakes early in the war but learned from them and was scrupulous in his respect for civilian authority. After the war and the failure of the Articles of Confederation, Washington presided over the Constitutional Convention and became the first president of the United States. Serving two terms from 1789 to 1797, he performed invaluable service in cementing the institutions of the new republic. Washington then retired to his beloved Mount Vernon, where he died on December 14, 1799.

LANCE JANDA AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Braddock, Edward; Braddock's Campaign; Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville, Joseph; Dinwiddie, Robert; Forbes Campaign; Forks of the Ohio; Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); Fort Le Boeuf (Pennsylvania); Fort Necessity (Pennsylvania), and Battle of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Gage, Thomas; Jumonville's Glen, Action at; Monongahela River; Ohio Expedition (1754); Ohio Expedition (1755); Tanaghrisson (Half-King); Virginia

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Webb, Daniel

Born: 1700

Died: November 11, 1773

British Army general. Probably born in Wiltshire, England, in 1700, Daniel Webb joined the British Army as an ensign in the 1st Foot Guards in 1721. Promoted to captain in April 1722, Webb transferred to the cavalry in 1732. During the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), Webb fought in the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy. For 10 years, from 1745, Webb commanded the 7th Dragoons.

Major General Webb arrived in New York on June 7, 1756, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), with instructions to relieve William Shirley as British commander in chief in America, replacing him in that position on an interim basis until the arrival of Major General James Abercromby. The timid Webb, however, delayed carrying out his orders for nine days until Abercromby arrived, when the two then traveled to Albany to relieve Shirley of command.

On July 12, Abercromby, in his role as acting British commander until the arrival of the new British commander in chief in North America, John Campbell, Lord Loudoun, on July 23, ordered Webb to advance with his regiment to Oswego, which was threatened by French forces under French major general Louis-Joseph, Marquis

de Montcalm. Webb was slow to depart, however, and Loudoun had to reissue the order to advance when he took up his command.

Moving slowly, Webb and the 44th Regiment had only reached German Flats when Oswego surrendered. Learning of this event, Webb concentrated his force at Fort Williams, where he was joined by Sir William Johnson and 1,000 colonial militiamen. Fearing a further French advance, Webb panicked, burning Fort Williams and carrying out an inglorious retreat back to German Flats. Despite Webb's demonstrated lack of the necessary spirit and judgment for independent command as illustrated by the embarrassing retreat, Loudoun left him in command in New York when he and Abercromby departed for Halifax to plan the aborted expedition against Louisbourg.

By July 1757, Montcalm had assembled a force of 8,000 men at Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) for planned operations against New York. Rather than concentrate the forces at his disposal to meet and engage the French, Webb chose to split his 5,000-strong command. He placed 1,500 troops at Fort William Henry under Lieutenant Colonel George Munro and he remained with the bulk of his command at Fort Edward 14 miles to the south.

Amid reports of Montcalm's advance, Webb arrived at Fort William Henry on July 25 to confer with Munro. This visit was cut short when reports of the imminent arrival of the French flotilla caused Webb to rush back to Fort Edward. On August 2, Webb dispatched 1,000 men to reinforce Fort William Henry, but after the siege began the following day, he did little to assist Munro's command. Overestimating the size of Montcalm's force, Webb did not attempt to relieve the fort and, instead, sent Munro a message suggesting that he seek the best possible surrender terms. Even after the arrival at Fort Edward of Johnson with nearly 2,000 colonial militiamen and native allies, Webb refused to assist Fort William Henry, which, unaided, surrendered on August 9.

Harshly condemned by Munro for abandoning Fort William Henry and labeled a coward by Johnson, Webb was dismissed in December 1757. Despite his humiliating performance in America, Webb was subsequently appointed to a staff position with British forces in Germany in 1758 and received promotion to lieutenant general in 1761. Webb died on November 11, 1773.

BRADLEY P. TOLPPANEN

See also

Abercromby, James; Campbell, John, Earl of Loudoun; Fort Edward (New York); Fort William Henry (New York); Fort William Henry, Siege of; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Johnson, Sir William; Montcalm-Gozon de Saint Veran, Louis-Joseph de, Marquis de; Oswego, Battle of

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Weiser, Conrad

Born: November 2, 1696 Died: July 13, 1760

Frontier diplomat, leader of the German-speaking community in colonial Pennsylvania, and intermediary between colonial authorities and the Iroquois Confederation. Conrad Weiser was born at Affstat in the German Rhineland principality of Württemburg on November 2, 1696. He arrived in North America in 1710. Weiser settled first in the Hudson River Valley and then moved to the Mohawk River Valley on the New York frontier.

During 1711–1712, Weiser went to live with Quaynant, a chief of the Mohawks, so that he could learn the Iroquois language. This enabled him to serve as an intermediary between the powerful Iroquois Confederation and the German-speaking community. While among the Mohawks, Weiser was adopted into the family of Quaynant's wife. This, plus his knowledge of their language, customs, and diplomatic practices, gave Weiser an influence among the Iroquois enjoyed by few other white men.

The Weiser family and other German pioneers moved from New York to the Tulpehocken Valley in western Pennsylvania in 1729. There Weiser's special relationship with the Iroquois made him an invaluable go-between for Pennsylvania leaders eager to maintain good relations with the Six Nations.

Weiser became the main instrument in the Pennsylvania Provincial Council's plan to expand the colony's commercial interests into the Ohio Country. This scheme rested on the principle enshrined in the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht whereby the Iroquois Confederation was recognized as the overlord of the western Native Americans, including the Delawares and the Shawnees who lived in western Pennsylvania and the Ohio River Valley.

It now became Weiser's task to convince the Iroquois to exercise their overlordship on behalf of British and Pennsylvanian traders eager to take allegedly lucrative markets in the Ohio Valley away from the French. Toward this end, he worked closely with Oneida chief Shikellamy, who had been named the emissary of the Iroquois Grand Council at Onondaga. In 1748, when the provincial council learned that low French prices for furs were alienating western Native Americans, it decided to move quickly to take advantage of an opportunity to supplant the French.

The council decided to open relations directly with the western tribes without passing through their Iroquois overlords. In August 1748, Weiser was dispatched to persuade Native American representatives at the large multitribal village of Logstown on the Ohio River in Pennsylvania to permit the opening of a trail for trading purposes through the Ohio Country. His journey to Logstown was

the first visit of an Anglo-American envoy to Native Americans on the western side of the Appalachian Mountains.

The Logstown meeting was the high water mark of Weiser's influence among the Native Americans and the Pennsylvanian authorities. The death of Shikellamy in 1748 deprived him of a powerful ally. Also, discontent among the Delawares and the Shawnees over their tributary status with the Iroquois provided an opening for the French to forge an alliance with them, sealed by the French expedition into the region led by Captain Pierre-Joseph Céleron de Blainville in 1749. Blainville's mission, to lay claim to the Ohio Valley for the French king, was a direct consequence of Weiser's visit to Logstown.

When the French and Indian War (1754–1763) began, Weiser, by now the chief magistrate of Berks and Lancaster counties in Pennsylvania, was selected as one of the colony's delegates to the Albany Conference, alongside Benjamin Franklin. During the war, as a lieutenant colonel in the Pennsylvania Militia from 1756 to 1758, he commanded its 1st Battalion, which had been given the task of protecting the frontier between the Delaware River and the Susquehanna River. When British troops managed to defeat the French and their native allies and drive them from western Pennsylvania in 1758, Weiser resigned his commission and returned to private life. His last public act was to participate in the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Easton in 1758. Weiser died on July 13, 1760, at his farm near Reading, the settlement in Lancaster County that he had helped found and lay out in 1748.

BRUCE VANDERVORT

See also

Albany Conference; Delawares (Lenni Lenape); Easton Conference and Treaty; Forbes Campaign; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Iroquois Confederation; Logstown, Treaty of; Mohawks; Ohio Country; Pennsylvania; Shawnees; Utrecht, Treaty of

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Wells (Maine)

British settlement situated on Maine's southeastern coast, notable as the most remote English outpost to survive the early Abenaki-English wars. Although native forces attacked Wells on several occasions, it was never abandoned or destroyed, in contrast to English settlements farther east.

John Wheelwright founded the town of Wells in September 1641, on the Maine coast between the Kennebunk River and the Ogunquit River. Settlers erected many sawmills on the nearby waterways, which allowed the town's inhabitants to prosper. The outbreak of war between the English and their native neighbors in Maine (then part of Massachusetts) would soon arrest this prosperity, however.

During King Philip's War (1675-1676), King William's War (1689–1697), Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), and Dummer's War (1722–1727), Pennacook and Abenaki warriors attacked outlying English settlements all across Maine. Because of its size, Wells was a frequent target. Although the natives often burned many of the inhabitants' sawmills and houses, Wells as a whole survived, whereas more easterly English villages collapsed under the pressure of American Indian attacks. Credit for this achievement belongs to the town's garrison houses. Wells's comparatively large population meant that its garrison houses were stronger and had more defenders than those in other Maine outposts. As a result, even when hostile natives captured the neighboring fort at Black Point, they were unable to do significant damage to Wells. After Dummer's War and the diminution of American Indian military power in Maine, the frontier moved beyond Wells, and the town ceased to be a primary military target.

Andrew Miller

See also

Abenakis; Black Point, Attacks on; Dummer's War; Garrison Houses; King Philip's War; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Maine; Pennacooks; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns

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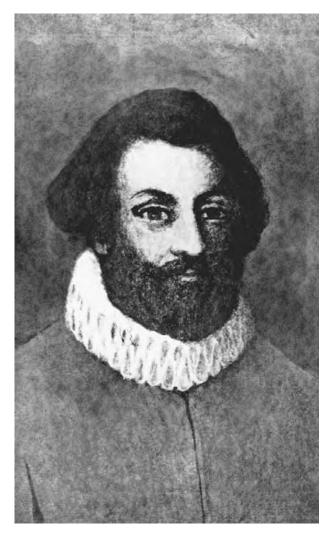
Wessagusset Raid

Start Date: April 4, 1623 End Date: April 5, 1623

Attack led by the captain general of Plymouth Colony, Myles Standish, against the Native Americans of Massachusetts in the spring of 1623. On February 17, 1621, Myles Standish had been appointed the commander of the newly established Plymouth Colony. As such, he had charge of all the colony's military operations.

Direct contact with the natives in the Massachusetts area, especially the Wampanoags, began in March of 1621. This was only a few months after the Pilgrims arrived in the New World. At first, relations with the natives were relatively peaceful. However, in 1622, the settlement of Wessagusset (now Weymouth, Massachusetts) was founded by a wealthy London merchant, Thomas Weston. Unlike Plymouth, Wessagusset had been established for economic and not religious reasons. Weston and his settlers constructed a few huts and commenced trade with the Wampanoags. Soon, disease and starvation, along with other English settlers moving in without permission, led to rising tensions with the natives.

After 10 Wessagusset settlers died from starvation or disease, others began stealing from the Native Americans. Led by the Massachusetts tribe, the natives began plotting to exterminate the Wessachusetts



Captain general of Plymouth Colony Myles Standish. In 1623, Standish led the attack on Native Americans at Wessagusset. (Library of Congress)

sagusset settlement. Tribal leaders, particularly Wituwaument and Pecksuot, appeared to be threatening not only Wessagusset, but also Plymouth. Their plan was ultimately to wipe out the Pilgrims so they would not exact retribution for the killings of those settlers at Wessagusset. At the same time, word of a massacre of Virginia settlers by Native Americans had reached Plymouth. In consequence, the settlers mobilized and the colony was placed in a high state of readiness.

In the early winter of 1623, Phineas Pratt, the new leader of Wessagusset, heard rumors that the natives were planning to attack both his settlement and Plymouth once the snow melted. Pratt then traveled by foot to Plymouth only to find out that the settlers there had already learned of the planned attack from the Wampanoag sachem (chief) Massasoit. Massasoit, an ally of Plymouth, had been given medical treatment by a Plymouth settler and had informed him of the impending attack. Massasoit urged the English to strike first.

Rather than wait for the Native Americans to carry out their plan, the colony dispatched Standish to deal a preemptive blow. On April 4, 1623, Standish sailed to Wessagusset with 10 men armed with muskets. The next day, as Standish and his men met with the Native American leaders and a large number of warriors inside the stockade, violence erupted. Standish and his men killed 5 Native Americans, among them Wituwaument and Pecksuot. The rest of the Native Americans quickly fled. Natives then murdered 3 Wessagusset settlers in retaliation.

The following day, Standish and his crew sailed back to Plymouth. The Wessagusset Raid marked the first time that Plymouth Colony used military force to kill Native Americans. Wituwaument's head was taken back to Plymouth, where it was displayed at the fort as a warning against future native plots. Most of the Wessagusset settlers were brought to Plymouth or to fishing stations on the Maine coast. In time, many of them returned to Europe. Standish's effort was not in vain, for the natives' plan to wipe out the colonies in the Massachusetts territory quickly fell apart.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

Massasoit; Pilgrims; Plymouth; Standish, Myles; Wampanoags

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Westbrook, Thomas

Born: ca. 1680 Died: February 1744

Commander of provincial Maine–New Hampshire forces during Dummer's War (1722–1727). Thomas Westbrook was born about 1680, probably near Portsmouth, New Hampshire. His father was a well-to-do land owner and trader as well as a member of the provincial Council of New Hampshire. Emulating his father's financial success—and certainly helped by it—Westbrook became a prosperous mill operator and a large land holder himself. He was also active in the local militia. When war broke out between the New Englanders of Massachusetts and the French and their Abenaki allies in 1722, Westbrook immediately prepared for service.

In January 1723, as a militia colonel, Westbrook led a contingent of militia on a raid against Norridgewock, an important

Abenaki village and stronghold on the Kennebec River. Westbrook had hoped to capture or kill the French Jesuit Sébastien Râle, resident at Norridgewock since 1695. Râle had cultivated unusually close relations with the Abenakis, and many New Englanders blamed him for inciting the natives to violence.

When Westbrook and his men arrived at the village, Râle, apparently forewarned, had already fled. The Westbrook contingent proceeded to burn the mission church and ransack Râle's quarters. In the process, the men stumbled on Râle's three-volume dictionary of the Abenaki language, a find of incomparable worth. They stole the volumes.

After the Norridgewock raid, Westbrook commanded the combined Maine–New Hampshire provincial forces for the remainder of the war. When the war ended, he moved to Falmouth, Maine, along the coast, where he continued to pursue his merchant and manufacturing interests. Westbrook died in Falmouth, Maine, in February 1744.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Abenakis; Dummer's War; Maine; Râle, Sébastien

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Western Design

Start Date: 1654 End Date: 1656

English strategy to attack Spain's American colonies, particularly those in the West Indies. In 1654, Oliver Cromwell and his Council of State made plans to conquer Spain's American possessions. The decision was partly motivated by the successful conclusion of war with the Dutch (1652–1654) and the continuing need to distract English public opinion from a heavy-handed government at home.

Cromwell targeted Catholic Spain because of its perceived threat to Protestant England. He also saw Spain as a lucrative target. Cromwell believed that Spanish vulnerability promised a short, triumphant war and that cutting off Spain from its colonies would weaken that nation permanently. Cromwell's plan was bolstered by his conviction that God would back any venture spreading the Puritan revolution beyond England. New England Puritans were also calling for aggressive English action in the West Indies.

In the summer of 1654, therefore, the English government prepared two fleets, their destinations kept carefully secret. The first under General-at-Sea Robert Blake was destined for the Mediterranean. The second, under General-at-Sea William Penn, was to strike the Caribbean. Penn set sail from Spithead on Christmas Day, 1654. His force numbered 38 ships, 20 of them transports lifting five regiments totaling some 2,500 men under the command of General Robert Venables. The expedition's task was to take the Spanish island of Hispaniola.

The expeditionary force reached Barbados in January. Plans to raise additional land forces from this island proved impossible, but the land force was doubled in part by the formation of a force of 1,200 seamen from the ships of the fleet who would then fight on land.

The fleet sailed from Barbados at the end of March and reached San Domingo, Hispaniola, on April 13. That same day 4,000 men were landed near San Domingo under Venables's command but with only three days of supplies and no entrenching tools. The remainder of the land force was put ashore the next day. Penn stood ready with his ships to shell the San Domingo forts when the troops attacked. Venables was slow to move, however, and the Spanish defeated the English assault when it finally did occur on the 25th. Venables refused to make another effort, claiming with some justification that much of his force was unreliable.

The troops were then reembarked, and on May 4 the fleet departed Hispaniola for Jamaica, reaching that island on January 10. Jamaica had fewer than 1,500 Spanish colonists. The ships of the fleet opened up a bombardment of the Spanish fort, and the defenders abandoned their positions on the landing of the English troops. The whole island surrendered on the 17th. The fleet remained at Jamaica for a month, pacifying the island and scouring the vicinity for Spanish ships.

News of the defeat at Hispaniola overshadowed the victory at Jamaica, angering Cromwell and heartening his detractors. On their return to England, Penn and Venables were both briefly imprisoned in the Tower of London. Cromwell responded to public reaction to the failure of the Western Design by calling for public fasting and humiliation. Save for Jamaica, the Western Design was a failure. Unappreciated at the time, England gained an island that would become its most lucrative Caribbean possession. Nonetheless, the overall failure of Cromwell's Western Design eroded Puritan millennialism, stymied Cromwell's foreign policies, fiscally burdened the English government, and provoked an open war with Spain (1656–1659).

LISA ROY VOX AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Great Britain; Puritans; Spain

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Westos

Native American group that migrated from the Great Lakes region into Virginia, and then into Carolina and Georgia. The Westos played a key role in the Native American slave trade with the English colonists. Newcomers to the Southeast and armed with guns they acquired in Virginia, the Westos (also known as Eries, Rickahocans, and Chichimecos) terrorized other American Indians in Alabama, Florida, Carolina, and Georgia with their slave raids during the late 17th century. In the process, they changed the sociopolitical landscape of the indigenous peoples of the region.

An Iroquoian-speaking nation originally known as the Eries, the Westos lived around the eastern Great Lakes. On losing a war with the Iroquois Confederation, the Westos were dispersed in 1656. Many fled toward Virginia, with some 600 being captured by the Iroquois before they reached the English colony. In late 1656, those who made it to the Virginia frontier defeated a small number of colonists and their native allies in battle for control of the native trade in western Virginia.

Known as the Rickahocans to the Virginians, the Westos then formed a trade alliance with Virginia settlers. The Westos provided deerskins and native slaves to Virginians in return for guns, ammunition, metal knives, hatchets, and other items. By 1659, Westo slave raids brought them into the Southeast, where they attacked those groups that came to be associated with the Creek Confederacy in the 18th century and the missionized natives of Spanish Florida. The Spanish called these new invaders the Chichimecos.

Thanks to the guns they received from Virginia traders, the Westos held a tactical advantage over other native peoples, and as a result they terrorized the indigenous inhabitants of the Deep South until 1680. Only the missionized natives—with the support of Spanish garrisons and guns—were able to defend their territory with any degree of success. The arrival of the Westos in the Deep South led directly to the consolidation of the Tama from the interior of Georgia with several coastal groups and refugees from the Guale missions to create the people later known to the Spanish and the English as the Yamasees.

In 1670, the English established Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) as the first permanent settlement of the Carolina Colony. The Westos soon established a trade alliance with the new colony that allowed them to maintain a monopoly on the Native American slave and deerskin trades by preventing the English from trading directly with other Native Americans.

Despite the fact that the government of South Carolina wanted to maintain the alliance with the Westos, a group of colonists had other ideas. Known as the "Goose Creek Men," these individuals armed and encouraged a group of Shawnees known as the Savannahs to attack the Westos. The alliance of the Shawnees and the Goose Creek Men quickly defeated the Westos in the Westo War of 1680. Those Westos who remained chose to live among the Coweta, and their presence among this group of Muskogees assisted the

Cowetas in their rise to prominence within the coalescing Creek Confederacy of the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

DIXIE RAY HAGGARD

See also

Captivity of Indians by Europeans; Captivity of Indians by Indians; Creeks; Florida; Georgia; Guales; Iroquois; Iroquois Confederation; Native American Trade; South Carolina; Virginia; Yamasees

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Wheatley, Phillis

Born: ca. 1753

Died: December 5, 1784

The first published African American poet in the American colonies. Details about Phillis Wheatley's early life in West Africa remain obscure, but she is believed to have been born in 1753. She arrived in Boston as a slave in July 1761 and was sold to John Wheatley, a prominent local merchant. Apparently she was named for the ship that brought her to America, the *Phillis*. Although the Wheatley family owned several slaves, Phillis appears to have held a privileged position within the household. Initially, she received religious instruction and learned to speak, read, and write in English. Later, her education expanded to include literature, history, Latin, and geography.

Within four years of her arrival, Wheatley had begun to write her own poetry, an activity her owner's family encouraged. Wheatley's poems centered around religious themes (particularly death) and the growing tension between Great Britain and the American colonies.

As Wheatley's talent for writing matured, the family became more involved in promoting her work to a wider audience and began a campaign to publish her poems. In December 1767, Wheatley's first poem, "On Messrs Hussey and Coffin," was published in Newport, Rhode Island. In 1770, her poem on the death of Methodist minister George Whitefield brought her considerable attention throughout New England.

Wheatley's first and only book was *Poems on Various Subjects*, *Religious and Moral*, published in London in 1773, the first book published by an African American. To erase doubts that an African American slave, particularly a woman, could write poetry, a letter appeared in the front of the book signed by eighteen of Boston's most prestigious citizens, including Gov. Thomas Hutchinson and John Hancock, testifying that a close examination of Wheatley and



Phillis Wheatley, born in Africa and brought to North America as a slave, became an acclaimed writer and the first published African American poet. (Library of Congress)

her work had convinced them that she had indeed written the poetry herself. The volume received good reviews and sold well in both England and America. In the fall of 1773, shortly after her book was published, the Wheatley family released her from slavery, although she continued to live with them.

Although the success of her volume boded well for Wheatley, upheaval in her personal life during and after the American Revolution put an end to her career as a poet. By 1779, most of the Wheatley family had died, and Wheatley herself had married a free African American named John Peters. She bore him three children over the next five years, but all of them died young. Financial difficulties plagued the family, and Wheatley's attempts to publish additional volumes of poetry were unsuccessful. Wasted by poverty and disease, she died in Boston, perhaps in childbirth, on December 5, 1784.

Both during her lifetime and after her death, Wheatley's work received attention primarily because she was a woman and an African American slave. Serious literary evaluation of her poetry has been overshadowed by efforts to use her as an example in the debate over African American intellectual ability. Thomas Jefferson, in particular, brought attention to her work when he cited her poetry in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* as "below the dignity of criticism," a comment that vaulted her to the center of controversy about the capacity of African Americans to engage in intellectual pursuits.

See also

African Americans

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Williams, Roger

Born: December 21, 1603 Died: March 15, 1683

English Puritan minister and founder of Rhode Island. Roger Williams was born in London on December 21, 1603, and attended Pembroke College at Cambridge University, graduating in 1627. Ordained to the clergy, shortly thereafter he joined other Puritan dissenters and sailed to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, arriving there in 1631.

During a two-year stay in Plymouth Colony, Williams interacted regularly with the nearby Native Americans. He assiduously studied their language to facilitate mission work among them. By 1636, he was fully conversant in the Algonquian language. By 1643, Williams had become so well versed in the native culture and language that he published *Key to the Indian Languages*, an indispensable dictionary.

In 1633, Williams accepted a pastorate in Salem (Massachusetts Bay Colony). In October 1635, however, the colony's leadership banished him for claiming, among other things, that the Massachusetts Bay charter was illegitimate. This, he argued was because it ignored the property rights of the natives. By then, Williams had already established himself as a champion, of sorts, of Native American causes.

Williams then fled south from Massachusetts Bay with his followers and established Providence, Rhode Island, in June 1636. He so named the settlement because he believed that God had cared for him and his supporters after his banishment and had led them to safety.

In Providence, Williams cultivated cordial and strong ties with the Narragansetts, from whom he formally secured land rights to begin building his new settlement. Among other things, Rhode Island's government promoted religious toleration and separated church law from civil law. The Massachusetts Bay authorities soon



Illustration of Narragansett Native Americans and Roger Williams. The founder of Rhode Island, Williams developed an excellent relationship with the Narragansett tribe. (Library of Congress)

requested Williams's help, however. By 1636, they feared that the powerful Pequots sought an alliance with the Narragansetts against them. Williams traveled 30 miles alone by canoe to negotiate with the Narragansett sachems Canonicus and Miantonomo. In three days he convinced the Narragansetts to abandon their association with the Pequots and instead form an alliance with the English. The Pequots were soon decimated in the Pequot War (1636–1638).

When conflict erupted between the Narragansetts and the Mohegans in the mid-1640s, Williams counseled Massachusetts authorities to remain neutral. His advice was disregarded, but his negotiations did avert war between the Narragansetts and the English. The terms of the agreement, however, punished the Narragansetts rather severely. Again in 1654 Williams tried to prevent the Massachusetts leadership from taking military action against the Niantics and their leader Ninigret for killing other natives on Long Island.

Tensions between the English and the various New England tribes continued to build through the 1670s, as the colonists claimed more and more land. At one point in 1671, Williams allowed himself to be taken into the custody of the Wampanoags in order to ensure the safety of their sachem, Metacom (King Philip), during his deliberations with the Plymouth leadership. By 1675, the English feared a potential Native American alliance led by Metacom. Although the Narragansetts promised Williams that no alliance existed with Metacom, the situation quickly deteriorated. In June 1675, various New England tribes, including the Wampanoags, the Narragansetts, and the Mohegans, united against the colonists in King Philip's War (1675–1676).

Even though Rhode Island officially claimed neutrality in the war, Williams served as one of two captains of the Providence Militia. As a result, his home was burned by natives during an attack. Williams's mediation efforts during King Philip's War proved his last major attempt to broker peace between the English and the New England natives. Williams died on March 15, 1683, at Providence, Rhode Island.

JOSEPH W. WILLIAMS

See also

Algonquins (Algonkins); King Philip's War; Massachusetts; Metacom; Miantonomo (Miantonomi); Mohegans; Narragansetts; Pequot War; Pequots; Plymouth; Puritans; Rhode Island; Sachem; Wampanoags

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Wills Creek (Maryland)

Trading outpost and the site of Fort Cumberland, located at the junction of Wills Creek and the Potomac River near the border of Maryland and Virginia. In 1750, the Ohio Company purchased land

around Wills Creek to be used as the hub for its trading and land speculation enterprises. The company had been organized in 1748 by a group of prominent Englishmen and Virginians. These investors had realized the significant economic potential that lay in the vast territory along the Ohio River, between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River, and thus began stockpiling supplies on the south side of the Potomac River at Wills Creek, Maryland.

From this point, the Ohio Company planned additional settlements farther west and began clearing an 80-mile wagon road to the Monongahela River. The company hoped that Wills Creek would become a major trading depot and rallying point for British and colonial supplies and troops to and from the Ohio River Valley. On the Maryland side of the river, Ohio Company officials erected a modest storage facility. On the Virginia side stood another structure identified as a "new store."

In the early 1750s, as Franco-British relations continued to deteriorate, Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia ordered the fortification of Wills Creek. The order came as France and Britain were fast careening toward open war. Thus, during the winter of 1754–1755, Virginia provincial troops constructed there a star-shaped fort with four bastions. Colonel James Innes supervised the work and named the post Fort Mount Pleasant. Later in 1755, the British commander in North America, Major General Edward Braddock, ordered the fortification updated and reinforced. The name was then changed to Fort Cumberland, after the Duke of Cumberland, a son of King George II. It was this redoubt that Braddock designated as his first objective on his 1755 expedition to Fort Duquesne, and it was from here that Braddock began to cut his road westward.

Both Virginia and Maryland stationed troops at Fort Cumberland until 1756. That year, the Maryland General Assembly ordered its troops to withdraw to Fort Frederick, some 70 miles to the east, then the farthest point west the colony would defend. The only offensive "action" Maryland and Virginia troops stationed there saw in 1756 was what later became known as the Dagworthy Affair. Captain John Dagworthy of Maryland's provincial forces fought to assert his right as a royally commissioned officer to issue orders to Colonel George Washington, whose commission bore only the signature of Dinwiddie.

The British garrisoned Fort Cumberland until 1765. The ruins of Fort Cumberland at Wills Creek are located beneath Emmanuel Episcopal Church (1849) in present-day Cumberland, Maryland.

Anna Kiefer

See also

Braddock, Edward; Braddock's Campaign; Dinwiddie, Robert; Fort Cumberland (Maryland); Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania); French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Maryland; Ohio Company; Virginia; Washington, George

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 Kopperman, Paul E. Braddock at the Monongahela. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977.

Windsor Blockhouse (Connecticut)

Fortified village that was one of the first English settlements in the Connecticut River Valley. Despite early difficulties, the fortification allowed the English to flourish and eventually push the Dutch out of the region and dominate the local trade with Native Americans.

Stories about economic opportunities in the Connecticut River Valley spread among the English colonists in Plymouth and Boston during the 1620s. As more settlers arrived from England, open land suitable for farming around the original settlements vanished. In 1632, Edward Winslow led a scouting party from Plymouth up the Connecticut River. They noted the many meadows for farming and beavers that would supply pelts for trade with England. With Dutch traders beginning to move into the region, there was some urgency in the establishment of English settlements.

In 1633, a group of 70 settlers under Lieutenant William Holmes sailed up the Connecticut River to establish a trading post. The Dutch had established Fort Good Hope on the west side of the river and ordered the English party not to proceed. Ignoring Dutch threats to open fire on them, the English sailed past and established their base a mile upriver.

The English had brought with them a collapsible frame house that they quickly fortified against Dutch or Native American attack. This trading post upstream of the Dutch gave the English an advantage in trading with the local natives. By 1664 the Dutch traders were forced out of the Connecticut River Valley.

Another party of settlers from Boston came into the Connecticut River Valley in the fall of 1633. Commanded by Captain John Mason, they established a settlement near the trading post and named it Windsor Blockhouse. It was also known as Matianuck Fort, the Plymouth Trading House, and Palisado Green. The settlement consisted of a number of houses and a separate meetinghouse on a high point. A lookout platform on the meetinghouse provided warning of attack, and a palisade similar to those used by local Native Americans enclosed the settlement. One end of the logs was buried up to three feet in the ground, with another 10–12 feet extending above ground. The roughly rectangular enclosure measured 990 feet on the south, 1,140 feet on the west, 825 on the north, and 1,320 feet on the east. A wide ditch enclosed the entire fortification.

During the Pequot War (1636–1638), native war parties prowled around Windsor Blockhouse, but they were unwilling to assault the strong fortifications. The subsequent destruction of the Pequots permitted the English to found more settlements in the Connecticut River Valley. Trade with the Native Americans flourished and the area became a center of agriculture in the colony. By the 1660s, both the Dutch and the Native Americans had been forced from the valley, and the palisade around Windsor was allowed to fall into ruin.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Connecticut; Fort Good Hope (Connecticut); Mason, John; Pequot War

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Winslow, John

Born: May 10, 1703 Died: April 14, 1774

Massachusetts military officer and politician. Born in Marshfield on May 10, 1703, John Winslow was the great grandson of Edward Winslow, who came to North America on the *Mayflower* and served as the governor of Plymouth Colony. Much of his life was spent in the military, and Winslow was known for his popularity with his men, his ability to recruit soldiers, and his disdain for commanders who regarded colonial soldiers as poor fighters.

Although he was from a distinguished family, Winslow himself was barely literate. He spent much of his early years working a number of government jobs, but soon tired of these and joined the provincial forces in Massachusetts. He saw his first combat during the Anglo-Spanish War (War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739–1744), when in 1740 he secured a commission as a captain in a provisional company in the abortive expedition against Cuba.

Winslow then went to Boston, where in 1748, through the influence of Gov. William Shirley of Massachusetts, he secured a commission as a captain in the regular British Army. He then served at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, Newfoundland, in the 40th Regiment of Foot (the "Fighting Fortieth"). In 1751, he exchanged places with another officer and left active duty on half-pay to return to Massachusetts, where he assisted Governor Shirley in the general court during 1752–1753.

In 1754, during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Shirley named Winslow major general of the Massachusetts Militia and gave him command of an expedition of 800 men mounted in response to a report that the French intended to seize the area of Maine (then part of Massachusetts) between the Chaudière River and the Kennebec River. Winslow constructed two forts to provide protection for future colonists: Fort Augusta (Augusta, Maine) and Fort Winslow (Winslow, Maine). The expedition was a resounding success and established Winslow's military reputation.

In the winter of 1754–1755, Shirley ordered Winslow to recruit a force at Boston in order to be ready to carry out the governor's plan for a coordinated attack against the French. It is a clear indication of Winslow's popularity that he was able to enlist some 2,000 men. On April 14, 1755, Shirley met at Alexandria on the Potomac River with Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia, Lt. Gov. James Delancey of New York, Gov. Arthur Dobbs of North Carolina, Gov. Robert Hunter Morris of Pennsylvania, and Horatio Sharpe of Maryland. In this Council of Alexandria, the governors agreed to mount a four-pronged offensive against the French.

One of the four attacks was against Acadia. In this expedition Winslow, now a lieutenant colonel, commanded one of two provincial regiments under the overall expedition commander, British Army colonel Robert Monckton. In June 1755, this force captured France's Fort Beauséjour, the only one of the four English operations that met success that year. In August, on the special request of Gov. Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia, Winslow traveled down the St. Lawrence River with most of his men to the Minas area of Acadia to oversee the deportation of Acadians there. Winslow found the task distasteful and took care to see that the Acadians at least had a chance to retrieve their possessions and that they were treated well. Winslow then returned with his men first to Halifax and then to Boston.

In 1756, Shirley appointed Winslow to command Massachusetts troops against French Fort St. Frédéric near Crown Point. Here he clashed with Lord Loudoun, who proposed to integrate British regular and provincial forces. Winslow opposed this because the provincials had enlisted on the assumption they would be fighting only under their own officers and colonial officers might lose the ranks they held under colonial appointment. In response to Shirley's pleas, Winslow finally agreed to Loudoun's request and found himself commanding some 7,000 provincial troops in the vicinity of Fort Edward and Fort William Henry. The men did not see action, thanks to Loudoun's excessive caution.

Apparently disillusioned by his military experiences, Winslow returned to politics in 1757. He served in the Massachusetts legislature as representative for Marshfield during 1757–1758 and again during 1761–1765. In 1762, he became chief justice of the court of common pleas. Winslow moved to Hingham in 1766, where he died on April 14, 1774.

JONATHAN A. CLAPPERTON AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Acadia Expulsion; Campbell, John, Earl of Loudoun; Fort Augusta (Maine); Fort St. Frédéric (New York); Massachusetts; Militias; Monckton, Robert; Shirley, William

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Winslow, Josiah

Born: ca. 1629

Died: December 18, 1680

Colonial militia officer, governor of Plymouth Colony (1673–1680), and commander of colonial military forces during King Philip's War (1675–1676). The son of Edward Winslow and Susanna Fuller White, Josiah Winslow was born in Plymouth around 1629. Several years later his father founded the town of Marshfield, and the fam-



Woodcut portrait of Josiah Winslow, governor of Plymouth Colony during 1673–1680. (North Wind Picture Archives)

ily took up residence there. Winslow attended Harvard College in the 1640s but did not receive a degree because he did not intend to pursue a career as a minister.

Winslow's military and political careers took off while he was still quite young. In 1652, he was appointed captain and commander of the Marshfield Militia and won election to the colony's court of assistants. Plymouth officials bestowed two additional appointments on him in 1658: a civil post as commissioner to the United Colonies of New England and a seat on the colony's Supreme War Council. The latter position was responsible for planning operations, raising troops, and procuring supplies in wartime. The following year, Winslow was appointed commander of the colony's militia, with the rank of major.

Winslow took prompt action in 1662 on learning that the Wampanoags were selling land to people from outside the colony, in violation of their treaty with Plymouth. Winslow summoned their chief, Wamsutta, to Plymouth (possibly by force), and the Wampanoags agreed to abide by the treaty and accept Plymouth's control over some of their affairs. Winslow undertook a similar expedition in 1671 against a group of dissident natives, which led to the disarming of the Wampanoags and their further submission to colonial authorities.

Winslow became the first American-born colonial governor when he was elected to head the Plymouth Colony in 1673. This was a time of deteriorating Anglo-native relations; in January 1675, a Christian Native American informed Winslow that Wampanoag leader Metacom (King Philip) was organizing a confederacy to resist the colonists, but Winslow refused to believe the report. The

hanging of three Wampanoags in June 1675 for the alleged murder of Winslow's informant led to the outbreak of King Philip's War.

Winslow called the militia into action to defend the colony, and in November he assumed command of a colonial force and attacked the Narragansetts, who had allied with Philip. On December 19, 1675, Winslow's troops crushed the Narragansetts in a battle known as the Great Swamp Fight. Physically ill and utterly exhausted from the campaign, Winslow gave up his military command in February 1676 and focused his efforts on rebuilding the colony, which suffered heavily from native attacks. He was still engaged in that effort when he died at Marshfield on December 18, 1680.

JIM PIECUCH

See also

Great Swamp Fight; King Philip's War; Narragansetts; New England Confederation; Plymouth; Wampanoags; Wamsutta (Alexander)

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Winthrop, John

Born: January 12, 1588 Died: March 26, 1649

English Puritan and the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. John Winthrop was born in Edwardstone, Suffolk, England, on January 12, 1588. He attended Trinity College at Cambridge University but did not receive a degree. For a time he practiced law and oversaw Groton Manor in England. He then decided to leave England on the Puritan expedition to North America. In 1630, he sailed with other Puritans to New England and began serving as the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony that same year.

Conflict soon arose with nearby Native Americans, and in the mid-1630s tensions heightened with the Pequots in particular. In 1636, the colony's leadership (including Winthrop, now a member of the Standing Council) decided to take action. They sent Captain John Endicott and a force of 90 men to attack those tribes deemed responsible for the killings of several Englishmen. The expedition was also directed to demand retribution from the Pequots, who were seen as complicit in the deaths.

Following Endicott's largely unsuccessful raid, word reached colonial authorities that the Pequots were seeking an alliance with the powerful Narragansetts against the English. Winthrop, who also served as commander of a militia unit, wrote to Roger Williams, the founder of Providence, Rhode Island, and requested his help. Although Winthrop had played a leading role in Williams's recent banishment from the Massachusetts Bay Colony, he realized that Williams had important connections with the Narragansett sachems. Williams convinced the Narragansetts in October 1636 to abandon their association with the Pequots and instead ally them-



Portrait of John Winthrop, one of the most powerful political leaders in Massachusetts Bay during the colony's critical formative years. (Library of Congress)

selves with the English. In the ensuing Pequot War (1636–1638), Winthrop then persuaded the Plymouth Colony to join in the war effort. The Pequots were badly defeated in the war.

Following the war, Winthrop worked with other colonial leaders to bring the New England colonies together for mutual defense purposes. By 1643, he was leading a committee that drew up Articles of Confederation among Massachusetts Bay and the colonies of Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth. The result was the New England Confederation. In addition to establishing collective defense, the confederation also established a means to settle intercolonial disputes.

Apart from warfare, defense, and civil issues, Winthrop also became involved—perhaps unwisely—in French politics. In 1643, he allowed Charles de Saint Étienne de La Tour to recruit troops in Boston to help him establish his leadership of French Acadia. The Frenchman had been locked in a power struggle with his rival, Charles de Menou d'Aulnay, over control of Acadia. Many colonists condemned Winthrop's association with a Roman Catholic and questioned the wisdom of participating in a French conflict. Following these events, Winthrop nonetheless continued to play a central role in the politics of the colony until his death on March 26, 1649, in Boston.

JOSEPH W. WILLIAMS

See also

Endicott, John; Massachusetts; Narragansetts; New England Confederation; Pequot War; Pequots; Puritans; Williams, Roger

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Winthrop, John (Fitz-John)

Born: March 14, 1637 Died: November 27, 1707

British and colonial military officer and governor of Connecticut (1698–1707). John Winthrop, also known as Fitz-John Winthrop, was the grandson of Massachusetts Bay's first governor, John Winthrop. He was born in Ipswich, Massachusetts, on March 14, 1637, and enrolled at Harvard College but left in 1657 to sail to England and take a commission in the Parliamentary forces during the English Civil War (1642–1649). He quickly won promotion from lieutenant to captain, serving in the forces of General George Monck in Scotland and in Monck's march on London in 1660 that led to the restoration of King Charles II to the English throne.

After the Restoration, Winthrop's unit was disbanded, and he returned to Connecticut to take up politics. Winthrop soon found himself lured back into martial pursuits, however. He fought against the Dutch in the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672–1674) and against Native Americans in King Philip's War (1674–1675). Winthrop also served in Sir Edmund Andros's Governor's Council in the Dominion of New England.

In 1690, during King William's War (1689–1697), Winthrop was commissioned a major general and given command of an expedition against Canada. He set out from Hartford, Connecticut, on July 14, 1690, intent on stopping raids by French-supported natives. He also hoped to capture Montreal, but supply problems, poor coordination, and a general lack of support soon caused him to cancel the invasion and order a retreat. He was briefly arrested and imprisoned for treason because of the failed invasion but was subsequently exonerated by the Connecticut government.

Winthrop became governor of Connecticut in 1698 and was reelected regularly until his death in 1707. During that time he struggled to preserve the military autonomy of his province. During Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), he refused to send Connecticut troops outside the colony's boundaries. In fact, in 1704 he even disbanded the provincial militia rather than be pressured into sending Connecticut troops on distant campaigns. Winthrop died in office on November 27, 1707, while in Boston, Massachusetts.

Andrew C. Lannen

See also

Andros, Edmund; Anglo-Dutch War, Third; Canada, New England Expedition against; Connecticut; Dominion of New England; King Philip's War; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Queen Anne's War, Land Campaigns

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Wolfe, James

Born: January 2, 1727 Died: September 13, 1759

British commander in the Battle of the Plains of Abraham before Quebec on September 13, 1759. From an Irish family, James Wolfe was born at Westerham in Kent, England, on January 2, 1727. He entered the army at the age of 14 with a commission in the British Marines. Wolfe saw active service with the 12th Foot in the War of the Austrian Succession, in which he fought at the Battle of Dettingen (1743) in Bavaria. Soon thereafter he became a captain in the 4th Foot.

Wolfe participated in the heavy fighting at Falkirk and Culloden during the Jacobite Rising of 1745. Despite his youth, Wolfe became a lieutenant colonel of the 20th Foot in 1750 and was stationed for the most part in Scotland until the outbreak of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763, the French and Indian War in America, 1754–1763). Wolfe's first major action during the war was at Rochefort, France, in 1757, a failed combined arms diversionary expedition against a French coastal military base.

In 1758, having achieved the reputation as one of the top officers in the service of his age and rank, Wolfe was posted to America with a local commission as brigadier general under Major General Jeffery Amherst, the British commander in chief in North America. Wolfe then took part in the campaign against the French stronghold of Louisbourg, Canada. Wolfe was instrumental in the capture of that fortress in 1758, particularly in getting his brigade onshore under trying conditions and in the successful defense of the British siege lines against French sorties. His role in the siege earned him much praise and the notice of British prime minister William Pitt the Elder. Pitt subsequently entrusted Wolfe with the command (and the local rank of major general) of all British military and naval forces to be marshaled in 1759 for a daunting attempt to capture Quebec.

Taking Quebec proved to be a formidable challenge for Wolfe, who was in declining health during the siege and had strained relationships with his army subordinates. After months of periodic shelling of Quebec and a disastrous frontal assault against the French lines, Wolfe decided on a daring plan, opposed by his leading subordinates, to covertly land a substantial force at Anse au Foulon (today Wolfe's Cove), only a mile and a half from the city. On the night of September 12, 1759, his men scaled the steep cliffs there, dispatching the few French sentinels on duty.

By the morning of September 13, Wolfe had positioned 4,500 men and two artillery pieces on the heights of the Plains of



Painting by Benjamin West in 1769 depicting the death of British major general James Wolfe, mortally wounded in the Battle of Quebec on September 13, 1759. (Library of Congress)

Abraham, ready to receive the expected French counterattack. In the ensuing battle, the British were victorious. Twice wounded earlier in the fighting, Wolfe was then wounded a third time when a ball passed through his lungs. This proved fatal. Wolfe died the same day, his passing eased by news of the British victory.

Word of the victory and Wolfe's death at the moment of triumph made Wolfe a national hero and a romantic figure in England. His body was returned to England and buried in the crypt of St. Alfege's Church, Greenwich.

JOHN R. MAASS

See also

Amherst, Jeffery; French and Indian War, Land Campaigns; Louisbourg, Siege of; Pitt, William, the Elder, First Earl of Chatham; Quebec, Battle of

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Woodward, Henry

Born: ca. 1646 Died: ca. 1690

English trader and diplomat, credited with establishing Anglo-American Indian trade and diplomacy in the Southeast. It is virtually impossible to discuss the establishment of South Carolina without talking about Henry Woodward. His talents were crucial to 17th-century South Carolina and the American southeastern frontier.

Henry Woodward was perhaps born in Barbados about 1646 and moved to the North American continent as a young adult. He came to Port Royal (near present-day Beaufort, South Carolina) in 1666 as one of its first settlers. Woodward's talents for dealing with Native Americans were immediately recognized, and he soon became a mediator in Native American affairs and a trader among them.

Early in his career, Woodward was captured by the Spanish and taken to Florida. While in St. Augustine, he lived with the parish priest and became a Catholic. He also studied the Spanish methods of conducting trade with Native Americans. In 1668, he escaped his captivity when the buccaneer Robert Searles raided St. Augustine.

Woodward sailed around the Caribbean with Searles for a time as a ship surgeon. In 1669, the ship was wrecked on the Caribbean island of Nevis, and Woodward's career took a new direction. Boarding a Carolina-bound ship, he landed at Bull's Island, South Carolina, in 1670. There he was immediately enlisted by the Carolina Proprietary Government to head a delegation to the Catawba center of Cofitachique, probably near present-day Camden, South Carolina. Woodward then managed to return to Charles Town (present-day Charleston) with a treaty signed by the emperor of Cofitachique that permitted the European colony. He also publicized the grandeur of Cofitachique.

During a trip into the interior, Woodward discovered that Virginia had already established a trade route to the natives. He was among the first to follow this trade path, and by 1673, the path was well known. In 1674, Woodward visited the powerful Westos, writing a description of their village: "A Faithful Relation of My Westoe Voiage." By 1677, the Westos, who had firearms and posed a problem for the European settlers, had been expelled from the Carolinas and Woodward fell into disrepute. Woodward then traveled to England to secure a pardon for his involvement with the Westos.

Returning to South Carolina with the pardon, Woodward worked to establish trade with the Lower Creeks. The last information on Henry Woodward is from 1686, when he reportedly fell ill and was carried from the frontier to Charles Town on a litter, during which 150 Native American burden bearers joined the caravan. They also carried valuable animal skins for the Charles Town trade. This difficult trip may have contributed to Woodward's death.

THOMAS J. BLUMER

See also

Catawbas; Creeks; Native American Trade; Port Royal (South Carolina); South Carolina; Westo

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Writs of Assistance

Administrative search warrants that allowed the search and possible seizure of goods or property. Unlike search warrants, no due process or justification was necessary to obtain a writ of assistance. The intent of these was to stop smuggling or other violations of British trade or impost laws. Their name derives from the fact that the Crown official possessing the writ was empowered to have the assistance of local officials, such as the constable or other peace officers, or, if need be, the local community to enforce the writ.

In 1662, Parliament authorized the writs, which allowed customs officials of the nonjudicial court of exchequer to search any



James Otis Jr. of Massachusetts, who in 1761 appeared before the Massachusetts Superior Court and claimed that Writs of Assistance violated the British constitution. (Library of Congress)

individual's possessions for contraband goods. If the officials met with resistance in their search, the act allowed for the destruction of personal property in order to satisfy the requirements of the writ. The life of the monarch limited the duration of the writs of assistance, thus making any writ enforceable at any time and with near unlimited amount of times customs officials could search an individual's property.

In 1696, Parliament extended the issuing of writs to the American colonies. Because most of the colonies lacked courts of exchequer, however, the writs were generally unused. Yet Massachusetts and New Hampshire allowed writs of assistance because they permitted the English courts of exchequer to have jurisdiction within their colonies.

In the American colonies, the concern with writs did not become a contested issue until England began to tighten the imperial reins during and after the French and Indian War (1754–1763). In 1756, Massachusetts issued its first writ of assistance, with several more issued during the rest of the decade. Massachusetts merchants met the issuing of these writs with great resistance. When King George II died in 1760, the writs issued during his reign, including those in Massachusetts, died with him. In 1761, when Charles Paxton, an unpopular Boston customs official, applied for and was granted a new writ of assistance by Thomas Hutchinson, the chief justice of the Massachusetts Superior Court (also lieutenant governor),

James Otis Jr. appeared before the court and claimed that the writs violated the British Constitution.

The Writs of Assistance Case of 1761 pitted Otis against the Massachusetts Superior Court. Otis claimed that because the writs were open-ended, they violated the fundamental principles of English law. Governments possessed the right, he claimed, to search an individual's property but only if done through a search warrant and with justified reasons. He noted that writs of assistance allowed a search for anything at any time, which amounted to an abuse of power. Therefore, he claimed that any issuing of a writ of assistance would be in violation of English legal principles and thus null and void. Despite Otis's appeals to the fundamental legal principles of the English constitution, the Massachusetts Superior Court issued the writ, creating a firestorm of controversy in the colonies. Years later, John Adams reflected that the Writs of Assistance Case was the spark that ignited the American Revolution. It was not only one of the first instances of American resistance to British power but also directly led to the Fourth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

AARON COLEMAN

See also

Massachusetts; Navigation Acts; Smuggling

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Wyatt, Francis

Born: ca. 1588 Died: 1644

Governor of Virginia (1621–1626, 1639–1641). Francis Wyatt was born in Kent, England, to a prominent family about 1588. Knighted in 1603, he married into a family with strong connections to the Virginia (London) Company. In 1621, Wyatt's wife's uncle appointed him governor of Virginia to succeed Sir George Yardley, and he arrived in Jamestown that same year to undertake his new duties.

The privately owned Virginia Company charged Wyatt with cementing the province's new governmental structure, which included the right to trial by jury and an elected assembly that met annually. These procedures established a precedent for future English colonies in the New World.

The 1614 marriage between John Rolfe and Pocahontas had finally brought to Virginia a semblance of security. This situation encouraged settlers to spread out over an area stretching more than 100 miles, a process that continued during Wyatt's first year as gov-

ernor in 1621. What settlers did not know was that Opechancanough, leader of the Powhatan Confederacy since 1618, was secretly plotting to expel the English from the region.

In early 1622, Opechancanough and Wyatt faced off over a minor clash between natives and settlers. Wyatt refused to apologize or offer concessions for the incident, a stance that deeply offended Opechancanough. Wyatt, however, came out of the confrontation believing that the local natives had renewed their friendship with the English settlers.

At noon on March 22, 1622, widespread simultaneous native attacks hit outlying settlements, killing 347 English men, women, and children. More than one quarter of Virginia's total population died within a matter of several hours. On learning of the attacks, Wyatt acted quickly. He ordered most plantations abandoned and concentrated most of the remaining settlers in and around the capital of Jamestown. Opechancanough chose not to move against Jamestown's strong defenses.

With Jamestown secured, Wyatt gathered most of the colony's able-bodied men and in June 1622 launched the first of several punitive expeditions. Realizing how difficult it would be to pin down and engage Opechancanough and his warriors, Wyatt instead had his men focus on depriving the natives of the necessities of life. Wyatt ordered his men to kill animals, destroy all food, and take or destroy any items that could aid the natives. This campaign brought such deprivation to the natives over the ensuing months that in March 1623 a desperate Opechancanough sued for peace.

Intent on permanently eliminating the Powhatan threat or even exterminating the Powhatans, Wyatt rejected the overture. Instead, he launched new offensives using men and weapons recently arrived from England. The campaigns against the Powhatans continued until a peace treaty was finally concluded in 1632.

The 1622 massacre by the Powhatans and its aftermath compelled the English crown to take control of Virginia in 1624. Nevertheless, Wyatt continued as governor until 1626, when he returned to England on the death of his father. Wyatt came back to Virginia in 1639, when he succeeded the unpopular John Harvey as the colony's governor, serving until 1641. Wyatt returned to England when his tenure ended. He died in Bexley sometime in 1644.

Andrew C. Lannen

See also

Anglo-Powhatan War, Second; Jamestown; Opechancanough; Pocahontas; Powhatan Confederacy; Virginia

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Y

Yamasees

Native American group from central Georgia that resettled in large numbers in Carolina, some 100 miles from Charles Town (Charleston, South Carolina). The Yamasees were related to the Hitchitis and the Oconees, two other Muskogean-speaking groups that were part of the Creek Confederacy. At the time of first contact, the Yamasees lived on the Oconee River above the Fall Line in Georgia. The site was along a major east-west trade route.

The Spanish tried to convert the Yamasees to Christianity in 1570 with little success. However, the Yamasees remained involved in the Spanish trade through the Guale missions on the Georgia coast. They also probably added to their numbers as Guales and Timucuas in the Spanish missions fled northward to escape Spanish rule.

In the early 1660s, the slave-raiding Westos arrived in South Carolina and Georgia. Westo raids hit the Yamasees hard. These raids compelled the Yamasees to disperse and resettle in several different areas. Some Yamasees settled among the natives in Spanish missions. Others moved to the Lower Chattahoochee River area to live among other groups that spoke various dialects similar to their own.

Although the Yamasees settled among and near the Spanish missions, most did not wish to embrace Christianity. Finally, the Spanish tried to force conversion and participation in their native labor system known as the *repartimiento* (to divide or redistribute). Because of these Spanish demands and the inability of the Spaniards to protect them from French and English pirate raids, many Yamasees moved to the lower Savannah River in the early 1680s. Finally, in 1684, the Yamasees established a trade relationship with the English that for a time benefited both parties.

In the years immediately prior to 1715, the British colonists began to abuse their Yamasee trading partners. This included fraud, extor-

tion, and physical beatings. The English settlers also began to ignore the ceremonial trappings that native people expected to accompany trade. This treatment of the Yamasees along with Yamasee participation in a growing alliance among the southern tribes dominated by the Creeks led to the Yamasee War (1715–1717).

In the Yamasee War, almost all of the natives in South Carolina and Georgia took up arms against the Carolina settlers and nearly destroyed the colony. In 1716, however, the colonists defeated the native alliance. Some Yamasees then fled to Florida for protection by the Spanish near St. Augustine. Others sought protection among the Creeks, who were in the process of moving from central Georgia back to the Chattahoochee River. The Hitchitis eventually absorbed most of these Yamasees.

In an attack on the Spanish at St. Augustine in 1727, the British destroyed the Yamasee village located nearby. In 1763 when the Spanish ceded Florida to the British at the end of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), many of the last of the Spanish Yamasees left with the Spanish for the West Indies. Others remained in Florida and assimilated into the Miccosukee Seminoles during the later half of the 18th and the early 19th centuries. A small number among the Miccosukee Seminoles preserved the Yamasee name until 1812. After that, they disappeared from the historical record.

DIXIE RAY HAGGARD

See also

Creeks; Florida; Georgia; Guales; Native American Trade; Native Warfare; Skulking Way of War; South Carolina; Spanish Mission System, Southeast; St. Augustine; St. Augustine, Battle of; Westo; Yamasee War

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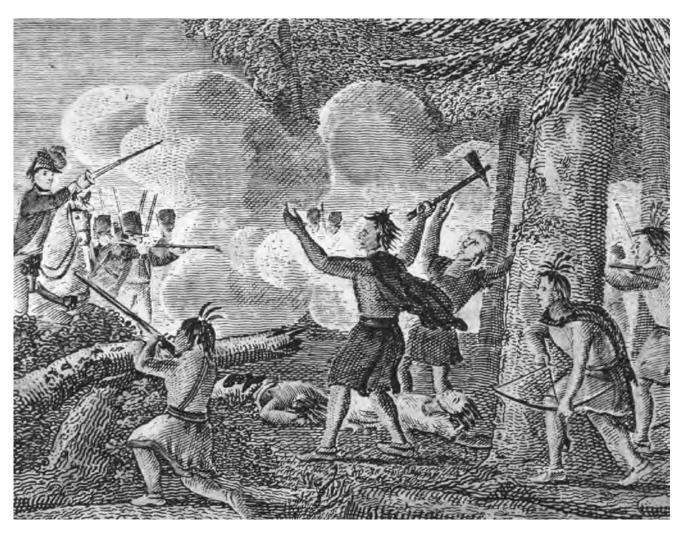
Yamasee War

Start Date: April 15, 1715 End Date: November 1717

A costly frontier conflict that devastated the colony of South Carolina and led to the near-extinction of the Yamasee tribe. The Yamasees were a Muskogean-speaking people inhabiting the southern reaches of Georgia at the time the Spanish were occupy-

ing nearby Florida. They enjoyed cordial relations initially and received Franciscan missionaries until 1680, when the Spanish attempted to deport tribal members to the Caribbean to work as slaves. A war ensued and the Yamasees migrated northward to the vicinity of St. Helena and modern-day Hilton Head Island, where the English colony of South Carolina was developing. Initially, the Yamasees and the British were amicably disposed. The Yamasees performed useful services to the British, not the least of which was to act as a buffer between them and the Spanish. They also played a prominent role in the essential deerskin trade and actually fought on behalf of the English during the Tuscarora War (1711–1713).

Around this time, however, poorly regulated British traders and native agents engaged in unscrupulous practices with the Yamasees, including appropriating land without payment, wholesale cheating in trade, and demanding immediate payment for tribal debts estimated at £50,000. When the tribesmen proved unable to comply, the English usually resorted to seizing wives and children for the slave market. Such systematic abuse propelled the Yamasees to violence against their antagonists, and they began consorting with neighbor-



Nineteenth-century woodcut showing Gov. Charles Craven of South Carolina leading an attack on Yamasee Native Americans at the Combahee River in 1715 at the beginning of the Yamasee War. (The Granger Collection)

ing tribes like the Catawbas, the Apalachees, and the Creeks to initiate military action.

The ensuing Yamasee War began on April 15, 1715 (Good Friday), when native warriors staged carefully orchestrated attacks against English outposts along the South Carolina frontier. Traders and native agents were especially targeted for revenge, and upwards of 100 colonials were slaughtered at Pocataligo. Other war bands struck at the settlement of St. Bartholomew, between the Edisto River and the Combahee River, burning it and scattering the inhabitants. The ensuing crush of white refugees toward Charles Town (Charleston) greatly swelled the population of that region, which gave it the ability to muster sufficient manpower for a defense.

Gov. Charles Craven proved exceptionally able and energetic in this regard, and in late April he mounted a limited offensive with 240 men. Near Salkehatchie, they engaged and defeated 500 warriors. About this same time, a second column under Colonel Mackay stormed the occupied village of Pocataligo, dispersing a larger force of Yamasees. In another action fought on July 19, 1715, 120 militiamen under Captain George Chicken chased a band of warriors into a swamp, surrounded them, then attacked, killing 40 and freeing several white captives. Warfare at this time had broken down into large-scale raiding by both sides, with notable actions at New London and Daufuskie Island (adjacent to Hilton Head Island and the Savannah River). The Yamasees and their coalition were unable to withstand the colonial resurgence and began appealing to other tribes for assistance.

Their Creek neighbors agreed to help, providing additional war bands to supplement their original contingent. Thus augmented, the tribesmen were able to resume their destructive raids and in an action near Port Royal on August 1, 1716, killed several defenders. But the South Carolinians, now reinforced by militiamen from North Carolina and Virginia, were able to withstand this new round of native attacks. They soon began driving the Creeks and the Yamasees back into the swamps of Georgia.

By January 1716, the Creeks felt sufficiently threatened to appeal to their traditional enemy, the Cherokees, who constituted the largest tribe in the Southeast. The Cherokees proved coy initially but, in light of their good relations with the English, they announced their decision by slaughtering the Creek emissaries. This combination of colonial militia under Craven's effective leadership, now backed by ample Cherokee manpower, proved too much for the Creeks and the remnants of the Yamasee coalition. Both were soon driven from the colony, the Creeks moving deeper into Georgia and the Yamasees withdrawing completely into Florida, being welcomed by the Spanish as allies. It was not until November 1717 that the Creeks and the English formally concluded a peace treaty. The Yamasees were never a party to this agreement, and from their Florida enclave they launched sporadic raids for more than a decade.

Despite its relatively brief duration, the Yamasee War was one of the most costly conflicts waged by a European colony. South Carolina, with a population of only 5,500 settlers, took proportionately heavier losses than those incurred by New Englanders during King

Philip's War (1675–1676). Many frontier communities lay gutted, and the lucrative fur trade, heretofore a staple of the local economy, was severely disrupted for many years. And despite Craven's able leadership, the proprietary government's response to the crisis was perceived as sluggish. Thus, in 1719 it was overthrown by the inhabitants and replaced by royal governance.

The Creeks also drew important lessons from the conflict, realizing that they lacked the power to openly confront both the English and the Cherokees and, moreover, could not readily rely on assistance from either France or Spain. They thereafter embarked on a course of cautious neutrality, partly to offset half a century of enmity toward the Cherokees, which had arisen from this war. But the biggest losers proved to be the conflict's instigators, the Yamasees. Driven from their homeland and subject to periodic raids from the new English colony of Georgia, they progressively became weaker in terms of numbers. They were gradually absorbed by their Creek and Seminole neighbors. This once proud and influential tribe had disappeared as an identifiable culture by the end of the 18th century, although it is speculated that the Altamaha Cherokees of present-day Burke County, Georgia, may be their descendants. The Oklawaha band of the Seminoles is also thought to be largely descended from the Yamasees.

JOHN C. FREDRIKSEN

See also

Cherokees; Craven, Charles; Creeks; South Carolina; Tuscarora War; Yamasees

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York, Attack on

Event Date: January 25, 1692

Near destruction of the English settlement on the coast of Maine (then part of Massachusetts) by Abenaki warriors during King William's War (1689–1697). The attack was known as the Candlemas Day Massacre, so named because of its proximity to the Christian feast day known as Candlemas.

In the fall and winter of 1691–1692, 400 Abenaki warriors joined with French officers to attack various English forts and frontier settlements. The offensives were concentrated along the northern and eastern New England frontier. Some 150 of these natives participated in the attack on York, an English settlement of about 500 inhabitants along the York River. As with many other frontier communities York had suffered from sporadic violence and the loss of men during King Philip's War (1675–1676) and the early years of King William's War.

834 York, Attack on

Led by Penobscot sachem (chief) Madockawando, the Abenakis struck York on the morning of January 25, 1692. They quickly killed two woodcutters and captured trapper Arthur Bragdon as he entered the woods to set his traps. In exchange for his life, Bragdon provided information on the town's defenses. Two parties of warriors then assaulted one of York's five garrison houses as well as the majority of the inhabitants' homes, quickly overwhelming any opposition. Many of York's residents found shelter in the four remaining garrisons, but 50 inhabitants were killed, including the town's minister, Shubael Dummer. Nearly 100 other settlers were taken prisoner. For several hours before withdrawing, parties of Abenakis sacked the town, burning most of its buildings save for the occupied garrison houses, the meetinghouse, and the jail. They even stripped lead from window casings to mold into bullets. Before departing, the raiders released captives equal to the number of Native American prisoners released by Captain Benjamin Church at Pejepscot in 1690.

In the aftermath of the raid, York became an armed camp as provincial soldiers arrived to maintain this key Maine outpost. Dummer's death had a broader impact on New England, convincing the English that the religious machinations of French priests among the Abenakis had sparked this latest conflict with the natives.

DAVID M. CORLETT

See also

Abenakis; Captivity of Europeans by Indians; Garrison Houses; King William's War, Land Campaigns; Maine

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Appendices

Rank Structures

Military ranks of the various forces in North America during the colonial period are generally similar to those in use today. Still, there were variations in rank titles and ranking structures, and some military forces changed the titles and meanings of some ranks during the 17th and 18th centuries. For example, the French Army eliminated the rank of maréchal de bataille in the 1660s, and in 1710 the French Navy changed the rank of lieutenant de galiote to artillery lieutenant. The Spanish Navy changed the status of the sailing master, or maestre, during the 17th century, so that he was no longer considered second-in-command of a ship behind the captain. Further adding to the complexity was the tendency to grant special positions to individuals for either merit or a specific campaign. Hernán Cortés was granted the rank of captain general, commanding 11 companies for his campaign into Mexico. This is not to be confused with the Spanish Navy's rank of captain general, which was the senior admiral commanding an entire fleet.

Complexities such as these can make explaining ranking structures a difficult task. Add to this the tendency for many authors to list equivalent ranks in English rather than Spanish or French, and tracking down exact titles for the various forces becomes trouble-some. This essay and the rank tables below present general guidelines for ranks among the British, French, and Spanish armies, navies, and provincial/militia forces.

Armies

Armies of the colonial period's various belligerents generally contained equivalent ranks, although titles in some cases varied not only among different nations but also among different branches of service.

British Army ranks and units are similar in name to those still used today. Generals commanded armies; lieutenant generals, corps; major generals, divisions; and brigadier generals (or simply

brigadiers), brigades. The primary unit in the British Army was the regiment. A colonel usually owned and controlled a regiment, but he was not often present in North America. Many regiments were therefore commanded by lieutenant colonels, followed in seniority by majors. Captains commanded companies, aided by lieutenants and ensigns. Most companies had two or three subalterns. Enlisted ranks consisted of sergeants, corporals, and privates. The senior sergeant in a regiment was called the sergeant major, though this was more of an honorary title than an actual rank. Most companies had six or seven of these noncommissioned officers, often with more sergeants than corporals. Men who served a special function, such as drummers, ranked above the average private but below a corporal. The senior drummer of a regiment was the drum major, who served in the colonel's company and carried more seniority than any sergeant in the regiment but less than any officer.

The French Army contained a rank structure very similar to that of the British Army, with only minor variations. At the lowest levels, the infantry contained privates, corporals, and sergeants; cavalry had troopers and brigadiers; and the lowest-ranking dragoons were simply called dragoons and were led by brigadiers. Infantry and cavalry units used similar ranking schemes for the officer class, with the lowest levels called cadets or volunteers. Cavalry units had the rank of maréchal de logis, an equivalent of which was not present in the infantry. Next was the ensign (infantry) or cornet (cavalry), the lowest-ranking commissioned officer. A few infantry regiments had a sous-lieutenant, or sublieutenant. From that point, infantry and cavalry used the same ranks. Lieutenants served under captains, who generally commanded companies. Major was an administrative post for a battalion, and anyone achieving that rank was not likely to advance any further. The lieutenant colonel often had actual field command of a regiment when the colonel was not present. The ranks of major and lieutenant colonel were awarded solely on merit and did not require purchase. Colonels commanded and usually "owned" regiments, and they were almost always nobles. The French Army also had the rank of colonel general, designating the commander of a branch of service, such as the infantry or cavalry. The position was eliminated for infantry in 1661 and was often symbolic for other branches of service.

Generals began with the rank of brigadier, a rank standardized in the 1660s. Brigadiers served under the direction of lieutenant generals but retained command of their regiments. Only nobles could bypass the rank of brigadier. Next was the maréchal de camp, a rank that was usually symbolic unless the individual holding it was given specific duties. In the 17th century, maréchaux de camp became adjutants to lieutenant generals and chiefs of staff. An additional rank called maréchal de bataille indicated an officer in charge of placing units before battle, but it disappeared in the 17th century. Lieutenant generals usually commanded portions of armies under direction of maréchaux, or marshals. Marshals commanded field armies and were junior only to princes and kings. Of these ranks, the highest seen in pre-1775 North America was lieutenant general, granted to the Marquis de Montcalm in 1758.

The Spanish command structure in North America differed slightly from those used by the British and French. Spain never fielded troops on the same scale as either Britain or France. The most significant Spanish military post in North America was at St. Augustine in Florida. The supreme commander of all Spanish troops in Florida was the governor, but the primary military figure was the sergeant major, who had direct command over the soldiers and reported to the governor. Three captains each commanded a militia company, assisted by ensigns. Enlisted men consisted of sergeants, corporals, drummers, fifers, pages, and regular soldiers. The only slight deviations from this command structure were in the artillery, which consisted of a single captain and 19 artillerymen, and in the fort, in which the commander of the fort had the assistance of four adjutants. There were slight variations in the Spanish command structure depending on the situation. When Hernán Cortés led his expedition into Mexico in 1518, he was named captain general, in command of 11 companies of soldiers, each in turn led by a captain.

Provincial and Militia Units

There are few differences between provincial and militia units. Men serving in provincial units were paid and enlisted for a specified term. Campaigns often required them to serve in areas far from their homes, sometimes even beyond their colony's borders. Militamen generally served closer to their residences and either mustered in response to an immediate threat or served on a single campaign before returning home. Otherwise, organizational and ranking structures were very similar for both provincial forces and militia.

Provincial forces in the British colonies used the same rank structure as the regular British Army but did not necessarily hold the same authority. Until 1758, when William Pitt reversed the policy, provincial field officers (majors and colonels) serving alongside regular units only ranked as eldest captains in comparison to the regular officers. After Pitt's retraction, provincial field officers were junior only to regular officers of equivalent ranks.

Both types of forces generally followed ranking schemes akin to that of their regular army counterparts, but there were some slight variations. For example, the lowest-ranking militiamen in Massachusetts were called centinels rather than privates. Otherwise, ranks and responsibilities within militia units correspond to those of regular army forces.

Methods used for appointing officers varied by colony. In Massachusetts, the governor appointed colonels. Colonels in turn appointed all of their own officers, from captains down to ensigns. In Connecticut, the assembly appointed all field-grade officers. Militiamen elected all of the company-grade officers, but the assembly actually issued the commissions. After Benjamin Franklin's 1747 pamphlet *Plain Truth* reached Pennsylvania's citizens, the colony adopted his ideas for the creation of militia units. Each company of at least 100 men elected its own captain, lieutenant, and ensign. Companies formed regiments, and company commanders throughout the colony in turn met to elect colonels, lieutenant colonels, and majors.

Navies

The British Navy served as a model for many nations. Its ranking structure survives to this day in Britain, the United States, and elsewhere. At its highest level is the admiral of the fleet. Directly below him are admirals, then vice admirals, and rear admirals, each of which was broken into divisions named "of the blue" and "of the white." The highest rank seen in colonial North America was admiral of the blue, which Edward Boscawen achieved in 1758 just before the Louisbourg expedition.

Below the various admiralty ranks was captain, the commander of a ship of the line. A commander directed a ship that held at least 10 guns but was too small to be considered a ship of the line. A lieutenant served as the second-in-command of a ship and was responsible for sailing the vessel, standing watch, mustering men, and ensuring that the men stayed on deck and attended to their duties. If the ship was large enough to require more than one lieutenant, the most senior was called the 1st lieutenant. Below lieutenants were midshipmen, who assisted officers on watch, commanded a ship's boats, oversaw the health of a group of sailors, and in combat commanded a gun crew or delivered messages or signals. Lowest in rank among the officer class were the captain's servants, as young as 13 years old, who served as apprentices or trainee officers until old enough to rate as midshipmen.

Warrant officers were specialists who attended to specific duties. The top of the hierarchy consisted of the master, surgeon, chaplain, and purser, all of whom were considered professionals. Responsible for navigating the ship, a master held a status as high as any officer except the captain and 1st lieutenant. Standing officers were next in line: the boatswain, who was responsible for rig-

ging, ropes, blocks, and discipline; the gunner; carpenter; caulker; cooper; sailmaker; cook; and master at arms.

At the bottom were petty officers and seamen. Petty officers consisted of the quartermaster, captains of the forecastle and of the top, and the various mates, such as the gunner's mate or boatswain's mate. They generally commanded groups or teams of seamen and supervised them in their duties. Seamen were lowest in the ranking structure, broken up by age and experience. The youngest were third-class seamen, usually under 15 years of age, who served as officers' servants. Second-class seamen were basically seamen-intraining. First-class seamen were potential officers. Landsmen were seamen of adult age with no prior experience. Ordinary seamen had served for at least two years and were generally competent in most shipboard tasks. An experienced, proven sailor could earn the title of able seaman.

Aside from the previously listed ranks, ships often carried marines. They could account for as much as 20 percent of the crew and usually wore red coats. They could help in various shipboard duties but generally knew little, if anything, of sailing. They acted as sentries on board the ship, but they were most valuable during combat, in which they fired muskets, worked guns, boarded enemy vessels or repelled enemy boarders, or engaged in amphibious operations.

The highest ranks of France's naval forces contained some oddities. The overall ruler of the French Navy was the "admiral of France," a title eliminated in 1627 but resurrected in 1669 and given to two-year vice amiraux, or vice admirals, served as the overall naval administrators, but the next two ranks seem out of place. Until 1791, when rank titles changed, naval general officers who served in combat were either lieutenants généraux des armées navales or chefs d'escadre, roughly corresponding to vice admirals and rear admirals in the Royal Navy, respectively. Next were two classes of officers, capitaines des vaisseaux, or captains of ships, and officiers subalternes. The latter ranks included lieutenants des vaisseaux and ensigns des vaisseaux. For a time, French ships often carried two captains, a capitaine commandant and a commandant en second. The latter was actually a captain-in-training, ranking below a senior lieutenant. Officers holding any of the above ranks generally came from either the gardes de la marine or the gardes du pavillon-amiral, cadet corps into which the sons of nobles enrolled. Intermediate grades, including the ranks of capitaine de frégate (frigate captain), capitaine de brûlot (fire ship captain), lieutenant de frégate (frigate lieutenant), and capitaine de flûte (storeship captain), were sometimes bestowed on commoners who proved themselves. The numbers of officers holding these ranks fluctuated based on the whims of naval administrators, many of whom wished to keep them at a minimum because of a baseless fear that commoners would come to dominate the navy.

The enlisted ranks of the French Navy were typical of a western force. The upper levels included petty officers (officiers mariniers), able-bodied seamen (matelots), and workers (sailmakers, caulkers, and carpenters). Petty officers of 55 to 60 years of age who were

sick or injured were called seamen hors service and were either given permanent leave at half-pay or employed on merchant vessels. Novices were boys and young men between the ages of 16 and 25 who lacked blue-water experience. They ranked as seamen when serving on naval vessels. Cabin boys (mousses) rounded out the lowest levels of the enlisted ranks. When they reached the age of 18, mousses were classed as matelots.

The French Navy also had its own marines. These compagnies franches de la marine were originally troops sent from France to complement existing defenses. Their usual purposes in France included protecting ships and ports, but in North America they often saw garrison duty in the major French settlements. The compagnies franches used an organizational structure similar to that of the French Army. The primary unit of organization was the company, of which there were between 30 and 40 in the 1750s. A captain commanded each company, assisted by a lieutenant, first ensign (enseigne en pied), second ensign (enseigne en second), two sergeants, and three corporals. The remainder of the ranks consisted of cadets, drummers, and privates.

The Spanish Navy initially used a ranking system that deviated slightly from common Western practices. At the highest level was the captain general, the overall fleet commander. Below him was the almirante, or admiral. Like the other navies discussed here, a captain, or capitán, commanded a ship, but this specific rank had two divisions. A capitán de mar commanded only the ship and crew, whereas a capitán de mar y guerra commanded the ship, its crew, and all infantry forces on board. Below the captain was the maestre, or master. In other Western navies, the sailing master enjoyed a status as high as most other officers except the captain and lieutenant(s), but was not necessarily so high on the chain of command. In the 17th century, the alférez, or lieutenant, came to replace the maestre as second-in-command to the capitán de mar y guerra, thus conforming to standard western practices. Next in line was the pilot, who plotted the ship's course. The piloto mayor was the principal navigator for an entire fleet.

Next came a series of minor officials, of which the contramaestre, the master's helper, was most senior. The guardián relayed the contramaestre's orders; the despensero doled out food, water, and supplies; the alguacil de agua, when present, rationed water; and the maestre de plata kept a record of all of the treasure brought on board a ship. The escribano, or notary, registered and witnessed all transactions, and the capellán, or chaplain, oversaw care of the sick and ensured that the surgeon visited them. Ideally, a large ship had a doctor, surgeon, and pharmacist, or médico, cirujano, and boticario, respectively, but many vessels instead carried a surgeon assisted by a barber, or even a single combined barber-surgeon.

Below the minor officials were the maestranza (workmen) and the common sailors. The maestranza included the carpenter, caulker, cooper (tonelero), diver (buzo), and, on warships, the trumpeter (trompeta). Sailors included common seamen (marineros), apprentices (grumetes), and pages (pajes).

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Army Ranks

	British Army	French Army	Spanish Army
Officers	Field Marshal	Marshal of France	Captain General
	General	Lieutenant Général	Lieutenant General
	Lieutenant General	Maréchal de Bataille (until 1660s)	
	Major General	Maréchal de Camp	Inspector General
	Brigadier General	Brigadier	Field Marshal
		Colonel Général	
	Colonel	Colonel	Colonel
	Lieutenant Colonel	Lieutenant Colonel	Lieutenant Colonel
	Major	Major	Sergeant Major
	Captain	Captain	Captain
	Lieutenant	Lieutenant	
		Sous-Lieutenant (infantry only)	
	Ensign	Ensign (infantry)/Cornet (cavalry)	Ensign
		Maréchal de Logis (cavalry only)	
		Cadet/Volunteer	
Enlisted	Sergeant	Sergeant (infantry)/Brigadier (cavalry/dragoons)	Sergeant
	Corporal	Corporal (infantry only)	Corporal
	Drummer		
	Private	Private (infantry)/Trooper (cavalry)/Dragoon	Private/Soldier

Navy Ranks

	Royal Navy	French Navy	Spanish Navy (through early 17th century)	Spanish Navy (18th century)
Officers	Admiral of the Fleet	Admiral of France	Capitán General	Capitán General
	Admiral	Vice Amiral	Almirante	Vice Admiral (Teniente General)
	Vice Admiral	Lieutenant Général des Armées Navales		Rear Admiral (Jefe de Escuadra)
	Rear admiral	Chef d'Escadre		Commodore (Brigadier)
	Captain	Capitaine de Vaisseau	Capitán de Mar y Guerra	Capitán (Capitán de Navío)
			Capitán de Mar	
	Commander	Capitaine de Frégate		Commandante (Capitán de Fragata)
	Lieutenant Commander	Capitaine de Corvette		Lieutenant Commander (Capitán de Corbeta)
	Lieutenant	Lieutenant de Vaisseau	Alférez	Alférez (Teniente de Navío)
		Lieutenant de Galiote (after 1710, Artillery Lieutenant)		
	Ensign	Enseigne de Vaisseau		Sous-Lieutenant (Alférez de Navío)

	Royal Navy	French Navy	Spanish Navy (through early 17th century)	Spanish Navy (18th century)
	Midshipman	Garde du Pavillon Amiral	Midshipman (Aspirant)	Midshipman (Guardia Marina or Aspirant)
		Garde de la Marine		Apirant?
Auxiliary Officers		Capitaine de Brûlot		
		Lieutenant de Frégate		
		Capitaine de Flûte		
Warrant Officers	Warrant Officer	Warrant Officer	Maestre	Maestre
	Standing Officer		Pilot	Other Warrant Officers
			Contramaestre	Artillero de Prefereencia (Master Gunner)
			Guardian	Gunner (Artillero de Mar)
	Craftsman/Official		Minor Officials	Minor Officials
Men	Petty Officer	Officier Marinier		
	Able Seaman			
	Seaman	Matelot	Marinero	Marinero
	Landsman	Volunteer		
		Worker	Maestranza	Maestranza
Boys	First class	Mousse	Grumete (Apprentice)	Grumete
	Second class	Novice	Paje (Page)	Paje
	Third class			

Statistical Information

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En	σl	ar	11

Location Northwest of France, between the North Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea

CapitalLondonArea (square miles)50,346

Area (relative) Slightly less than the size of Louisiana

 Population Estimate (1500)
 3,750,000

 Population Estimate (1550)
 4,000,000

 Population Estimate (1600)
 4,250,000

 Population Estimate (1650)
 5,000,000

 Population Estimate (1700)
 5,750,000

 Population Estimate (1750)
 6,000,000

Major European Alliances (ca. 1530) France, Republic of Venice

Major European Alliances (ca. 1625) France, Dutch Republic, Saxony, Sweden

Major European Alliances (ca. 1675) France

Major European Alliances (ca. 1700)Dutch Republic, Habsburg Empire, PortugalMajor European Alliances (ca. 1740)Dutch Republic, Austria, Russia, Saxony, Hanover

Major European Alliances (ca. 1760) Prussia, Portugal, Hanover, Brunswick

Major Colonial Claims in North America (ca. 1580) N/A

Major Colonial Claims in North America (ca. 1650) All or part of present-day Virginia, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut,

Maryland, Rhode Island, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia

Major Colonial Claims in North America (ca. 1740) All or part of the present-day 13 original states, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia

Major Colonial Claims in North America (ca. 1770) All or part of the present-day 13 original states, East and West Florida (including

all or part of present-day Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama), New-

foundland, Nova Scotia, and Quebec

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Location Southeast of England; bordering the Mediterranean Sea and between Italy and

Spain

CapitalParisArea (square miles)211,154

Area (relative) Slightly less than the size of Texas

 Population Estimate (1500)
 15,000,000

 Population Estimate (1550)
 16,000,000

 Population Estimate (1600)
 18,500,000

 Population Estimate (1650)
 21,000,000

 Population Estimate (1700)
 22,000,000

 Population Estimate (1750)
 24,000,000

Major European Alliances (ca. 1530) England, Republic of Venice

Major European Alliances (ca. 1625) England, Dutch Republic, Saxony, Sweden

Major European Alliances (ca. 1675)EnglandMajor European Alliances (ca. 1700)Spain, Bavaria

Major European Alliances (ca. 1740) Spain, Bavaria, Prussia

Major European Alliances (ca. 1760) Spain, Austria, Russia, Sweden

Major Colonial Claims in North America (ca. 1580) N/A

Major Colonial Claims in North America (ca. 1650) All or part of present-day Canada and the Great Lakes region

Major Colonial Claims in North America (ca. 1740) All or part of present-day Canada and the Great Lakes region and Louisiana Ter-

ritory (including all or part of present-day Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota,

Wyoming, Montana, Colorado, and Idaho)

Major Colonial Claims in North America (ca. 1770) N/A

Spain

Location Southwest of France and east of Portugal, bordering the Mediterranean Sea,

North Atlantic Ocean, and Pyrenees Mountains

Capital Madrid (since 1561)

Area (square miles) 194,834

Area (relative) Slightly more than twice the size of Oregon

 Population Estimate (1500)
 7,000,000

 Population Estimate (1550)
 6,800,000

 Population Estimate (1600)
 8,100,000

 Population Estimate (1650)
 7,100,000

 Population Estimate (1700)
 7,500,000

 Population Estimate (1750)
 Unknown

Major European Alliances (ca. 1530) Holy Roman Empire

Major European Alliances (ca. 1625)

Holy Roman Empire, Austria, Bavaria

Major European Alliances (ca. 1675)	Dutch Republic, Holy Roman Empire
Major European Alliances (ca. 1700)	France, Bavaria
Major European Alliances (ca. 1740)	France, Bavaria, Prussia
Major European Alliances (ca. 1760)	France, Austria, Russia, Sweden
Major Colonial Claims in North America (ca. 1580)	New Spain (including all or part of present-day Mexico, Texas, California, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, Oklahoma, and New Mexico) and Spanish Florida (including all or part of present-day Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama)
Major Colonial Claims in North America (ca. 1650)	New Spain (including all or part of present-day Mexico, Texas, California, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, Oklahoma, and New Mexico) and Spanish Florida (including all or part of present-day Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama)
Major Colonial Claims in North America (ca. 1740)	New Spain (including all or part of present-day Mexico, Texas, California, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, Oklahoma, and New Mexico) and Spanish Florida (including all or part of present-day Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama)
Major Colonial Claims in North America (ca. 1770)	New Spain (including all or part of present-day Mexico, Texas, California, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, Oklahoma, and New Mexico) and Louisiana Territory (including all or part of present-day Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wyoming, Montana, Colorado, and Idaho)
Dutch Republic ^a	
Location	West of Germany, bordering the North Sea
Capital	None; Parliament seated at The Hague
Area (square miles)	13,082
Area (relative)	Slightly less than twice the size of New Jersey
Population Estimate (1500)	950,000
Population Estimate (1550)	1,250,000
Population Estimate (1600)	1,500,000
Population Estimate (1650)	1,875,000
Population Estimate (1700)	1,900,000
Population Estimate (1750)	1,925,000
Major European Alliances (ca. 1530)	N/A
Major European Alliances (ca. 1625)	England, France, Saxony, Sweden
Major European Alliances (ca. 1675)	Spain, Holy Roman Empire
Major European Alliances (ca. 1700)	England, Habsburg Empire, Portugal
Major European Alliances (ca. 1740)	England, Austria, Russia, Saxony, Hanover
Major European Alliances (ca. 1760)	Neutral
Major Colonial Claims in North America (ca. 1580)	N/A
Major Colonial Claims in North America (ca. 1650)	New Netherland (including all or part of present-day New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Connecticut)

N/A

N/A

Major Colonial Claims in North America (ca. 1740)

Major Colonial Claims in North America (ca. 1770)

^aExisted from 1588 to 1795.

English Colonies

	Connecticut	Delaware		Georgi	a	Mai	ryland
Location	New England	Mid-Atlantic		South		Mid	-Atlantic
Date Founded	1662 ^a	1638		1732		1634	4
Founder	Thomas Hooker	New Sweden Con and Peter Minuit		James (Oglethorpe	Lord	d Baltimore
Type of Colony	Charter	Proprietary		Proprie royal ir	etary; became n 1752	Prop	prietary
Population Estimate (1650)	4,100	200		N/A		4,50	0
Population Estimate (1700)	26,000	2,500		N/A		29,6	000
Population Estimate (1750)	111,300	28,700		5,200		141,	100
Population Estimate (1770)	183,900	35,500		23,400		202,	600
Chief Economic Exports	Fish, horses, timber, sugar	Grain, fruit, cattle	e, timber	Rice, in	ıdigo	Tob	acco, wheat, flour
	Massachusetts	New Hampshire		New Je	rsey	Neu	York York
Location	New England	New England		Mid-At	lantic	Mid	-Atlantic
Date Founded	1630 ^b	1623		1664		1664	4
Founder	Puritans	John Wheelwrigh	nt		erkeley and rge Carteret	Duk	e of York
Type of Colony	Charter; became royal in 1691	Proprietary; beca in 1679	ıme royal	Proprie royal ir	etary; became n 1702		prietary; became al in 1685
Population Estimate (1650)	15,600	1,300		N/A		4,10	0
Population Estimate (1700)	55,900	5,000		14,000		19,1	00
Population Estimate (1750)	188,000	27,500		71,400		76,7	00
Population Estimate (1770)	235,300	62,400		117,400)	162,	900
Chief Economic Exports	Fish, horses, timber, sugar	Mast and ship tir naval stores, fish timber, sugar		Wheat,		Fur,	timber, grain,
	North Carolina	Pennsylvania	Rhode I	sland	South Caroli	na	Virginia
Location	South	Mid-Atlantic	New Eng	gland	South		South
Date Founded	1663 ^c	1682	1636		1663 ^c		1607
Founder	Group of eight proprietors	William Penn	Roger W	'illiams	Group of eigh proprietors	t	London Company
Type of Colony	Proprietary; became royal in 1729	Proprietary	Charter		Proprietary; became royal in 1719		Charter; became royal in 1624
Population Estimate (1650)	N/A	N/A	80		N/A		18,700
Population Estimate (1700)	10,700	18,000	5,900		5,700		58,600
Population Estimate (1750)	73,000	119,700	33,200		64,000		231,000
Population Estimate (1770)	197,200	240,100	58,200		124,200		447,000
Chief Economic Exports	Tobacco, mast and ship timber, naval stores	Wheat, flour	Fish, hot timber,		Rice, indigo		Tobacco

^aDate of the unification of Connecticut (Hartford) and New Haven colonies. ^bDate of the founding of Massachusetts Bay Colony. ^cThe Carolinas were split into North Carolina and South Carolina in 1723.

Selected Native American Groups

Group	Location	Early Population Estimate	Later Population Estimate	Major European Interactions
Abenakis	Northern New England and Quebec	15,000 (1600)	1,000 (1783)	French
Algonquins	Ottawa River Valley	6,000 (1603)	1,500 (1768)	French
Apalachees	Florida Peninsula	7,000 (1650)	100 (1758)	Spanish
Calusas	Southwestern Florida	3,000 (1650)	N/A (1750)	Spanish
Catawbas	Western Carolinas	6,000 (1600)	700 (1757)	British
Chickasaws	Northern Mississippi and Alabama	5,000 (1600)	3,000 (1740)	British
Cherokees	Southern Appalachian Mountains	50,000 (1674)	22,000 (1753)	British
Creeks	Florida, Georgia, and Alabama	22,000 (1550)	6,500 (1715)	Spanish, French, and British
Delawares	Delaware, New Jersey, southeastern New York, and southeastern Pennsylvania	10,000 (1600)	4,000 (1775)	British
Esopus	Hudson River Valley and Delaware River Valley	15,000 (1660)	Unknown	Dutch
Hurons	Southern Ontario and southeastern Michigan	20,000 (1630)	1,250 (1765)	French
Iroquois Confederacy ^a	Upper New York	20,000 (1600)	12,000 (1768)	French and British
Mahicans	Upper Hudson River Valley	8,000 (1600)	600 (1796)	Dutch and French
Narragansetts	Southeastern New England	3,000 (1600)	500 (1682)	British
Natchez	Southwestern Mississippi	4,500 (1650)	Unknown	French
Ojibwas	Upper Great Lakes region	35,000 (1650)	25,000 (1764)	French
Ottawas	Manitoulin Island and northern Lake Huron	8,000 (1600)	5,000 (1768)	French
Pequots	Southeastern Connecticut	4,000 (1600)	140 (1762)	British
Powhatan Confederacy ^b	Eastern Virginia	9,000 (1600)	1,000 (1785)	British
Shawnees	South Carolina, Tennessee Cumberland River Basin, and southern Illinois	3,000 (1650)	Unknown	French and British

^aComprised of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca, and Tuscarora tribes.
^bComprised of some 30 groups, including the Appomattock, Chickahominy, Matagony, Pamunkey, and Rappahannock tribes.

Chronology

- 1492 August 3 Christopher Columbus begins his voyage of discovery. Sailing under the aegis of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, Genoese navigator and explorer Christoforo Colombo (Cristóbal Colón in Spanish and Christopher Columbus in English), appointed admiral of the ocean sea, viceroy, and governor of any territory he might discover, departs Palos, Spain, with three ships to find a new route to Asia. In the course of his voyage from August 1492 to March 1493, Columbus makes landfall in the West Indies and is one of the first Europeans, after the Vikings, to discover the Americas.
- 1493–1496 Christopher Columbus's second voyage. Sailing in 17 ships with some 1,200 men, Columbus establishes a Spanish colony on the island of Hispaniola, the first Spanish colony in the New World.
- 1494 June 7 Treaty of Tordesillas. In 1493, Pope Alexander VI divides the unexplored territory of the world between Spain and Portugal in the Papal bull *Inter Caetera*. Formalized in the Treaty of Tordesillas of June 7, 1494, this arrangement establishes a line 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands (the bull *Inter Caetera* had placed it 100 leagues east of the islands). Spain is to have exclusive rights to territory west of the line, Portugal east of it.
- 1497 March–August John Cabot's first voyage. Italian John
 Cabot, who has settled in England, receives a warrant
 from King Henry VII to embark on a voyage of discovery.
 Cabot sights land, probably Cape Breton or Newfoundland, which he claims for England, then sails south along
 the coast, probably as far as Maine, before returning to
 England.

- 1498 John Cabot's second voyage. Seeking to reach Japan, Cabot explores the North American coast as far south as Delaware or Chesapeake Bay.
- 1498–1500 Christopher Columbus's third voyage. Columbus sights South America and explores the Gulf of Paria then proceeds to Santa Domingo.
- 1502–1504 Christopher Columbus's fourth and final voyage. With four ships, Columbus sails to Martinique and then explores the Central American coast before being shipwrecked and marooned in Jamaica during June 1503–June 1504.
- 1509 Sebastian Cabot sails from England and later claims to have reached Hudson Bay.
- 1519–1521 Spanish conquest of Mexico. Spanish military officer Hernán Cortés (Cortez) lands on the eastern coast with a small Spanish force. Relying on alliances with native kingdoms chafing under subjection to the Aztecs, he conquers the mighty Aztec Empire.
- 1519–1522 Circumnavigation of the globe by a Spanish expedition under Portuguese Ferdinand Magellan, who is killed in the Philippines.
- 1540–1542 Spanish expedition into present-day New Mexico.

 Spaniard Francisco Vázquez de Coronado moves north from northern Mexico with 300 soldiers and a large number of native allies searching for the illusory Seven Cities of Gold. In present-day Arizona, Coronado reaches the Zuni village of Hawikuh, supposedly one of the Seven Cities, capturing it on July 7, 1540. The other supposed cities also turn out to be simple villages devoid of riches. Nonetheless, Coronado leads his men through New

- Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and into Kansas before returning to Mexico City in July 1542. Although he fails in his original intent, Coronado extends Spanish influence into much of the present southwestern United States.
- 1564 The French establish a colony along the St. Johns River in Florida, led by Jean de Ribault and René de Laudonnière.
- 1565 Pedro Menéndez de Avilés establishes the Spanish outpost of St. Augustine in present-day Florida as a base of operations against the French, who have planted their own settlement along the St. Johns River. On September 20, 1565, Ménendez attacks and destroys the French settlement.
- 1568 April Frenchman Dominique de Gourgues leads an attack on Spanish Florida, capturing two small posts and seizing Fort San Mateo. Avenging the earlier Spanish massacre, he executes all Spanish prisoners. Despite this temporary success, the French abandon any further effort to colonize Florida.
- 1576–1606 English voyages in order to locate a northwest passage to Asia.
- 1577-1580 Francis Drake's circumnavigation of the globe.
- 1599 January 21–23 Battle of Acoma Pueblo. Resentful of harsh treatment by the Spanish, the Indians of Acoma Pueblo in New Mexico revolt. Spanish reinforcements scale the mesa and launch a surprise attack on the night of January 22, 1599. The next day, the Spaniards kill approximately 800 natives. Another 580 are taken captive, and Spanish authorities order the amputation of one foot of each of the adult males.
- 1604 France establishes a trading post at Port Royal, Acadia (now Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia).
- 1607 May 14 The English establish their first permanent settlement in North America at Jamestown, Virginia.
- 1608 July French explorer Samuel de Champlain establishes a trading post at Quebec on the St. Lawrence River. Allying themselves with the Algonquins, Hurons, and Montaignais, the French drive the Iroquois from the St. Lawrence Valley.
- 1614 Dutch colonists establish Fort Nassau south of present-day Albany, New York, and over the next decade create settlements on Manhattan Island and Fort Nassau, near present-day Gloucester, New Jersey.
- 1620 November 11 The English establish their second permanent settlement in North America, at Plymouth, later part of Massachusetts.
- 1622 March 22 Native Americans attack the English settlers at Jamestown, Virginia, in widespread coordinated attacks that kill 347 settlers. The colonists retaliate and, in 1623, under promise of peace talks, they lure 250 natives to their deaths.
- 1624 May 24 Virginia's private charter is revoked and it becomes a royal colony.

- 1629 July 19 English capture of Quebec. An English expedition under Gervase Kirke forces French commander Samuel de Champlain to surrender Quebec. However, it and other French St. Lawrence settlements and Acadia are returned to France by England by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye on March 29, 1632.
- over Kent Island, the largest island in Chesapeake Bay and site of the third permanent English settlement in North America. In August 1631, William Claiborne, secretary of the Virginia colony, founds a settlement there to trade with Native Americans and refuses to recognize the island as part of the Maryland land grant to George Calvert, First Baron Baltimore. In intermittent fighting, coupled to religious warfare in Maryland during 1644–1646, Claiborne seizes the island in 1644. He is forced from, and returns to, the island twice before leaving permanently in 1658, ending the dispute. Kent Island is now a part of Maryland.
- 1636 July 1636-September 1638 Pequot War. Conflict between Pequot Native Americans of the lower Connecticut River Valley and the English colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut is ignited by the murders of several English traders. In August 1636, Massachusetts sends a force to punish the natives, beginning the war. The Pequots are unable to rally other tribes. On May 26, 1637, Connecticut and Massachusetts militiamen and Mohegan Native Americans under captains John Mason and John Underhill attack a Pequot settlement on the Mystic River. Of some 400–700 Pequots, only 7 are taken alive and a reported 7 escape. This Mystic Fort Fight largely breaks Pequot resistance, although fighting continues into the summer. In July 1637, a large number of Pequots are surrounded in a swamp near modern-day New Haven, Connecticut. The war officially ends in the Treaty of Hartford on September 21, 1638. The Pequots cease to exist as an independent people and are absorbed by other tribes.
- 1638 Swedish colonists establish Fort Christina on the Delaware River, site of modern-day Wilmington, Delaware.
- ca. 1640s–1701 The French and Iroquois Wars, also known as the Iroquois Wars or the Beaver Wars. Members of the Iroquois Confederation, led by the Mohawks, fight the tribes of the Great Lakes area in an effort to gain territory and control the fur trade with the Europeans. As a consequence of the fighting, the Iroquois expand their territory and destroy several large tribal confederacies, including the Hurons, Eries, and Susquehannocks, and they drive other eastern tribes west of the Mississippi River. After some setbacks, the Iroquois seek peace. In 1701 at Montreal, the natives, the French, and the English conclude the Grande Paix (Great Peace), bringing to a close the

- nearly continuous warfare. The Iroquois agree to stop their attacks and to allow survivors of opposing tribes to return to their ancestral homes. The confederation then allies with the English.
- 1641–1664 The Dutch-Indian Wars. Persistent ill will between the Dutch and Native Americans leads to a series of conflicts between European settlers in New Netherland and neighboring Algonquian tribes. There are four periods of open warfare: Kieft's War (1639–1645), the Peach War (1655), the First Esopus War (1659–1660), and the Second Esopus War (1663–1664). The outcome of these wars largely favors the Dutch.
- 1644 Native Americans attack English settlers at Jamestown, Virginia, killing more than 400 colonists. Savage English reprisals follow.
- 1647–1655 Dutch-Swedish hostilities. Construction of opposing forts on the frontiers of New Netherland and New Sweden lead to hostilities. Sweden has made little investment in North America, and a Dutch victory is virtually a foregone conclusion. Sweden's official role in colonial America ends on September 15, 1655, when Gov. John Classon Rising surrenders New Sweden to New Netherland.
- 1664 September 7 English capture of New Amsterdam. In March 1664, the king of England, Charles II, grants his brother James, Duke of York, a charter for territory in North America from Connecticut to Delaware. To enforce his claim, James dispatches a small task force of four frigates to North America. It arrives in New York Harbor on August 29. The Dutch are caught by surprise, and because the governor of New Netherland, Petrus Stuyvesant, has angered the citizens by his heavy-handed methods, few answer his call to defend the colony. On September 7, he surrenders New Amsterdam to Colonel Richard Nicolls commanding a small force of British regulars and provincial volunteers. On September 20, English colonel George Cartright takes Fort Orange, which is renamed Albany. The entire Dutch settlement is transferred to the English and renamed New York.
- 1673 August 17, 1673–November 10, 1674 Dutch recapture of New York. In the course of the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672–1674), a Dutch fleet arrives off New York on August 7, 1673, and the Dutch retake the city on August 17. It is restored to the English as a consequence of the Treaty of Westminster, ending the war on February 19, 1674, and is formally surrendered on November 10.
- 1675 June 20, 1675–October 1676 King Philip's War. This last general war between Native Americans and English colonists in southern New England is named for Wampanoag sachem Metacom, known to colonists as King Philip, who opposes colonial expansion and efforts to subject the natives to colonial law. On June 20, 1675, Wampanoag warriors attack Swansea in southwest Plymouth Colony,

and the conflict quickly spreads. Although a number of tribes join the Wampanoags, others remain neutral and still others side with the colonists. The natives refuse open combat and adopt hit-and-run guerrilla tactics. In the fall of 1675, fighting shifts to the Connecticut River Valley, and in October the natives attack and destroy much of Springfield. Convinced that the Narragansetts are aiding Metacom, on December 19, 1675, Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and Connecticut field more than 1,000 men against them under overall command of Gov. Josiah Winslow of Plymouth. In the so-called Great Swamp Fight, the colonists attack and burn the Narragansetts' principal fortified village, located near present-day South Kingston, Rhode Island, on December 19, 1675. The colonists lose 20 dead and 200 wounded. Estimates of native dead range from 600 to more than 1,000.

The Mohawks join the colonists in attacking their weakened native rivals. Their intervention, superior colonial numbers, and changes in colonial tactics such as targeting native food supplies all take their toll. That summer many of Metacom's followers surrender. Metacom is killed on August 12, 1676, and by October the war is at an end, save in Maine, where intermittent violence continues for several years. The tribes of southern New England never recover.

- 1676 May 10, 1676–January 1677 Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia.

 Planter Nathaniel Bacon, angered by what he regards as

 Virginia governor Sir William Berkeley's conciliatory policy toward the natives, leads an attack on the Pumunkeys.

 Bacon marches on Jamestown with armed followers and receives a commission to move against the Native Americans. From July to September, Bacon dominates

 Jamestown, forcing Berkeley to flee. On September 19,

 Bacon and his supporters burn Jamestown and public opinion turns solidly against him. Bacon dies in late October and the rebellion collapses, ending by January 1677.
- 1680–1690 Revolt of Pueblo Native Americans against Spanish authorities in New Mexico. Spanish repression brings on the revolt, led by a shaman, Popé. In all some 380 Spaniards are killed. The Spanish attempt to reclaim New Mexico in November 1681, but Pueblo warriors repel them. French interest in the lower Mississippi delta area revives Spanish interest, however, and the Spanish retake New Mexico in 1690.
- 1682 April 9 French explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, reaches the Gulf of Mexico. Traveling from Canada, he descends the Mississippi River and reaches its mouth and the gulf on April 9, 1682. La Salle claims the entire Mississippi River and all territory watered by it and its tributaries for France, naming it "Louisiana" after King Louis XIV.

- 1684-1687 French explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, attempts to establish a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River. France and Spain are then at war, and La Salle receives the governorship of all Louisiana and sails for Louisiana from France in 1684 with four ships and 400 men. Although the Spaniards capture his principal supply ship, La Salle continues on with only about 180 men in the remaining three ships. Proceeding too far west, he lands near present-day Matagorda Bay, Texas. With 45 men, La Salle sets out in January 1687 with a small party to try to reach Canada and secure aid. En route, his men mutiny and murder La Salle in March 1687 near the Trinity River. Few of his party reach Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River, and Native Americans kill most of the French colonists who remained behind. La Salle nonetheless gives France a vast new colonial empire and alters the history of North America.
- 1689–1697 Beginning of King William's War (known in Europe as the War of the League of Augsburg). On May 9, 1689, King William III of England declares war on France.

 There is fighting in Hudson Bay, the St. Lawrence and upper Hudson River Valleys, and in Acadia. The fighting includes Native Americans, with the Iroquois Confederation siding with the English and most other tribes joining the French. A planned English colonial expedition against Quebec fails, although New England colonists do capture Port Royal in Acadia, returned by England in the peace.
- 1690 May 11 English capture of Port Royal. On May 1, 1690, representatives of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York meet at Albany and decide to invade French Canada with two land forces and a naval expedition up the St. Lawrence. On May 11, Sir William Phips leads a force against Port Royal, capital of Acadia and a base for French privateers attacking New England shipping. Phips commands seven ships carrying 736 men. With a garrison of only 80 men and the fortifications in poor repair with no cannon mounted, the French surrender on May 21. The French recover Port Royal the next year, and the Treaty of Ryswick of 1697, ending the war, confirms Port Royal and Acadia as French.
- 1702 November 10–December 29 English seizure of St.

 Augustine. As part of Queen Anne's War (1702–1713, known in Europe as the War of Spanish Succession),

 Gov. James Moore of Carolina leads an expedition of 800–1,200 colonists and Native Americans by land and sea to take St. Augustine, the only major Spanish military outpost in North America. The English fail to achieve surprise, and Spanish governor Joseph de Zúñiga y Cerda, although heavily outnumbered, ably defends Castillo de San Marcos. The English begin a siege on November 10 but end it on December 29, 1702, with the

- arrival of Spanish reinforcements. Moore burns St. Augustine and his own ships, returning to Carolina overland.
- 1703–1704 Raids by English forces against the French and Spanish on the southern frontier. Carolina colonists and Native Americans enjoy some success raiding Spanish settlements in Florida, but Choctaw Native Americans prevent the English and allied natives from achieving success against the French Gulf Coast settlements.
- 1703–1707 Raids along the northeast frontier between New England and New France (Canada). The French actively encourage raids by their Abenaki allies and mount allied operations against New England. The English colonists retaliate in Acadia. In 1704 and 1707, the English fail in efforts to take Port Royal in Acadia, the principal base for French privateers operating against New England shipping and fishing. In August 1704, French and Indian forces attack and destroy the English settlement of Bonavista, and in 1708 they seize St. John's.
- 1710 October 16 English capture of Port Royal, Acadia. In October 1709, English colonial governors agree on a joint expedition to seize Port Royal. Colonel Francis Nicholson commands a regiment of Royal Marines and 3,500 provincials supported by 36 Royal Navy warships. The siege begins on September 24, 1710, and Port Royal surrenders on October 16 and is renamed Annapolis Royal. Under the terms of the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht ending the war, Acadia passes to the British, who rename it Nova Scotia.
- 1711 August Failed English effort to take Quebec. In 1711, New England colonial leaders plan a major operation against French Canada in the form of a seaborne assault on Quebec and a simultaneous, diversionary attack from Albany against Montreal. London agrees to provide substantial naval support, and Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker arrives at Boston in June. Securing provisions proves difficult, and Walker departs at the end of July with only three months of supplies but with 11 warships escorting some 60 transport and supply vessels carrying 4,000 British troops. With sailors and colonial forces, the expeditionary force numbers more than 12,000 men, the largest armed force to that point in the colonies. In the heavy fog on the St. Lawrence on the night of August 23, seven transports and a supply vessel founder, leaving nearly 900 men dead and causing Walker to abandon the operation. The Montreal campaign then collapses.
- 1711–1713 Tuscarora War. Encroachments by colonists and abuses by colonial traders in North Carolina lead to war in 1711. The Tuscaroras kill some 200 colonists and fight the Creeks and Yamasees. The war ends in March 1713 with a Tuscarora surrender.
- 1715–1717 Yamasee War. The Yamasee Native Americans of South Carolina, angered by settler encroachments and

actions of unscrupulous traders, go to war. The fighting begins on April 15, 1715, and the Yamasees soon kill several hundred settlers and even threaten the principal Carolina settlement of Charles Town (present-day Charleston). Gov. Charles Craven rallies the Carolina forces and the fighting disintegrates into raids by both sides. The Creeks aid the Yamasees, but the South Carolinians, reinforced by North Carolina and Virginia militia and supported by the Cherokees, are able to withstand the new attacks and drive their adversaries into the swamps of Georgia. Peace is concluded between the Creeks and the English in November 1717, but the Yamasees remain at war and continue to launch sporadic raids from Florida until 1728.

- 1720–1722 Spanish occupation of much of present-day Texas, carried out to forestall a French move there.
- 1742 July 7 Battle of Bloody Marsh. This battle on St. Simons Island, Georgia, just south of Savannah, is Spain's only offensive against English colonists in Georgia during the War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739–1744. Gov. Manuel de Montiano of Florida launches this attack with more than 4,000 men to avenge destruction caused by an unsuccessful British assault on St. Augustine in May. The Spaniards land on St. Simons Island, and on July 7, Gov. James Oglethorpe personally leads his troops against the Spaniards in a swamp known as Bloody Marsh. The English defeat the Spanish, killing 50 and causing the remainder to return to Florida. The battle marks the end of Spanish efforts to conquer Georgia.
- 1744–1745 Unsuccessful French and allied Micmac Native American attacks on Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, in September and October 1744 and the spring of 1745 during King George's War (1744–1748, part of the European War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748).
- 1745 June 16 English capture of Louisbourg from the French.

 New England colonists organize their largest military operation of King George's War, an expedition against the great French fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island that guards the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

 William Pepperell commands the expedition of more than 4,000 men, supported by Royal Navy warships.

 Colonial troops come ashore on April 30, and French governor Louis Du Pont Duchambon surrenders Louisbourg on June 16. New Englanders are furious when the British government returns Louisbourg to France in exchange for Madras in India under the terms of the 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ends the war.
- 1754 May 28 Battle of Jumonville's Glen. Alarmed by French inroads into the Ohio Valley in territory claimed by Virginia, Virginia's Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie sends Lieutenant Colonel George Washington, some 150 militiamen, and a few native allies to dislodge the French

- from the confluence of the Allegheny River and Monongahela River, where they are erecting Fort Duquesne. Washington and some 47 men catch up with a French scouting force of 35 men under Ensign Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville near present-day Uniontown, Pennsylvania, on May 28, 1754. Washington wins the ensuing battle, with Jumonville and other surrendered French slain by the natives. This battle begins the French and Indian War (1754–1763).
- Jumonville's Glen, Washington orders construction of the aptly named Fort Necessity near present-day Uniontown, Pennsylvania. Captain Louis Coulon de Villiers, the slain Jumonville's brother, leads some 600 French Canadians and 100 native allies from Fort Duquesne. Following a brief battle on July 3, 1754, Washington and about 450 colonial militiamen surrender and are allowed to march back to Virginia with the honors of war. Both sides now begin mobilizing for a larger conflict.
- 1755 June 19–30 Bay of Fundy expedition. Provincial forces, accompanied by some British regulars, sail to the Bay of Fundy and capture two forts: St. John and Beausejour. With all of the Fundy area firmly under their control, the British exile the French Acadians in October.
- 1755 July 9 Battle of the Monongahela. In mid-April 1755, the new British commander in North America, Major General Edward Braddock, arrives in Virginia with two British regiments to take Fort Duquesne. On July 9, just west of the Monongahela River and about 10 miles short of his goal, Braddock's force of British and provincials is surprised by a French and native force of some 900 men (two-thirds natives) under Captain Daniel Liénard de Beaujeu. Braddock is mortally wounded, and the British abandon their baggage and withdraw. The French and natives lose 23 killed and 16 wounded, the British and provincials, 456 killed and 521 wounded.
- 1755 August 13–14 Battle of Oswego. Fearing British attacks from Oswego, New York, on Lake Ontario's southeastern shore and from the Champlain Valley against Montreal and the St. Lawrence River Valley, French governor-general Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil orders the French military commander in Canada, Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, to attack the vulnerable British outposts. Montcalm crosses Lake Ontario with 3,000 men and on August 13, 1755, begins bombarding British Fort Ontario, commanded by Colonel James Mercer. That night Mercer is forced to withdraw across the Oswego River to Fort Oswego. Montcalm attacks it the next morning. Mercer is killed, and the new commander, Lieutenant Colonel John Littlehales, surrenders Fort Oswego that day. The French capture nearly 1,600 men and camp followers, as well as 6 ships, 77

- artillery pieces, 12 tons of gunpowder, 200 tons of provisions, and more than sufficient specie to pay for the cost of the expedition. Montcalm razes the fort and withdraws. The French triumph at Oswego secures Lake Ontario and removes the threat to their western supply lines. Both sides then go into winter quarters.
- William Johnson leads 3,500 British colonists and 300 natives from Albany, New York, toward France's Fort St. Frédéric on Lake Champlain. To defend the fort against the British, Baron Ludwig A. Dieskau proceeds up the Richelieu River with 2,000 French regulars, Canadian militiamen, and natives. On September 8, 1755, Dieskau attacks Johnson's camp at the southern end of Lake George. Although Johnson prevails, he is forced to halt his advance. Johnson then constructs Fort William Henry at the southern end of the lake, and the French counter by building Fort Carillon at Ticonderoga to the north.
- 1755 August–September British expedition against Fort Niagara.
 Gov. William Shirley of Massachusetts leads some 1,000
 men from Albany, New York, up the Mohawk Valley
 toward Fort Niagara. Reaching Oswego, Shirley decides
 his force is inadequate to meet the reinforced French and
 withdraws.
- 1757 June–September Abortive British expedition against Louisbourg. This fortress on Cape Breton Island is a haven for French privateers operating against the New England fishing industry, and in late June 1757, British major general John Campbell, Lord Loudoun, arrives at Halifax from New York to lead an expedition of 12,000 men against Louisbourg. The French garrison has been reinforced and a French squadron has also arrived there. The British squadron under Vice Admiral Francis Holborne that was to operate in conjunction with the land force is scattered in a storm and forced to return to Britain for repairs. The expedition is called off.
- 1757 August 9 French capture of Britain's Fort William Henry.

 Taking advantage of the absence of British troops for the operation against Louisbourg, Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, moves from Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) with 6,000 French troops and militiamen and almost 2,000 allied natives to attack Britain's Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George. There Lieutenant Colonel George Monro has some 1,500 regulars and militia. In addition to a reduced garrison, the fort had undergone a surprise winter attack that also destroyed British ships protecting its water approaches.

 Montcalm is thus able to transport siege cannon via Lake George.

The siege opens on August 3, 1757. With the fort's walls crumbling and learning that he could not expect reinforcement, Monro surrenders on August 9. The terms

- provide safe passage to Fort Edward and retention of personal effects. Upset with the terms, natives enter the fort and scalp most of the British wounded and sick left behind as unable to travel. Then, as the British begin the march to Fort Edward, the natives attack the column. The few French escorts are powerless to intervene, and between 69 and 184 British are killed. Montcalm, dismayed by the violation of the surrender terms by his native allies, instead of proceeding to Fort Edward, burns Fort William Henry and returns north. Both sides then go into winter quarters.
- 1758 March British strategy for America. Prime Minister William
 Pitt is determined to defeat the French in North America.
 His three-pronged strategy for 1758 includes the capture
 of Louisbourg, Fort Duquesne, and Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga). These accomplished, the British will move
 against both Montreal and Quebec.
- 1758 July 8 Battle of Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga). In late June, the British commander in North America, Major General James Abercomby, leads 13,000 men down Lake George toward French Fort Carillon. Outnumbered at least three to one and knowing the fort cannot withstand a significant siege, the French commander, Major General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, orders construction of an outer position and deploys the bulk of his 4,200 defenders along it. On July 8, Abercromby orders at least six assaults of the line. All fail. Having sustained almost 2,500 casualties to only 400 for the defenders, Abercromby withdraws.
- 1758 July 27 British capture of Louisbourg. Anticipating an attack at Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, Major General Montcalm increases the size of the French squadron to 5 ships of the line and 6 other warships. In all, Louisbourg is defended by some 6,000 men. Major General Jeffery Amherst takes command of the British invasion force of 13,200 men, and Admiral Edward Boscawen commands 39 warships manned by 14,000 officers and men. The expeditionary force of 167 ships sails on May 29. On June 8, the British begin coming ashore in a contested landing. The governor of Louisbourg, Augustin de Boschenry de Drucour, carries out a capable defense, but once the British are ashore, it is largely a matter of time, and on July 26 Drucour surrenders. The siege claims British losses of 195 men killed and 363 wounded, and French losses of 400-800 killed and 3,600 prisoners, including 1,400 wounded. In addition, the British secure 216 guns. New France never recovers from the loss.
- 1758 August 27 British capture of Fort Frontenac. British colonel
 John Bradstreet leads 3,000 provincial troops up the
 Mohawk River to capture France's Fort Frontenac (modern Kingston, Ontario) at the entrance to the St.
 Lawrence on Lake Ontario.

- 1758 November 24 French forces abandon Fort Duquesne. In July 1758, British brigadier general John Forbes departs Carlisle, Pennsylvania, with some 7,000 men, 5,000 of them provincials, to march on Fort Duquesne. On September 14, 1758, a British advance force of 800 men is defeated by the French at Duquesne with the loss of 300 men, but Forbes perseveres. Abandoned by their native allies, cut off from Canada by the destruction of Fort Frontenac, and with Forbes less than a day's march away, the French burn Fort Duquesne on November 24 and depart. The next day the British occupy the remains.
- 1759 Spring Prime Minister William Pitt's strategy for Britiain's war in North America in 1759 calls for the capture of Fort Niagara to cut off western Canada from the St. Lawrence, an offensive up the Lake Champlain Valley to the St. Lawrence, and an assault on the French capital and stronghold of Quebec.
- 1759 July 25 British capture of Fort Niagara. British brigadier general John Prideaux leads 2,000 regulars up the Mohawk Valley to reoccupy Fort Oswego. The British then move by water along the south shore of Lake Ontario against Fort Niagara, commanded by Captain Pierre Pouchot de Maupas. Pouchot hopes to hold out until a French relief force can arrive from Fort Machault, but with its defeat in the Battle of La Belle Famille on July 24, he surrenders Fort Niagara the next day. Prideaux is killed during the siege.
- 1759 July 26 British capture of France's Fort Carillon. British major general Jeffery Amherst with 11,000 regulars moves against French Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) on Lake Champlain, taking it on July 26. On July 31, he captures Crown Point farther north, where he spends the winter.
- 1759 September 13 Battle of the Plains of Abraham (Quebec). The centerpiece of British strategy to win the war in America in 1759 is to capture the French stronghold/capital of Quebec. Major General James Wolfe commands the land force of some 9,000 men, and Rear Admiral Charles Saunders commands the naval component. Staging from Louisbourg, on June 26, Saunders lands Wolfe's men on an island in the St. Lawrence just below the city of Quebec. Major General Louis-Joseph de Montcalm commands some 12,000 French troops in the seemingly impregnable fortress city situated on high cliffs next to the river. After two months, several fruitless attempts, considerable illness, and the threat by Saunders to depart because of the onset of winter, on the night of September 12–13, Wolfe manages to get a small force up a difficult path to the heights. The remainder of Wolfe's force follows.

By the morning of September 13, Wolfe has 4,500 men on the Plains of Abraham before Quebec. Montcalm immediately attacks with 4,500 men. Unfortunately for

- the French, Montcalm's rival, Gov. Pierre François de Vaudreuil, refuses to release the city's artillery. The ensuing battle is hard-fought, but superior British discipline carries the day. Both commanders are mortally wounded. This most important battle in the history of North America secures British control of the continent.
- 1760 April 28 Battle of Sainte Foy (Second Battle of Quebec). Following their defeat at Quebec in September 1759, most French troops escape up the St. Lawrence River to Montreal under Montcalm's replacement, Major General François Gaston de Lévis. The British squadron departs in October but leaves behind at Quebec 7,300 men under Brigadier General James Murray. This number is soon halved by hunger, scurvy, and unusually cold weather. Had the French attacked that winter, they would have had an excellent chance of victory.

Because of the earlier ice-melt at Montreal, Lévis mobilizes his forces by mid-April and moves down the St. Lawrence toward Quebec with 6,900 men. On April 24, Lévis strikes inland and by the evening of April 27 skirmishes with British troops at Sainte Foy, five miles west of Quebec. The next day Murray marches out of Quebec with some 3,800 men, charges the French lines, and is defeated. The French suffer 833 casualties, the British 1,124. Lévis lays siege to Quebec, but the British Navy reestablishes its blockade of the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and in May their supply ships arrive at Quebec.

- 1760 September 8 Surrender of New France. With the arrival of British supply ships at Quebec, the French military commander in Canada, Major General François Gaston de Lévis, is forced to raise the siege of Quebec and withdraw to Montreal. Three British columns converge on that city. Brigadier General James Murray leads a British force up the St. Lawrence from Quebec, arriving at Varenne downstream from Montreal on August 31. Another British force under Colonel William Haviland moves up the Lake Champlain Valley and forces the French from Île-aux-Noix by August 25, while British major general Jeffery Amherst proceeds down the St. Lawrence River on August 10, forces the surrender of Fort Lévis by August 25, and arrives at Montreal from the west by September 6. Vastly outnumbered, New France's Gov. Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial capitulates on September 8, ending French rule of Canada.
- 1763 February 10 Treaty of Paris. France cedes to Britain the remainder of Acadia, Cape Breton Island, Canada, and the islands in the St. Lawrence. France retains fishing rights off the Newfoundland Banks and the tiny islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. France also yields all territory east of the Mississippi River, retaining only New Orleans, which along with the rest of Louisiana is ceded to Spain.

- 1763 May–November Pontiac's Rebellion (Pontiac's War).

 Native Americans, most of whom had supported the French in the war with the British, are unhappy with British rule and the policies of the British commander in chief in North America, Major General Jeffery Amherst.

 Ottawa chief Pontiac takes the lead in rousing natives from western New York to the Illinois River, abetted by Delaware mystic Neolin, known as the Prophet, who preaches a return to traditional ways.

 In May, forced to abort a surprise attack, Pontiac begins a long and unsuccessful siege of Detroit (May–
 - In May, forced to abort a surprise attack, Pontiac begins a long and unsuccessful siege of Detroit (May–November). Elsewhere, the natives capture Fort Sandusky on May 16, Fort Miami on May 27, and Fort Michilimackinac on June 2. In a two-week span, eight forts fall. The British victory in the Battle of Bushy Run of August 5–6 (see below) is the turning point. Although sporadic warfare continues for two years, most native groups soon conclude peace with the British by November.
- 1763 August 5–6 Battle of Bushy Run. Colonel Henry Bouquet leads 400 men from Fort Niagara to relieve Fort Pitt.

 About 30 miles from his goal, Bouquet's column is attacked by a large force of Delawares, Wyandots, Mingos, and Shawnees. In the battle, Bouquet's men drive off the attackers and continue on to Fort Pitt, relieving it on August 10.
- 1770 March 5 Boston Massacre. Increasing tensions between
 Bostonians and British soldiers erupt into violence. When
 British soldiers attempt to break up an unruly mob, a soldier fires his musket, resulting in a brief volley of fire that leaves 5 colonists dead and several more injured.
- 1771 May 16 Battle of Alamance Creek. In Guilford County, North Carolina, a battle occurs between 1,500 militiamen under the command of the royal governor, William Tryon, and 2,000–3,000 Regulators, farmers from the western counties protesting government corruption. In this largest violent confrontation between opposing forces of Anglo-

- Americans in the colonial period, the militiamen disperse the Regulators. Each side loses 9 men killed. Sixty-one militiamen are wounded, along with an unknown number of Regulators. Subsequently, 6 Regulators are convicted of treason and hanged, ending the insurrection.
- 1773 December 16 Boston Tea Party. Opposed to a tax on tea and monopoly by the British East India Tea Company that will undercut smuggled Dutch tea, a group of colonists, poorly disguised as Mohawk Indians, dump some 90,000 pounds of tea from British ships into Boston Harbor. London, tired of what it regards as continued colonial lawlessness, responds by suspending Massachusetts's charter and closing the port of Boston until the colonists pay for the tea.
- 1774 April–October Lord Dunmore's War. This conflict between colonists and natives begins in April 1774, when numbers of frontiersmen attack native settlements in the Ohio River Valley. Native retaliatory raids prompt Virginia's governor, John Murray, Fourth Earl Dunmore, to send 2,000 men into the area. Pennsylvanians and Virginians manipulate events as a means of subverting the Proclamation Line of 1763, which prohibits colonial settlement west of the Appalachians.
- 1774 October 10 Battle of Point Pleasant. Chief Cornstalk of the Shawnees leads 1,000 Shawnee, Mingo, Delaware, Wyandot, and Ottawa warriors in an attack on Colonel Andrew Lewis and 1,100 unsuspecting militia camped at Point Pleasant at the confluence of the Kanawha River and Ohio River. In a hard-fought battle, the attackers are scattered. The Virginians suffer some 75 killed and 150 wounded, and the Shawnees lose perhaps 33 dead. Cornstalk, who had wanted peace, secures it on October 19, 1774, when the natives surrender all claims to lands south and east of the Ohio River.

Spencer C. Tucker

Glossary

canister shot

A collection of small shot or other materials,

Defensive obstacle formed of felled trees with

abatis

banquette	sharpened limbs that face the route of enemy advance. See entry. A firing step for infantry at the base of the	(case shot)	such as nails or shrapnel, enclosed in a wooden or tin cylinder of a size appropriate to fit a cannon's muzzle. Meant for antipersonnel use at short range.
bastion	parapet. A projecting piece of a fortification, often in the form of an irregular pentagon.	cannon	A firearm of large enough size that it requires mounting on a carriage. Cannon generally fired solid, grape, and canister shot on a flat
bateau battery	See entry. An artillery position containing several guns.	carriage	trajectory. The wheeled support vehicle on which an
bayonet	A stabbing instrument made of steel and inserted into or around the muzzle of a musket or rifle.	colonel	artillery piece is mounted and carried. Superior officer of a regiment, ranking above
blockhouse	See entry.		the lieutenant colonel, who usually has actual command of the regiment. Colonels rank
blunderbuss	A short gun possessing a big bore and customarily an outward-spreading discharging muzzle.		immediately below general officers, specifi- cally brigadiers, and the rank is often hon-
bomb	An explosive projectile consisting of a hollow shell filled with gunpowder or other explosive material ignited by a fuse.	1	orary and conferred upon princes and distinguished officers.
breastwork	Rudimentary mass of earth erected for protec-	corporal	A noncommissioned military officer ranking above a private but below a sergeant.
	tion, usually temporarily. Often used to provide cover for cavalry or artillery or for troops	counterscarp	The outer wall of a ditch, which supports the covered way.
brig (brigantine)	encamped within artillery range of enemy forces. See entry (warships).	covered way	Protective path on top of the counterscarp but sunk behind the glacis.
brigadier (brigadier general)	Military rank between colonel and major general, usually denoting the commander of a brigade. Often a temporary rank, with the senior colonel of the combined regiments or battalions holding the rank.	crownwork	A single-fronted outwork consisting of a bastion joined by curtains to demibastions at either end. Crownworks occupied advantageous ground that would have been difficult to incorporate into a fort's primary defenses.

	Similar to a hornwork but containing a bastion in its center.	grenadier	Originally, a soldier employed to carry and throw grenades. As grenades declined in use
curtain	The section of the bastioned frontage of a fort that links two adjacent bastions.		in the early 18th century, the term was retained to denote elite units comprised of the tallest and finest men in a regiment.
cwt	Hundred weight. British system of weighing ordnance equaling 118 pounds. Weights of cannon were chiseled onto the piece in three	harquebus (arquebus)	See entry.
	figures: hundred weight, quarter hundred weight (28 pounds), and actual pounds. Thus 12.3.12 would mean a weight of 1,344 + 84 + 12, or 1,440 pounds.	hornwork	A single-fronted outwork comprised of two demibastions connected by a curtain. Horn- works occupied advantageous ground which would have been difficult to incorporate into a
demibastion	A work taking the shape of half a bastion, having one face and one flank.		fort's primary defenses. Similar to a crownwork, but lacking a bastion in its center.
demilune	A crescent-shaped or triangular outwork constructed outside of the main ditch and in front of a bastion.	howitzer	A short artillery piece, usually of light weight, used to fire small bombs or shells. A howitzer was more mobile and had greater range than a
ditch	Trench outside the curtain, between and forming the scarp and counterscarp. Could be wet or dry.		mortar but fired smaller projectiles at a lower trajectory. A howitzer differentiated from can- non in that it had a shorter range, higher tra- jectory, and fired explosive shells.
embrasure	An opening in a wall or parapet for the purpose of firing a gun through it. An embrasure's sides slanted outward so that it is wider on the inside than the outside, thus increasing the gun's angle of fire.	inspector general	British Army staff officer charged with reviewing all army requisitions accounts. Only after the inspector general had audited such requests and they had been approved by the commanding general would they be paid by
enfilade	Fire from artillery or muskets that rakes a position from one end to the other.	invest	the British Treasury. The action of seizing all of the approaches to a
ensign	A commissioned infantry officer of the lowest grade.		fort or fortress, thus cutting off support.
epaulement	A mass erected to provide protection from	lieutenant lieutenant colonel	Military officer next in rank to captain. Military officer ranking above a major but
fascine	enemy fire. Differs from a parapet. A bundle of sticks bound together to fill		below a colonel and having command of a regiment.
frigate	ditches, strengthen the sides of trenches, and build batteries. See entry (warships).	loophole	A hole or narrow slit in a wall wider inside than outside through which muskets could be
gabion	A cylindrical wicker basket open at both ends so that it may be easily filled with earth. Used in building fortifications.	lunette	fired. A projecting fieldwork consisting of two faces and two flanks. Similar to but larger than a redan.
garrison house	See entry. Incline that extends downward from a fort.	major	A military officer ranking above a captain but below a lieutenant colonel.
glacis	The glacis protects inner defenses from enemy artillery fire and exposes attacking infantry to artillery and musket fire from the parapet.	major general	A military officer ranking above a brigadier but below a lieutenant general. In colonial America, commanders in chief held the rank
grape shot	Small iron balls bound together with wire or cord, often in a canvas bag or around a wooden spindle, and forming a single charge		of major general. Officers appointed to direct campaigns also held this rank, though often temporarily.
aronado	for a cannon. A small bomb or explosive shall deterreted by	militia	See entry.
grenade	A small bomb or explosive shell detonated by a fuse and thrown by hand.	mortar	A short artillery piece possessing a large bore, trunnions at the breech, and capable of high-

	trajectory angle of fire. Used to fire explosive shells or bombs in a high arc.	scarp (escarp)	A steep bank or wall immediately in front of the curtain and forming the outer rampart or		
musket	See entry.		inner wall of the ditch.		
outwork	Fortification built outside the main walls of a fort or fortress.	schooner	See entry (warships).		
		scout	See entry.		
palisade	Fenced wall of upright and pointed logs fixed into a ground base. Also a stockade of sharp-	sergeant	A noncommissioned military officer ranking above a corporal.		
	ened posts for protection.	sergeant major	A noncommissioned military officer of the		
parapet	A wall of earth or stone used to cover troops		highest grade.		
	from enemy observation or fire. In permanent works, a protection against enemy fire raised on top of the rampart.	ship	See entry (warships).		
		sloop	See entry (warships).		
place d'armes	An open space for the assembling of troops.	snow	See entry (warships).		
(place of arms)		spontoon	A short pike or halberd carried by 18th-century infantry officers.		
presidio	Spanish term for a fort or fortified settlement.	sutler	See entry.		
private	An ordinary soldier holding no significant rank.	swivel	A small gun, usually no larger than a 1-		
privateer	See entry (privateering).		pounder, set on a mount that pivoted freely.		
provincial troops	See entry.		Swivels were used on both land and sea. On		
	An embankment of earth raised for the defense		ships, swivel guns were found mounted on the rails of smaller vessels in order to repel		
rampart	of a place, specifically against artillery, and		boarders.		
	usually surmounted by a parapet.	talus	An earthen slope inside a fort rising from the		
ranger	See entry.		parade to the terreplein.		
ranging	To move over a region so as to scout or reconnoiter.	tenaille	A small, low outwork consisting of two reentering angles and placed in front of the curtain		
ravelin	A triangular outwork consisting of two faces		and between two bastions.		
	that form a salient angle, constructed outside of the main ditch and in front of the curtain.	terreplein	The level platform on top of the rampart and behind the parapet on which guns are		
redan	A simple V-shaped fortification consisting of		emplaced.		
	two walls or faces that form a salient angle.	tomahawk	See entry.		
	Similar to but smaller than a lunette.	traverse	Barriers or parapets of earth raised at inter-		
redoubt	See entry.		vals on the covered way or terreplein to pro-		
revetment	A retaining wall supporting the face of a rampart or the side of a ditch.	trunnions	tect against enfilading fire. The knoblike projections on opposite sides of		
rifle	See entry.		a cannon, mortar, or howitzer, used to mount		
sachem	See entry.		and pivot the piece on a carriage.		
sap	A narrow, covered trench used to approach or	wampum	See entry.		
	undermine an enemy position.	war belt	See entry.		
scalping	See entry.	war club	See entry.		

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1. Treaty of Tordesillas, June 7, 1494

Introduction

In 1492, the Genoese (Italian) mariner Christopher Columbus claimed a small piece of the New World for Spain. His voyage opened up a vast new territory for European exploration and conquest. Spain and Portugal were already plying the Atlantic coast of Africa to trade in slaves. In 1493, at the request of Spain's King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, Pope Alexander VI decreed a longitudinal line to divide the New World and the Atlantic Ocean into Spanish and Portuguese spheres. Portugal protested, rightly, that the line's placement heavily favored Spain. In 1494, the two nations signed the Treaty of Tordesillas, which set a line considerably westward of the one set by papal decree, roughly between 48 and 49 degrees west longitude. Spain acquired the right to explore and conquer everything west of this line, while Portugal's sphere of influence encompassed everything east of the line. This division still gave Spain all of North and Central America and much of South America. Portugal received the right to much of present-day Brazil. The pope did not approve the new line set by the treaty until 1506, and other European powers did not recognize it at all. Ultimately, Portugal extended the borders of Brazil westward, far beyond the treaty line.

Primary Source

Don Ferdinand and Dona Isabella, by the grace of God king and queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galiciaj Majorca Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, Algarve, Algeciras, Gibraltar, and the Canary Islands, count and countess of Barcelona, lord and lady of Biscay and Molina, duke and duchess of Athens and Neopatras, count and countess of Roussillon and Cerdagne, marquis and marchioness of Oristano and Gociano, together with the Prince Don John, our very dear and very beloved first-born son, heir of our aforesaid kingdoms and lordships. Whereas by Don Enrique Enriques, our chief steward, Don Gutierre de Cardenas, chief commissary of Leon, our chief auditor, and Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, all members of our council, it was treated, adjusted, and agreed for us and in our name and by virtue of our power with the most serene Dom John, by the grace of God, king of Portugal and of the Algarves on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, lord of Guinea, our very dear and very beloved brother, and with Ruy de Sousa, lord of Sagres and Berenguel, Dom Joao de Sousa, his son, chief inspector of weights and measures of the said Most Serene King our brother, and Ayres de Almada, magistrate of the civil cases in his court and member of his desembargo, all members of the council of the aforesaid Most Serene King our brother, [and acting] in his name and by virtue of his power, his ambassadors, who came to us in regard to the controversy over what part belongs to us and what part to the said Most Serene King our brother, of that which up to this seventh day of the present month of June, the date of this instrument, is discovered in the ocean sea, in which said agreement our aforesaid representatives promised among other things that within a certain term specified in it we should sanction, confirm, swear to, ratify, and approve the abovementioned agreement in person: we, wishing to fulfill and fulfilling all that which was thus adjusted, agreed upon, and authorized in our name in regard to the above-mentioned, ordered the said instrument of the aforesaid agreement and treaty to be brought before us that we might see and examine it, the tenor of which, word for word, is as follows:

In the name of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three truly separate and distinct persons and only one divine essence. Be it manifest and known to all who shall see this public instrument, that at the village of Tordesillas, on the seventh day of the month of June, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ 1494, in the presence of us, the secretaries, clerks, and notaries public subscribed below, there being present the honorable Don Enrique Enriques, chief steward of the very exalted and very mighty princes, the lord and lady Don Ferdinand and Dona Isabella, by the grace of God king and queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, etc., Don Gutierre de Cardenas, chief auditor of the said lords, the king and queen, and Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, all members of the council of the said lords, the king and queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, etc., their qualified representatives of the one part, and the honorable Ruy de Sousa, lord of Sagres and Berenguel, Dom Juan de Sousa, his son, chief inspector of weights and measures of the very exalted and very excellent lord Dom John, by the grace of God king of Portugal and of the Algarves on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, lord of Guinea, and Ayres de Almada, magistrate of civil cases in his court and member of his desembargo, all of the council of the said lord King of Portugal, and his qualified ambassadors and representatives, as was proved by both the said parties by means of the letters of authorization and procurations from the said lords their constituents, the tenor of which, word for word, is as follows:

[Here follow the full powers granted by Ferdinand and Isabella to Don Enrique Enriques, Don Gutierre de Cardenas, and Dr. Rodrigo Maldonado on June 5, 1494; and the full powers granted by John II. to Ruy de Sousa, Joao de Sousa, and Ayres Almada on March 8, 1494.]

Thereupon it was declared by the above-mentioned representatives of the aforesaid King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, etc., and of the aforesaid King of Portugal and the Algarves, etc.:

[I.] That, whereas a certain controversy exists between the said lords, their constituents, as to what lands, of all those discovered in the ocean sea up to the present day, the date of this treaty, pertain to each one of the said parts respectively; therefore, for the sake of peace and concord, and for the preservation of the relationship and love of the said King of Portugal for the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., it being the pleasure of their Highnesses, they, their said representatives, acting in their name and by virtue of their powers herein described, covenanted and agreed that a boundary or straight line be determined and drawn north and south, from pole to pole, on the said ocean sea, from the Arctic to the Antarctic pole. This boundary or line shall be drawn straight, as aforesaid, at a distance of three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, being calculated by degrees, or by any other manner as may be considered the best and readiest, provided the distance shall be no greater than abovesaid. And all lands, both islands and mainlands, found and discovered already, or to be found and discovered hereafter, by the said King of Portugal and by his vessels on this side of the said line and bound determined as above, toward the east, in either north or south latitude, on the eastern side of the said bound provided the said bound is not crossed, shall belong to, and remain in the possession of, and pertain forever to, the said King of Portugal and his successors. And all other lands, both islands and mainlands, found or to be found hereafter, discovered or to be discovered hereafter, which have been discovered or shall be discovered by the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., and by their vessels, on the western side of the said bound, determined as above, after having passed the said bound toward the west, in either its north or south latitude, shall belong to, and remain in the possession of, and pertain forever to, the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, etc., and to their successors.

[2.] Item, the said representatives promise and affirm by virtue of the powers aforesaid, that from this date no ships shall be despatched—namely as follows: the said King and Queen of Castile,

Leon, Aragon, etc., for this part of the bound, and its eastern side, on this side the said bound, which pertains to the said King of Portugal and the Algarves, etc.; nor the said King of Portugal to the other part of the said bound which pertains to the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc.-for the purpose of discovering and seeking any mainlands or islands, or for the purpose of trade, barter, or conquest of any kind. But should it come to pass that the said ships of the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, etc., on sailing thus on this side of the said bound, should discover any mainlands or islands in the region pertaining, as abovesaid, to the said King of Portugal, such mainlands or islands shall pertain to and belong forever to the said King of Portugal and his heirs, and their Highnesses shall order them to be surrendered to him immediately. And if the said ships of the said King of Portugal discover any islands and mainlands in the regions of the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, etc., all such lands shall belong to and remain forever in the possession of the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, etc., and their heirs, and the said King of Portugal shall cause such lands to be surrendered immediately.

[3.] Item, in order that the said line or bound of the said division may be made straight and as nearly as possible the said distance of three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, as hereinbefore stated, the said representatives of both the said parties agree and assent that within the ten months immediately following the date of this treaty their said constituent lords shall despatch two or four caravels, namely, one or two by each one of them, a greater or less number, as they may mutually consider necessary. These vessels shall meet at the Grand Canary Island during this time, and each one of the said parties shall send certain persons in them, to wit, pilots, astrologers, sailors, and any others they may deem desirable. But there must be as many on one side as on the other, and certain of the said pilots, astrologers, sailors, and others of those sent by the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., and who are experienced, shall embark in the ships of the said King of Portugal and the Algarves; in like manner certain of the said persons sent by the said King of Portugal shall embark in the ship or ships of the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc.; a like number in each case, so that they may jointly study and examine to better advantage the sea, courses, winds, and the degrees of the sun or of north latitude, and lay out the leagues aforesaid, in order that, in determining the line and boundary, all sent and empowered by both the said parties in the said vessels, shall jointly concur. These said vessels shall continue their course together to the said Cape Verde Islands, from whence they shall lay a direct course to the west, to the distance of the said three hundred and seventy degrees, measured as the said persons shall agree, and measured without prejudice to the said parties. When this point is reached, such point will constitute the place and mark for measuring degrees of the sun or of north latitude either by daily runs measured in leagues, or in any other manner that shall mutually be deemed better. This said line shall be drawn north and south as aforesaid, from the said Arctic

pole to the said Antarctic pole. And when this line has been determined as abovesaid, those sent by each of the aforesaid parties, to whom each one of the said parties must delegate his own authority and power, to determine the said mark and bound, shall draw up a writing concerning it and affix thereto their signatures. And when determined by the mutual consent of all of them, this line shall be considered as a perpetual mark and bound, in such wise that the said parties, or either of them, or their future successors, shall be unable to deny it, or erase or remove it, at any time or in any manner whatsoever. And should, perchance, the said line and bound from pole to pole, as aforesaid, intersect any island or mainland, at the first point of such intersection of such island or mainland by the said line, some kind of mark or tower shall be erected, and a succession of similar marks shall be erected in a straight line from such mark or tower, in a line identical with the above-mentioned bound. These marks shall separate those portions of such land belonging to each one of the said parties; and the subjects of the said parties shall not dare, on either side, to enter the territory of the other, by crossing the said mark or bound in such island or mainland.

[4.] Item, inasmuch as the said ships of the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, etc., sailing as before declared, from their kingdoms and seigniories to their said possessions on the other side of the said line, must cross the seas on this side of the line, pertaining to the said King of Portugal, it is therefore concerted and agreed that the said ships of the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, etc., shall, at any time and without any hindrance, sail in either direction, freely, securely, and peacefully, over the said seas of the said King of Portugal, and within the said line. And whenever their Highnesses and their successors wish to do so, and deem it expedient, their said ships may take their courses and routes direct from their kingdoms to any region within their line and bound to which they desire to despatch expeditions of discovery, conquest, and trade. They shall take their courses direct to the desired region and for any purpose desired therein, and shall not leave their course, unless compelled to do so by contrary weather. They shall do this provided that, before crossing the said line, they shall not seize or take possession of anything discovered in his said region by the said King of Portugal; and should their said ships find anything before crossing the said line, as aforesaid, it shall belong to the said King of Portugal, and their Highnesses shall order it surrendered immediately. And since it is possible that the ships and subjects of the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, etc., or those acting in their name, may discover before the twentieth day of this present month of June, following the date of this treaty, some islands and mainlands within the said line, drawn straight from pole to pole, that is to say, inside the said three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, as aforesaid, it is hereby agreed and determined, in order to remove all doubt, that all such islands and mainlands found and discovered in any manner whatsoever up to the said twentieth day of this said month of June, although found by ships and subjects of the said King and Queen of

Castile, Aragon, etc., shall pertain to and remain forever in the possession of the said King of Portugal and the Algarves, and of his successors and kingdoms, provided that they lie within the first two hundred and fifty leagues of the said three hundred and seventy leagues reckoned west of the Cape Verde Islands to the abovementioned line—in whatsoever part, even to the said poles, of the said two hundred and fifty leagues they may be found, determining a boundary or straight line from pole to pole, where the said two hundred and fifty leagues end. Likewise all the islands and mainlands found and discovered up to the said twentieth day of this present month of June by the ships and subjects of the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., or in any other manner, within the other one hundred and twenty leagues that still remain of the said three hundred and seventy leagues where the said bound that is to be drawn from pole to pole, as aforesaid, must be determined, and in whatever part of the said one hundred and twenty leagues, even to the said poles,—they that are found up to the said day shall pertain to and remain forever in the possession of the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., and of their successors and kingdoms; just as whatever is or shall be found on the other side of the said three hundred and seventy leagues pertaining to their Highnesses, as aforesaid, is and must be theirs, although the said one hundred and twenty leagues are within the said bound of the said three hundred and seventy leagues pertaining to the said King of Portugal, the Algarves, etc., as aforesaid.

And if, up to the said twentieth day of this said month of June, no lands are discovered by the said ships of their Highnesses within the said one hundred and twenty leagues, and are discovered after the expiration of that time, then they shall pertain to the said King of Portugal as is set forth in the above.

The said Don Enrique Enriques, chief steward, Don Gutierre de Cardenas, chief auditor, and Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, representatives of the said very exalted and very mighty princes, the lord and lady, the king and queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, etc., by virtue of their said power, which is incorporated above, and the said Ruy de Sousa, Dom Joao de Sousa, his son, and Arias de Almadana, representatives and ambassadors of the said very exalted and very excellent prince, the lord king of Portugal and of the Algarves on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, lord of Guinea, by virtue of their said power, which is incorporated above, promised, and affirmed, in the name of their said constituents, [saying that they and their successors and kingdoms and lordships, forever and ever, would keep, observe, and fulfill, really and effectively, renouncing all fraud, evasion, deceit, falsehood, and pretense, everything set forth in this treaty, and each part and parcel of it; and they desired and authorized that everything set forth in this said agreement and every part and parcel of it be observed, fulfilled, and performed as everything which is set forth in the treaty of peace concluded and ratified between the said lord and lady, the king and queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., and the lord Dom Alfonso,

king of Portugal (may he rest in glory) and the said king, the present ruler of Portugal, his son, then prince in the former year of 1479, must be observed, fulfilled, and performed, and under those same penalties, bonds, securities, and obligations, in accordance with and in the manner set forth in the said treaty of peace. Also they bound themselves [by the promise] that neither the said parties nor any of them nor their successors forever should violate or oppose that which is abovesaid and specified, nor any part or parcel of it, directly or indirectly, or in any other manner at any time, or in any manner whatsoever, premeditated or not premeditated, or that may or can be, under the penalties set forth in the said agreement of the said peace; and whether the fine be paid or not paid, or graciously remitted, that this obligation, agreement, and treaty shall continue in force and remain firm, stable, and valid forever and ever. That thus they will keep, observe, perform, and pay everything, the said representatives, acting in the name of their said constituents, pledged the property, movable and real, patrimonial and fiscal, of each of their respective parties, and of their subjects and vassals, possessed and to be possessed. They renounced all laws and rights of which the said parties or either of them might take advantage to violate or oppose the foregoing or any part of it; and for the greater security and stability of the aforesaid, they swore before God and the Blessed Mary and upon the sign of the Cross, on which they placed their right hands, and upon the words of the Holy Gospels, wheresoever they are written at greatest length, and on the consciences of their said constituents, that they, jointly and severally, will keep, observe, and fulfill all the aforesaid and each part and parcel of it, really and effectively, renouncing all fraud, evasion, deceit, falsehood, and pretense, and that they will not contradict it at any time or in any manner. And under the same oath they swore not to seek absolution or release from it from our most Holy Father or from any other legate or prelate who could give it to them. And even though, proprio motu, it should be given to them, they will not make use of it; rather, by this present agreement, they, acting in the said name, entreat our most Holy Father that his Holiness be pleased to confirm and approve this said agreement, according to what is set forth therein; and that he order his bulls in regard to it to be issued to the parties or to whichever of the parties may solicit them, with the tenor of this agreement incorporated therein, and that he lay his censures upon those who shall violate or oppose it at any time whatsoever. Likewise, the said representatives, acting in the said names, bound themselves under the same penalty and oath, that within the one hundred days next following, reckoned from the day of the date of this agreement, the parties would mutually exchange the approbation and ratification of this said agreement, written on parchment, signed with the names of the said lords, their constituents, and sealed with their hanging leaden seals; and that the instrument which the said lords, the king and queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., should have to issue, must be signed, agreed to, and sanctioned by the very noble and most illustrious lord, Prince Don Juan, their son. Of all the foregoing they authorized two copies, both of the same tenor exactly, which they signed with their

names and executed before the undersigned secretaries and notaries public, one for each party. And whichever copy is produced, it shall be as valid as if both the copies which were made and executed in the said town of Tordesillas, on the said day, month, and year aforesaid, should be produced. The chief deputy, Don Enrique, Ruy de Sousa, Dom Juan de Sousa, Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, Licentiate Ayres. Witnesses who were present and who saw the said representatives and ambassadors sign their names here and execute the aforesaid, and take the said oath: The deputy Pedro de Leon and the deputy Fernando de Torres, residents of the town of Valladolid, the deputy Fernando de Gamarra, deputy of Zagra and Cenete, contino of the house of the said king and queen, our lords, and Joao Suares de Sequeira, Ruy Leme, and Duarte Pacheco, continos of the house of the said King of Portugal, summoned for that purpose. And I, Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, secretary of the king and queen, our lords, member of their council, and their scrivener of the high court of justice, and notary public in their court and throughout their realms and lordships, witnessed all the aforesaid, together with the said witnesses and with Estevan Vaez, secretary of the said King of Portugal, who by the authority given him by the said king and queen, our lords, to certify to this act in their kingdoms, also witnessed the abovesaid; and at the request and with the authorization of all the said representatives and ambassadors, who in my presence and his here signed their names, I caused this public instrument of agreement to be written. It is written on these six leaves of paper, in entire sheets, written on both sides, together with this leaf, which contains the names of the aforesaid persons and my sign; and the bottom of every page is marked with the notarial mark of my name and that of the said Estevan Vaez. And in witness I here make my sign, which is thus. In testimony of truth: Fernando Alvarez. And I, the said Estevan Vaez (who by the authority given me by the said lords, the king and queen of Castile, and of Leon, to make it public throughout their kingdoms and lordships, together with the said Fernando Alvarez, at the request and summons of the said ambassadors and representatives witnessed everything), in testimony and assurance thereof signed it here with my public sign, which is thus.

The said deed of treaty, agreement, and concord, above incorporated, having been examined and understood by us and by the said Prince Don John, our son, we approve, commend, confirm, execute, and ratify it, and we promise to keep, observe, and fulfill all the abovesaid that is set forth therein, and every part and parcel of it, really and effectively. We renounce all fraud, evasion, falsehood, and pretense, and we shall not violate or oppose it, or any part of it, at any time or in any manner whatsoever. For greater security, we and the said prince Don John, our son, swear before God and Holy Mary, and by the words of the Holy Gospels, wheresoever they are written at greatest length, and upon the sign of the Cross upon which we actually placed our right hands, in the presence of the said Ruy de Sousa, Dom Joao de Sousa, and Licentiate Ayres de Almada, ambassadors and representatives of the said Most Serene King of

Portugal, our brother, thus to keep, observe, and fulfill it, and every part and parcel of it, so far as it is incumbent upon us, really and effectively, as is abovesaid, for ourselves and for our heirs and successors, and for our said kingdoms and lordships, and the subjects and natives of them, under the penalties and obligations, bonds and abjurements set forth in the said contract of agreement and concord above written. In attestation and corroboration whereof, we sign our name to this our letter and order it to be sealed with our leaden seal' hanging by threads of colored silk. Given in the town of Arevalo, on the second day of the month of July, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1494.

I, THE KING. I, THE QUEEN. I, THE PRINCE.

I, FERNANDO ALVAREZ de Toledo, secretary of the king and of the queen, our lords, have caused it to be written by their mandate. . . . doctor.

Source: Davenport, Frances Gardiner, ed. *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies*. Vol. I. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1917.

2. Pedro de Ayala, Letter to Spain regarding John Cabot's Voyage, 1497

Introduction

England's first landfall on the far side of the Atlantic Ocean occurred during the 1497 voyage of the Italian mariner John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto). Only five years earlier, Christopher Columbus had crossed the Atlantic and discovered, or rediscovered, the New World, in the form of an island in the Caribbean. Cabot had immigrated to England and tried to raise funds for a transatlantic voyage. The king, on hearing of Columbus's triumph for Spain, gave Cabot a patent to explore and to profit from his discoveries. English merchants provided financial support. Cabot's account of his voyage has been lost, and no other firsthand accounts exist. Historians debate the exact location of Cabot's landfall, advancing theories about various locations in Labrador, Newfoundland, and Cape Breton Island. Regardless, Cabot's discovery formed the basis for England's future claims in North America. The following year, the Spanish ambassador to England wrote to his king and queen about Cabot's 1497 expedition and a second expedition then in progress. (The fate of Cabot's 1498 expedition is unknown.) The ambassador reported that Cabot's discoveries actually belonged to Spain under the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas, but that the king of England disagreed.

Primary Source

London, December 18, 1497

I think your majesties have already heard that the King of England has equipped a fleet in order to discover certain islands and mainland which he was informed some people from Bristol, who manned

a few ships for the same purpose last year, had found. I have seen the map which the discoverer has made, who is another Genoese, like Colon [and?] who has been in Seville and in Lisbon, asking assistance for this discovery. The people of Bristol have, for the last seven years, sent out every year two, three, or four light ships [caravelas], in search of the island of Brazil and the seven cities, according to the fancy of this Genoese. The King determined to send out [ships], because, the year before, they brought certain news that they had found land. The fleet consisted of five vessels, which carried provisions for one year. It is said that one of them, in which another Fai [friar?] Buil went, has returned to Ireland in great distress, the ship being much damaged. The Genoese continued his voyage. I, having seen the route which they took, and the distance they sailed, find that what they have found, or what they are in search of, is what your Highnesses already possess since it is, in fine, what fell to your Highnesses by the treaty with Portugal. It is expected that they will be back in the month of September. I inform your Highnesses in regard to it. The king of England has often spoken to me on this subject. He hoped to derive great advantage from it. I think it is not further distant than four hundred leagues. I told him that, in my opinion, the land was already in the possession of your Majesties; but, though I gave him my reasons, he did not like it. Because I believe that your Highnesses will presently receive information in regard to all this matter, and the chart or map which this man has made, I do not now send it; it is here and it, according to my opinion, is false, in order to make it appear that they are not the said islands.

Source: Edward Bourne, ed., *The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906).

3. Giovanni da Verrazano,Report on the Voyage of Verrazano,1524 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Giovanni da Verrazano was, like Columbus and Cabot, an Italian mariner sailing under the flag of a foreign nation. Like many other Florentines of his time, he may have had family and business connections in France. When Verrazano proposed a voyage of discovery to the king of France, Portuguese diplomats in France heard of it and grew alarmed that he might trespass on their interests in Brazil. The Verrazano expedition set out in January 1524 in a single vessel to search for a western passage to China. The *Dauphine* reached the coast of North America at present-day North Carolina near its border with South Carolina. There the mariners went ashore and met the native inhabitants. Verrazano continued exploring along the coast, sailing as far north as present-day Newfoundland before returning to France. Verrazano's report, prepared immediately on his return, demonstrates his understanding that he had reached an entirely new land, and that a large land mass

lay between Europe and Asia. His voyage formed the basis of France's claims to land in North America. Verrazano made two more transatlantic voyages in search of Asia: in 1526–1527 to Brazil and in 1528 to Florida and the Caribbean, where he was killed by native islanders.

Primary Source

The Written Record of the Voyage of 1524 of Giovanni da Verrazano as recorded in a letter to Francis I, King of France, July 8th, 1524

Since the storm that we encountered in the northern regions, Most Serene King, I have not written to tell Your Majesty of what happened to the four ships which you sent out over the Ocean to explore new lands, as I thought that you had already been informed of everything—how we were forced by the fury of the winds to return in distress to Brittany with only the Normandy and the Dauphine, and that after undergoing repairs there, we began our voyage with these two ships, equipped for war, following the coasts of Spain, as Your Most Serene Majesty will have heard; and then according to our new plan, we continued the original voyage with only the Dauphine; now on our return from this voyage, I will tell Your Majesty of what we found.

We set sail with the Dauphine from the deserted rock near the Island of Madeira, which belongs to the Most Serene King of Portugal, on the XVII day of January last; we had fifty men, and were provided with food for eight months, with arms and other articles of war, and naval munitions; we sailed westward on the gentle breath of a light easterly wind. In XXV days we covered eight hundred leagues. On the XXIIII day of February we went through a storm as violent as ever sailing man encountered. We were delivered from it with the divine help and goodness of the ship, whose glorious name and happy destiny enabled her to endure the violent waves of the sea. We continued on our westerly course, keeping rather to the north. In another XXV days we sailed more than four hundred leagues, where there appeared a new land which had never been seen before by any man, either ancient or modern. At first it appeared to be rather low-lying; having approached to within a quarter of a league, we realized that it was inhabited, for huge fires had been built on the seashore. We saw that the land stretched southward, and coasted along it in search of some port where we might anchor the ship and investigate the nature of the land, but in fifty leagues we found no harbor or place where we could stop with the ship. Seeing that the land continued to the south, we decided to turn and skirt it toward the north, where we found the land we had sighted earlier. So we anchored off the coast and sent the small boat in to land. We had seen many people coming to the seashore, but they fled when they saw us approaching; several times they stopped and turned around to look at us in great wonderment. We reassured them with various signs, and some of them came up, showing great delight at seeing us and marveling at our clothes, appearance, and our whiteness; they showed us by various signs where we could most easily secure the boat, and offered

us some of their food. We were on land, and I shall now tell Your Majesty briefly what we were able to learn of their life and customs.

They go completely naked except that around their loins they wear skins of small animals like martens, with a narrow belt of grass around the body, to which they tie various tails of other animals which hang down to the knees; the rest of the body is bare, and so is the head. Some of them wear garlands of birds' feathers. They are dark in color, not unlike the Ethiopians, with thick black hair, not very long, tied back behind the head like a small tail. As for the physique of these men, they are well proportioned, of medium height, a little taller than we are. They have broad chests, strong arms, and the legs and other parts of the body are well composed. There is nothing else, except that they tend to be rather broad in the face: but not all, for we saw many with angular faces. They have big black eyes, and an attentive and open look. They are not very strong, but they have a sharp cunning, and are agile and swift runners. From what we could tell from observation, in the last two respects they resemble the Orientals, particularly those from the farthest Sinarian regions. We could not learn the details of the life and customs of these people because of the short time we spent on land, due to the fact that there were few men, and the ship was anchored on the high seas. Not far from these people, we found others on the shore whose way of life we think is similar. I will now tell Your Majesty about it, and describe the situation and nature of this land. The seashore is completely covered with fine sand XV feet deep, which rises in the form of small hills about fifty paces wide. After climbing farther, we found other streams and inlets from the sea which come in by several mouths, and follow the ins and outs of the shoreline. Nearby we could see a stretch of country much higher than the sandy shore, with many beautiful fields and plains full of great forests, some sparse and some dense; and the trees have so many colors, and are so beautiful and delightful that they defy description. And do not think, Your Majesty, that these forests are like the Hyrcanian Forest or the wild wastelands of Scythia and the northern countries, full of common trees; they are adorned and clothed with palms, laurel, cypress, and other varieties of tree unknown in our Europe. And these trees emit a sweet fragrance over a large area, the nature of which we could not examine for the reason stated above, not because we found it difficult to get through the forests—indeed, they are nowhere so dense as to be impenetrable. We think that they belong to the Orient by virtue of the surroundings, and that they are not without some kind of narcotic or aromatic liquor. There are other riches, like gold, which ground of such a color usually denotes. There is an abundance of animals, stags, deer, hares; and also of lakes and pools of running water with various types of bird, perfect for all the delights and pleasures of the hunt. This land lies at 34 degrees. The air is salubrious and pure, and free from the extremes of heat and cold; gentle winds blow in these regions, and the prevailing winds in summertime, which was beginning when we were there, are northwest and westerly; the sky is clear and cloudless, with infrequent rain, and if occasionally the south winds bring in clouds and murkiness, they are dispelled in an instant, and the sky is once more clear and bright; the sea is calm and unruffled, its waves gentle. And although the whole shore tends to be low and has no harbors, it is not dangerous for sailors, since it is quite distinct and without rocks; the water is deep, for at four or five paces from land it is at least XX feet deep whatever the tide, and this depth increases in relation to the distance from the shore. With such good coastal conditions, no ship in distress in a storm could perish in these parts unless she broke her ropes. And we proved this by experience; for several times at the beginning of March, when the winds usually blow fiercely in any region, we were overwhelmed by storms as we lay at anchor at sea, and we found the anchor broken rather than torn from the seabed or moved at all. We left this place and continued to follow the coast, which we found veered to the east. All along it we saw great fires because of the numerous inhabitants; we anchored oft the shore, since there was no harbor, and because we needed water we sent the small boat ashore with XXV men. The sea along the coast was churned up by enormous waves because of the open beach, and so it was impossible to put anyone ashore without endangering the boat. We saw many people on the beach making various friendly signs, and beckoning us ashore; and there I saw a magnificent deed, as Your Majesty will hear. We sent one of our young sailors swimming ashore to take the people some trinkets, such as little bells, mirrors, and other trifles, and when he came within four fathoms of them, he threw them the goods and tried to turn back, but he was so tossed about by the waves that he was carried up onto the beach half dead. Seeing this, the native people immediately ran up; they took him by the head, the legs, and arms and carried him some distance away. Whereupon the youth, realizing he was being carried away like this, was seized with terror, and began to utter loud cries. They answered him in their language to show him he should not be afraid. Then they placed him on the ground in the sun, at the foot of a small hill, and made gestures of great admiration, looking at the whiteness of his flesh and examining him from head to foot. They took oft his shirt and shoes and hose, leaving him naked, then made a huge fire next to him, placing him near the heat. When the sailors in the boat saw this, they were filled with terror, as always when something new occurs, and thought the people wanted to roast him for food. After remaining with them for a while, he regained his strength, and showed them by signs that he wanted to return to the ship. With the greatest kindness, they accompanied him to the sea, holding him close and embracing him; and then to reassure him, they withdrew to a high hill and stood watching him until he was in the boat. The youth learned the following about these people: they are dark in color like the other [tribes], their skin is very glossy, they are of medium height, their faces are more clear-cut, their body and other limbs much more delicate and much less powerful, but they are more quick-witted. He saw nothing else. We left this place still following the coast which veered somewhat to the north, and after fifty leagues we reached another land which seemed much more beautiful and full of great forests. We anchored there, and with XX men

we penetrated about two leagues inland, to find that the people had fled in terror into the forests. Searching everywhere, we met with a very old woman and a young girl of XVIII to XX years, who had hidden in the grass in fear. The old woman had two little girls whom she carried on her shoulders, and clinging to her neck a boy—they were all about eight years old. The young woman also had three children, but all girls. When we met them, they began to shout. The old woman made signs to us that the men had fled to the woods. We gave her some of our food to eat, which she accepted with great pleasure; the young woman refused everything and threw it angrily to the ground. We took the boy from the old woman to carry back to France, and we wanted to take the young woman, who was very beautiful and tall, but it was impossible to take her to the sea because of the loud cries she uttered. And as we were a long way from the ship and had to pass through several woods, we decided to leave her behind, and took only the boy. We found these people whiter than the previous ones; they were dressed in certain grasses that hang from the branches of the trees and which they weave with different threads of wild hemp. Their heads are bare and of the same shape as the others. On the whole they live on pulses, which are abundant and different from ours in color and size, but are excellent and have a delicious taste; otherwise they live by hunting fish and birds, which they catch with bows and snares. They make [the bows] of hard wood, the arrows of reeds, and at the point they put the bones of fish and other animals. The wild animals here are much more ferocious than in Europe because they are continually being molested by hunters. We saw many of their little boats made out of a single tree, twenty feet long and four feet wide, which are put together without stone, iron or any other kind of metal. For in the whole country, in the area of two hundred leagues that we covered, we did not see a single stone of any kind. They use the fourth element [fire] and burn the wood as much as necessary to hollow out the boat: they do the same for the stern and the prow so that when it sails it can plow through the waves of the sea. The land is like the previous one in situation, fertility, and beauty; the woods are sparse; the land is covered with different types of trees, but they are not so fragrant, since there it is more northern and cold. We saw there many vines growing wild, which climb up around the trees as they do in Cisalpine Gaul: they would doubtless produce excellent wines if they were properly cultivated, for several times we found the dry fruit sweet and pleasant, not unlike our own. The people must value them, because wherever they grow, the bushes around them are removed so that the fruit can ripen better. We found wild roses, violets, and lilies, and many kinds of herbs and fragrant flowers different from ours. We did not find out about their houses, as they were in the interior of the country. We think from the many signs we saw that they are built of wood and grasses; we also think from various conjectures and signs that many of them who sleep in the country have nothing but the sky for cover. We learned nothing more of them. We think that all the others of the country we visited earlier live in the same way. After staying here for three days, anchored off the coast, we decided to leave because of the scarcity

of ports, and we continued to follow the coast to the northeast, sailing only during the day and casting anchor at night. After a hundred leagues we found a very agreeable place between two small but prominent hills; between them a very wide river, deep at its mouth, flowed out into the sea; and with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet, any laden ship could have passed from the sea into the river estuary. Since we were anchored off the coast and well sheltered, we did not want to run any risks without knowing anything about the river mouth. So we took the small boat up this river to land which we found densely populated. The people were almost the same as the others, dressed in birds' feathers of various colors, and they came toward us joyfully, uttering loud cries of wonderment, and showing us the safest place to beach the boat. We went up this river for about half a league, where we saw that it formed a beautiful lake, about three leagues in circumference. About XXX of their small boats ran to and fro across the lake with innumerable people aboard who were crossing from one side to the other to see us. Suddenly, as often happens in sailing, a violent unfavorable wind blew in from the sea, and we were forced to return to the ship, leaving the land with much regret on account of its favorable conditions and beauty; we think it was not without some properties of value, since all the hills showed signs of minerals. We weighed anchor, and sailed eastward since the land veered in that direction, and we covered LXXX leagues, always keeping in sight of land. We discovered a triangular-shaped island, ten leagues from the mainland, similar in size to the island of Rhodes; it was full of hills, covered in trees, and highly populated to judge by the fires we saw burning continually along the shore. We baptized it in the name of your illustrious mother but did not anchor there because the weather was unfavorable. We reached another land XV leagues from the island, where we found an excellent harbor; before entering it, we saw about XX boats full of people who came around the ship uttering various cries of wonderment. They did not come nearer than fifty paces, but stopped to look at the structure of our ship, our persons, and our clothes; then all together they raised a loud cry which meant that they were joyful. We reassured them somewhat by imitating their gestures, and they came near enough for us to throw them a few little bells and mirrors and many trinkets, which they took and looked at, laughing, and then they confidently came on board ship. Among them were two kings, who were as beautiful of stature and build as I can possibly describe. The first was about XXXX years old, the other a young man of XXIIII, and they were dressed thus: the older man had on his naked body a stag skin, skillfully worked like damask with various embroideries; the head was bare, the hair tied back with various bands, and around the neck hung a wide chain decorated with many different-colored stones. The young man was dressed in almost the same way. These people are the most beautiful and have the most civil customs that we have found on this voyage. They are taller than we are; they are a bronze color, some tending more toward whiteness, others to a tawny color; the face is clear-cut; the hair is long and black, and they take great pains to decorate it; the eyes are black and alert, and their

manner is sweet and gentle, very like the manner of the ancients. I shall not speak to Your Majesty of the other parts of the body, since they have all the proportions belonging to any well-built man. Their women are just as shapely and beautiful; very gracious, of attractive manner and pleasant appearance; their customs and behavior follow womanly custom as far as befits human nature; they go nude except for a stag skin embroidered like the men's, and some wear rich lynx skins on their arms; their bare heads are decorated with various ornaments made of braids of their own hair which hang down over their breasts on either side. Some have other hair arrangements such as the women of Egypt and Syria wear, and these women are older and have been joined in wedlock. Both men and women have various trinkets hanging from their ears as the Orientals do; and we saw that they had many sheets of worked copper which they prize more than gold. They do not value gold because of its color; they think it the most worthless of all, and rate blue and red above all other colors. The things we gave them that they prized the most were little bells, blue crystals, and other trinkets to put in the ear or around the neck. They did not appreciate cloth of silk and gold, nor even of any other kind, nor did they care to have them; the same was true for metals like steel and iron, for many times when we showed them some of our arms, they did not admire them, nor ask for them, but merely examined the workmanship. They did the same with mirrors; they would look at them quickly, and then refuse them, laughing. They are very generous and give away all they have. We made great friends with them, and one day before we entered the harbor with the ship, when we were lying at anchor one league out to sea because of unfavorable weather, they came out to the ship with a great number of their boats; they had painted and decorated their faces with various colors, showing us that it was a sign of happiness. They brought us some of their food, and showed us by signs where we should anchor in the port for the ship's safety, and then accompanied us all the way until we dropped anchor. We stayed there for XV days, taking advantage of the place to refresh ourselves. Every day the people came to see us on the ship, bringing their womenfolk. They are very careful with them, for when they come aboard and stay a long time, they make the women wait in the boats; and however many entreaties we made or offers of various gifts, we could not persuade them to let the women come on board ship. One of the two kings often came with the queen and many attendants for the pleasure of seeing us, and at first they always stopped on a piece of ground about two hundred paces away from us, and sent a boat to warn us of their arrival, saying they wanted to come and see the ship: they did this as a kind of precaution. And once they had a reply from us, they came immediately, and watched us for a while; but when they heard the irksome clamor of the crowd of sailors, they sent the queen and her maidens in a light little boat to wait on a small island about a quarter of a league from us. The king remained a long while, discussing by signs and gestures various fanciful notions, looking at all the ship's equipment; and asking especially about its uses; he imitated our manners, tasted our food, and then courteously took his leave of us. Sometimes when our men stayed on a

small island near the ship for two or three days for their various needs, as is the custom of sailors, he would come with seven or eight of his attendants, watch our operations, and often ask us if we wanted to stay there any length of time, offering us all his help. Then he would shoot his bow and run and perform various games with his men to give us pleasure. We frequently went five to six leagues into the interior, and found it as pleasant as I can possibly describe, and suitable for every kind of cultivation-grain, wine, or oil. For there the fields extend for XXV to XXX leagues; they are open and free of any obstacles or trees, and so fertile that any kind of seed would produce excellent crops. Then we entered the forests, which could be penetrated even by a large army; the trees there are oaks, cypresses, and others unknown in our Europe. We found Lucullian apples, plums, and filberts, and many kinds of fruit different from ours. There is an enormous number of animals-stags, deer, lynx, and other species; these people, like the others, capture them with snares and bows, which are their principal weapons. Their arrows are worked with great beauty, and they tip them not with iron but with emery, jasper, hard marble, and other sharp stones. They use the same kind of stone instead of iron for cutting trees, and make their little boats with a single log of wood, hollowed out with admirable skill; there is ample room in them for fourteen to XV men; they operate a short oar, broad at the end, with only the strength of their arms, and they go to sea without any danger, and as swiftly as they please. When we went farther inland we saw their houses, which are circular in shape, about XIIII to XV paces across, made of bent saplings; they are arranged without any architectural pattern, and are covered with cleverly worked mats of straw which protect them from wind and rain. There is no doubt that if they had the skilled workmen that we have, they would erect great buildings, for the whole maritime coast is full of various blue rocks, crystals, and alabaster, and for such a purpose it has an abundance of ports and shelter for ships. They move these houses from one place to another according to the richness of the site and the season. They need only carry the straw mats, and so they have new houses made in no time at all. In each house there lives a father with a very large family, for in some we saw XXV to XXX people. They live on the same food as the other people—pulse (which they produce with more systematic cultivation than the other tribes, and when sowing they observe the influence of the moon, the rising of the Pleiades, and many other customs derived from the ancients), and otherwise on game and fish. They live a long time, and rarely fall sick; if they are wounded, they cure themselves with fire without medicine; their end comes with old age. We consider them very compassionate and charitable toward their relatives, for they make great lamentations in times of adversity, recalling in their grief all their past happiness. At the end of their life, the relatives perform together the Sicilian lament, which is mingled with singing and lasts a long time. This is all that we could learn of them. . . . Having supplied all our needs, we left this port on the sixth day of May and continued along the coast, never losing sight of land. We sailed one hundred and fifty leagues and found the land similar in nature, but

somewhat higher, with several mountains which all showed signs of minerals. We did not land there because the weather was favorable and helped us in sailing along the coast: we think it resembles the other. The shore ran eastward. At a distance of fifty leagues, keeping more to the north, we found high country full of very dense forests, composed of pines, cypresses, and similar trees which grow in cold regions. The people were quite different from the others, for while the previous ones had been courteous in manner, these were full of crudity and vices, and were so barbarous that we could never make any communication with them, however many signs we made to them. They were clothed in skins of bear, lynx, sea-wolf and other animals. As far as we could judge from several visits to their houses, we think they live on game, fish, and several fruits which are a species of root which the earth produces itself. They have no pulse, and we saw no sign of cultivation, nor would the land be suitable for producing any fruit or grain on account of its sterility. If we wanted to trade with them for some of their things, they would come to the seashore on some rocks where the breakers were most violent, while we remained in the little boat, and they sent us what they wanted to give on a rope, continually shouting to us not to approach the land; they gave us the barter quickly, and would take in exchange only knives, hooks for fishing, and sharp metal. We found no courtesy in them, and when we had nothing more to exchange and left them, the men made all the signs of scorn and shame that any brute creature would make. Against their wishes, we penetrated two or three leagues inland with XXV armed men, and when we disembarked on the shore, they shot at us with their bows and uttered loud cries before fleeing into the woods. We did not find anything of great value in this land, except for the vast forests and some hills which could contain some metal: for we saw many natives with "paternostri" beads of copper in their ears. We departed, skirting the coast in a northeasterly direction; we found the country more beautiful, open and bare of trees, with high mountains in the interior which slope down toward the seashore. In fifty leagues we discovered XXXII islands, all near the continent: they were small and pleasant in appearance, but high, and followed the curve of the land; some beautiful ports and channels were formed between them, such as those formed in the Adriatic Gulf in Illyria and Dalmatia. We made no contact with the people and we think they were, like the others, devoid of manners and humanity. After sailing CL leagues in a northeasterly direction we approached the land which the Britons once found, which lies in 50 degrees; and since we had exhausted all our naval stores and provisions, and had discovered seven hundred leagues or more of new land, we took on supplies of water and wood, and decided to return to France. Due to the lack of [a common] language, we were unable to find out by signs or gestures how much religious faith these people we found possess. We think they have neither religion nor laws, that they do not know of a First Cause or Author, that they do not worship the sky, the stars, the sun, the moon, or other planets, nor do they even practice any kind of idolatry; we do not know whether they offer any sacrifices or other prayers, nor are there any temples or churches of prayer among their peoples. We consider that they have no religion and that they live in absolute freedom, and that everything they do proceeds from Ignorance; for they are very easily persuaded, and they imitated everything that they saw us Christians do with regard to divine worship, with the same fervor and enthusiasm that we had.

[...]

All this land or New World which we have described above is joined together, but is not linked with Asia or Africa (we know this for certain), but could be joined to Europe by Norway or Russia; this would be false according to the ancients, who declare that almost all the north has been navigated from the promontory of the Cimbri to the Orient, and affirm that they went around as far as the Caspian Sea itself. Therefore the continent would lie between two seas, to the east and west; but these two seas do not in fact surround either of the two continents. for beyond 54 degrees south from the Equator the New World extends eastward for a great distance, and to the north of the Equator it passes 66 degrees and continues eastward as far as 70 degrees. I hope that with Your Majesty's help we shall have more certain knowledge of this; may God Almighty prosper you in everlasting glory, so that we may see the perfect end to our cosmography, and that the sacred word of the gospel may be fulfilled: "their sound has gone out into every land." In the ship "Dauphine" on the VIII day of July. M.D. XXIIII.

Humble servant JANUS VERAZANUS.

Source: Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano*, 1524–1528 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1970).

4. The First Relation of Jacques Cartier, 1534

Introduction

Jacques Cartier was born in a French coastal town in 1491. Veteran of many North Atlantic fishing expeditions, Cartier received a commission from the king of France to sail to North America and build on Verrazano's 1524 success. Like earlier European explorers, he was to seek the still hoped-for passage to Asia, as well as search for gold, spices, and other valuable trade goods. Cartier set sail from France in April 1534. He explored the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and returned to France with two natives. The following year, the king placed Cartier in command of another, larger expedition. Returning to the Saint Lawrence and guided by the two natives, Cartier reached present-day Quebec and Montreal. His party spent a brutal winter at Quebec and many died. When spring came, Cartier abducted several Iroquois chiefs and returned to France. This second voyage established the first French presence in Canada and made lasting enemies of the Iroquois. The king ordered another expedition in 1541 to establish a more lasting colony in the face of Spanish claims. After another brutal winter, Cartier again abandoned Quebec. France lost interest in the region until Samuel de

Champlain returned decades later. Either Cartier or one of his men wrote this firsthand account.

Primary Source

How our men set up a great Crosse upon the poynt of the sayd Porte, and the Captaine of those wild men, after a long Oration, was by our Captain appeased, and contented that two of his Children should goe with him.

Upon the 25 of the moneth, wee caused a faire high Crosse to be made of the height of thirty foote, which was made in the presence of many of them, upon the point of the entrance of the sayd haven, in the middest whereof we hanged up a Shield with three Floure de Luces in it, and in the top was carved in the wood with Anticke letters this posie, Vive le Roy de France. Then before them all we set it upon the sayd point. They with great heed beheld both the making and setting of it up.

So soone as it was up, we altogether kneeled downe before them, with our hands toward Heaven, yeelding God thankes: and we made signes unto them, shewing them the Heavens, and that all our salvation dependeth onely on him which in them dwelleth: whereat they shewed a great admiration, looking first one at another, and then upon the Crosse. And after wee were returned to our ships, their Captaine clad with an old Beares skin, with three of his sonnes, and a brother of his with him, came unto us in one of their boates, but they came not so neere us as they were wont to doe: there he made a long Oration unto us, shewing us the crosse we had set up, and making a crosse with two fingers, then did he shew us all the Countrey about us, as if he would say that all was his, and that wee should not set up any crosse without his leave. His talke being ended, we shewed him an Axe, faining that we would give it him for his skin, to which he listned, for by little and little hee came neere our ships. One of our fellowes that was in our boate, tooke hold on theirs, and suddenly leapt into it, with two or three more, who enforced them to enter into our ships, whereat they were greatly astonished. But our Captain did straightwaies assure them, that they should have no harme, nor any injurie offred them at all, and entertained them very friendly, making them eate and drinke. Then did we shew them with signes, that the crosse was but onely set up to be as a light and leader which wayes to enter into the port, and that wee would shortly come againe, and bring good store of iron wares and other things, but that we would take two of his children with us, and afterward bring them to the sayd port againe: and so wee clothed two of them in shirts, and coloured coates, with red cappes, and put about every ones necke a copper chaine, whereat they were greatly contented: then gave they their old clothes to their fellowes that went backe againe, and we gave to each one of those three that went backe, a hatchet, and some knives, which made them very glad. After these were gone, and had told the newes unto their fellowes, in the afternoone there came to our ships sixe boates of them, with five or sixe men in every one, to take their farewels of those two we had detained to take with us, and brought them some fish, uttering many words which we did not understand, making signes that they would not remove the crosse we had set up.

How after we were departed from the sayd porte, following our voyage along the sayd coast, we went to discover the land lying Southeast, and Northwest.

The next day, being the 25 of the moneth, we had faire weather, and went from the said port: and being out of the river, we sailed East-northeast, for after the entrance into the said river, the land is environed about, and maketh a bay in maner of halfe a circle, where being in our ships, we might see all the coast sayling behind, which we came to seeke, the land lying Southeast and Northwest, the course of which was distant from the river about twentie leagues.

Source: Henry S. Burrage, ed. *Early English and French Voyages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906).

5. Accounts of Spanish Explorers, 1536, 1539, and 1540 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Between 1492 and the first Spanish landfall in the present-day United States, Spain had established a presence in the Caribbean and brutally conquered the Aztecs in Mexico. Impressed by the wealth won by Hernán Cortés in Mexico, Spaniards turned northward in search of precious metals. In 1528, Pánfilo de Narváez landed his expedition on Tampa Bay, in Florida. Failing to find riches, the men were defeated by the Apalachee Indians and fled to the coast. After Narváez and others drowned in a shipwreck off Texas, the survivors became captives of the natives. Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and three companions, who spent eight years among the Indians, were the only ones to eventually be returned to their countrymen, in 1536. Cabeza de Vaca repeated rumors of great wealth in the interior of North America, and this inspired other Spaniards to explore the region. In 1539, Hernando de Soto landed an expedition in Florida and cut a swath of pillage and destruction through the Southeast, finally crossing the Mississippi River and entering the Great Plains. In 1540, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado entered the Southwest from Mexico in search of the rumored cities of gold. He too killed and pillaged with abandon, but failed to find the fabled riches.

Primary Source

Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca to Holy Roman Emperor Charles V of what befell the armament in the Indies whither Pánfilo de Narváez went for Governor from the year 1527 to 1537

SACRED CAESARIAN CATHOLIC MAJESTY:

Among the many who have held sway, I think no prince can be found whose service has been attended with the ardor and emula-

tion shown for that of your Highness at this time. The inducement is evident and powerful: men do not pursue together the same career without motive, and strangers are observed to strive with those who are equally impelled by religion and loyalty.

Although ambition and love of action are common to all, as to the advantages that each may gain, there are great inequalities of fortune, the result not of conduct, but only accident, nor caused by the fault of anyone, but coming in the providence of God and solely by His will. Hence to one arises deeds more signal than he thought to achieve; to another the opposite in every way occurs, so that he can show no higher proof of purpose than his effort, and at times even this is so concealed that it cannot of itself appear.

As for me, I can say in undertaking the march I made on the main by the royal authority, I firmly trusted that my conduct and services would be as evident and distinguished as were those of my ancestors and that I should not have to speak in order to be reckoned among those who for diligence and fidelity in affairs your Majesty honors. Yet, as neither my counsel nor my constancy availed to gain aught for which we set out, agreeably to your interests, for our sins, no one of the many armaments that have gone into those parts has been permitted to find itself in straits great like ours, or come to an end alike forlorn and fatal. To me, one only duty remains, to present a relation of what was seen and heard in the ten years I wandered lost and in privation through many and remote lands. Not merely a statement of positions and distances, animals and vegetation, but of the diverse customs of the many and very barbarous people with whom I talked and dwelt, as well as all other matters I could hear of and discern, that in some way I may avail your Highness. My hope of going out from among those nations was always small, still my care and diligence were none the less to keep in particular remembrance everything, that if at any time God our Lord should will to bring me where I now am, it might testify to my exertion in the royal behalf.

As the narrative is in my opinion of no trivial value to those who in your name go to subdue those countries and bring them to a knowledge of the true faith and true Lord, and under the imperial dominion, I have written this with much exactness; and although in it may be read things very novel and for some persons difficult to believe, nevertheless they may without hesitation credit me as strictly faithful. Better than to exaggerate, I have lessened in all things, and it is sufficient to say the relation is offered to your Majesty for truth. I beg it may be received in the name of homage, since it is the most that one could bring who returned thence naked. . . .

Our arrival at Apalache

When we came in view of Apalachen, the Governor ordered that I should take nine cavalry with fifty infantry and enter the town. Accordingly the assessor and I assailed it; and having got in, we found only women and boys there, the men being absent; however

these returned to its support, after a little time, while we were walking about, and began discharging arrows at us. They killed the horse of the assessor, and at last taking to flight, they left us.

We found a large quantity of maize fit for plucking, and much dry that was housed; also many deer-skins, and among them some mantelets of thread, small and poor, with which the women partially cover their persons. There were numerous mortars for cracking maize. The town consisted of forty small houses, made low, and set up in sheltered places because of the frequent storms. The material was thatch. They were surrounded by very dense woods, large groves and many bodies of fresh water, in which so many and so large trees are fallen, that they form obstructions rendering travel difficult and dangerous. . . .

Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto

How the Governor arrived at Palache, and was informed that there was much gold inland.

On the twenty-third day of September the Governor left Napetaca, and went to rest at a river, where two Indians brought him a deer from the cacique of Uzachil; and the next day, having passed through a large town called Hapaluya, he slept at Uzachil. He found no person there; for the inhabitants, informed of the deaths at Napetaca, dared not remain. In the town was found their food, much maize, beans, and pumpkins, on which the Christians lived. The maize is like coarse millet; the pumpkins are better and more savory than those of Spain.

Two captains having been sent in opposite directions, in quest of Indians, a hundred men and women were taken, one or two of whom were chosen out for the Governor, as was always customary for officers to do after successful inroads, dividing the others among themselves and companions. They were led off in chains, with collars about the neck, to carry luggage and grind corn, doing the labor proper to servants. Sometimes it happened that, going with them for wood or maize, they would kill the Christian, and flee, with the chain on, which others would file at night with a splinter of stone, in the place of iron, at which work, when caught, they were punished, as a warning to others, and that they might not do the like. The women and youths, when removed a hundred leagues from their country, no longer cared, and were taken along loose, doing the work, and in a very little time learning the Spanish language.

From Uzachil the Governor went towards Apalache, and at the end of two days' travel arrived at a town called Axille. After that, the Indians having no knowledge of the Christians, they were come upon unawares, the greater part escaping, nevertheless, because there were woods near town. The next day, the first of October, the Governor took his departure in the morning, and ordered a bridge to be made over a river which he had to cross. The depth there, for

a stone's throw, was over the head, and afterward the water came to the waist, for the distance of a crossbow-shot, where was a growth of tall and dense forest, into which the Indians came, to ascertain if they could assail the men at work and prevent a passage; but they were dispersed by the arrival of crossbowmen, and some timbers being thrown in, the men gained the opposite side and secured the way. On the fourth day of the week, Wednesday of St. Francis, the Governor crossed over and reached Uitachuco, a town subject to Apalache, where he slept. He found it burning, the Indians having set it on fire.

Thenceforward the country was well inhabited, producing much corn, the way leading by many habitations like villages. Sunday, the twenty-fifth of October, he arrived at the town of Uzela, and on Monday at Anhayca Apalache, where the lord of all that country and province resided. The camp-master, whose duty it is to divide and lodge the men, quartered them about the town, at the distance of half a league to a league apart. There were other towns which had much maize, pumpkins, beans, and dried plums of the country, whence were brought together at Anhayca Apalache what appeared to be sufficient provision for the winter. These *ameixas* are better than those of Spain, and come from trees that grow in the fields without being planted.

Informed that the sea was eight leagues distant, the Governor directly sent a captain thither, with cavalry and infantry, who found a town called Ochete, eight leagues on the way; and, coming to the coast, he saw where a great tree had been felled, the trunk split up into stakes, and with the limbs made into mangers. He found also the skulls of horses. With these discoveries he returned, and what was said of Narvaez was believed to be certain, that he had there made boats, in which he left the country, and was lost in them at sea. Presently Juan de Añasco made ready to go to the port of Espiritu Santo, taking thirty cavalry, with orders from the Governor to Calderon, who had remained there, that he should abandon the town, and bring all the people to Apalache.

In Uzachill, and other towns on the way, Añasco found many people who had already become careless; still, to avoid detention, no captures were made, as it was not well to give the Indians sufficient time to come together. He went through the towns at night, stopping at a distance from the population for three or four hours, to rest, and at the end of ten days arrived at the port. He despatched two caravels to Cuba, in which he sent to Doña Ysabel twenty women brought by him from Ytara and Potano, near Cale; and, taking with him the foot-soldiers in the brigantines, from point to point along the coast by sea, he went towards Palache. Calderon with the cavalry, and some crossbowmen of foot, went by land. The Indians at several places beset him, and wounded some of the men. On his arrival, the Governor ordered planks and spikes to be taken to the coast for building a piragua, into which thirty men entered well armed from the bay, going to and coming from sea, waiting the

arrival of the brigantines, and sometimes fighting with the natives, who went up and down the estuary in canoes. On Saturday, the twenty-ninth of November, in a high wind, an Indian passed through the sentries undiscovered, and set fire to the town, two portions of which, in consequence, were instantly consumed.

On Sunday, the twenty-eighth of December, Juan de Añasco arrived; and the Governor directed Francisco Maldonado, captain of infantry, to run the coast to the westward with fifty men, and look for an entrance; proposing to go himself in that direction by land on discoveries. The same day, eight men rode two leagues about the town in pursuit of Indians, who had become so bold that they would venture up within two crossbow-shot of the camp to kill our people. Two were discovered engaged in picking beans, and might have escaped, but a woman being present, the wife of one of them, they stood to fight. Before they could be killed, three horses were wounded, one of which died in a few days. Calderon going along the coast near by, the Indians came out against him from a wood, driving him from his course, and capturing from many of his company a part of their indispensable subsistence.

Three or four days having elapsed beyond the time set for the going and return of Maldonado, the Governor resolved that, should he not appear at the end of eight days, he would go thence and wait no longer; when the captain arrived, bringing with him an Indian from a Province called Ochus, sixty leagues from Apalache, and the news of having found a sheltered port with a good depth of water. The Governor was highly pleased, hoping to find a good country ahead; and he sent Maldonado to Havana for provisions, with which to meet him at that port of his discovery, to which he would himself come by land; but should he not reach there that summer, then he directed him to go back to Havana and return there the next season to await him, as he would make it his express object to march in quest of Ochus.

Francisco Maldonado went, and Juan de Guzman remained instead, captain of his infantry. Of the Indians taken in Napetuca, the treasurer, Juan Gaytan, brought a youth with him, who stated that he did not belong to that country, but to one afar in the direction of the sun's rising, from which he had been a long time absent visiting other lands; that its name was Yupaha, and was governed by a woman, the town she lived in being of astonishing size, and many neighboring lords her tributaries, some of whom gave her clothing, others gold in quantity. He showed how the metal was taken from the earth, melted, and refined, exactly as though he had seen it all done, or else the Devil had taught him how it was; so that they who knew aught of such matters declared it impossible that he could give that account without having been an eye-witness; and they who beheld the signs he made, credited all that was understood as certain. . . .

How the Indians rose upon the Governor, and what followed upon that rising.

The Governor, in view of the determination and furious answer of the cacique, thought to soothe him with soft words; to which he made no answer, but, with great haughtiness and contempt, withdrew to where Soto could not see nor speak to him. The Governor, that he might send word to the cacique for him to remain in the country at his will, and to be pleased to give him a guide, and persons to carry burdens, that he might see if he could pacify him with gentle words, called to a chief who was passing by. The Indian replied, loftily, that he would not listen to him. Baltasar de Gallegos, who was near, seized him by the cloak of marten-skins that he had on, drew it off over his head, and left it in his hands; whereupon, the Indians all beginning to rise, he gave him a stroke with a cutlass, that laid open his back, when they, with loud yells, came out of the houses, discharging their bows.

The Governor, discovering that if he remained there they could not escape, and if he should order his men, who were outside of the town, to come in, the horses might be killed by the Indians from the houses and great injury done, he ran out; but before he could get away he fell two or three times, and was helped to rise by those with him. He and they were all badly wounded: within the town five Christians were instantly killed. Coming forth, he called out to all his men to get farther off, because there was much harm doing from the palisade. The natives discovering that the Christians were retiring, and some, if not the greater number, at more than a walk, the Indians followed with great boldness, shooting at them, or striking down such as they could overtake. Those in chains having set down their burdens near the fence while the Christians were retiring, the people of Mauilla lifted the loads on to their backs, and, bringing them into the town, took off their irons, putting bows and arms in their hands, with which to fight. Thus did the foe come into possession of all the clothing, pearls, and whatsoever else the Christians had beside, which was what their Indians carried. Since the natives had been at peace as far as to that place, some of us, putting our arms in the luggage, had gone without any; and two, who were in the town, had their swords and halberds taken from them, and put to use.

The Governor, presently as he found himself in the field, called for a horse, and, with some followers, returned and lanced two or three of the Indians; the rest, going back into the town, shot arrows from the palisade. Those who would venture on their nimbleness came out a stone's throw from behind it, to fight, retiring from time to time, when they were set upon.

At the time of the affray there was a friar, a clergyman, a servant of the Governor, and a female slave in the town, who, having no time in which to get away, took to a house, and there remained until after the Indians became masters of the place. They closed the entrance with a lattice door; and there being a sword among them, which the servant had, he put himself behind the door, striking at the Indians that would have come in; while, on the other side, stood the friar and the priest, each with a club in hand, to strike down the first that

should enter. The Indians, finding that they could not get in by the door, began to unroof the house: at this moment the cavalry were all arrived at Mauilla, with the infantry that had been on the march, when a difference of opinion arose as to whether the Indians should be attacked, in order to enter the town; for the result was held doubtful, but finally it was concluded to make the assault.

How the Governor set his men in order of battle and entered the town of Mauilla.

So soon as the advance and the rear of the force were come up, the Governor commanded that all the best armed should dismount, of which he made four squadrons of footmen. The Indians, observing how he was going on arranging his men, urged the cacique to leave, telling him, as was afterwards made known by some women who were taken in the town, that as he was but one man, and could fight but as one only, there being many chiefs present very skilful and experienced in matters of war, anyone of whom was able to command the rest, and as things in war were so subject to fortune, that it was never certain which side would overcome the other, they wished him to put his person in safety; for if they should conclude their lives there, on which they had resolved rather than surrender, he would remain to govern the land: but for all that they said, he did not wish to go, until, from being continually urged, with fifteen or twenty of his own people he went out of the town, taking with him a scarlet cloak and other articles of the Christians' clothing, being whatever he could carry and that seemed best to him.

The Governor, informed that the Indians were leaving the town, commanded the cavalry to surround it; and into each squadron of foot he put a soldier, with a brand, to set fire to the houses, that the Indians might have no shelter. His men being placed in full concert, he ordered an arquebuse to be shot off: at the signal the four squadrons, at their proper points, commenced a furious onset, and, both sides severely suffering, the Christians entered the town. The friar, the priest, and the rest who were with them in the house, were all saved, though at the cost of the lives of two brave and very able men who went thither to their rescue. The Indians fought with so great spirit that they many times drove our people back out of the town. The struggle lasted so long that many Christians, weary and very thirsty, went to drink at a pond near by, tinged with the blood of the killed, and returned to the combat. The Governor, witnessing this, with those who followed him in the returning charge of the footmen, entered the town on horseback, which gave opportunity to fire the dwellings; then breaking in upon the Indians and beating them down, they fled out of the place, the cavalry and infantry driving them back through the gates, where, losing the hope of escape, they fought valiantly; and the Christians getting among them with cutlasses, they found themselves met on all sides by their strokes, when many, dashing headlong into the flaming houses, were smothered, and, heaped one upon another, burned to death.

They who perished there were in all two thousand five hundred, a few more or less: of the Christians there fell eighteen, among whom was Don Carlos, brother-in-law of the Governor; one Juan de Gamez, a nephew; Men. Rodriguez, a Portuguese; and Juan Vazquez, of Villanueva de Barcarota, men of condition and courage; the rest were infantry. Of the living, one hundred and fifty Christians had received seven hundred wounds from the arrow; and God was pleased that they should be healed in little time of very dangerous injuries. Twelve horses died, and seventy were hurt. The clothing the Christians carried with them, the ornaments for saying mass, and the pearls, were all burned there; they having set the fire themselves, because they considered the loss less than the injury they might receive of the Indians from within the houses, where they had brought the things together.

The Governor learning in Mauilla that Francisco Maldonado was waiting for him in the port of Ochuse, six days' travel distant, he caused Juan Ortiz to keep the news secret, that he might not be interrupted in his purpose; because the pearls he wished to send to Cuba for show, that their fame might raise the desire of coming to Florida, had been lost, and he feared that, hearing of him without seeing either gold or silver, or other thing of value from that land, it would come to have such reputation that no one would be found to go there when men should be wanted: so he determined to send no news of himself until he should have discovered a rich country. . . .

How the Governor set out from Mauilla to go to Chicaça, and what befell him.

From the time the Governor arrived in Florida until he went from Mauilla, there died one hundred and two Christians, some of sickness, others by the hand of the Indians. Because of the wounded, he stopped in that place twenty-eight days, all the time remaining out in the fields. The country was a rich soil, and well inhabited: some towns were very large, and were picketed about. The people were numerous everywhere, the dwellings standing a crossbow-shot or two apart.

On Sunday, the eighteenth of November the sick being found to be getting on well, the Governor left Mauilla, taking with him a supply of maize for two days. He marched five days through a wilderness, arriving in a province called Pafallaya, at the town Taliepataua; and thence he went to another, named Cabusto, near which was a large river, whence the Indians on the farther bank shouted to the Christians that they would kill them should they come over there. He ordered the building of a piragua within the town, that the natives might have no knowledge of it; which being finished in four days, and ready, he directed it to be taken on sleds half a league up stream, and in the morning thirty men entered it, well armed. The Indians discovering what was going on, they who were nearest went to oppose the landing, and did the best they could; but the Christians drawing near, and the piragua being about to reach the shore, they fled into some cane-brakes. The men on horses went up the river to

secure a landing place, to which the Governor passed over, with the others that remained. Some of the towns were well stored with maize and beans.

Thence towards Chicaça the Governor marched five days through a desert, and arrived at a river, on the farther side of which were Indians, who wished to arrest his passage.

In two days another piragua was made, and when ready he sent an Indian in it to the cacique, to say, that if he wished his friendship he should quietly wait for him; but they killed the messenger before his eyes, and with loud yells departed. He crossed the river the seventeenth of December, and arrived the same day at Chicaça, a small town of twenty houses. There the people underwent severe cold, for it was already winter, and snow fell: the greater number were then lying in the fields, it being before they had time to put up habitations. The land was thickly inhabited, the people living about over it as they do in Mauilla; and as it was fertile, the greater part being under cultivation, there was plenty of maize. So much grain was brought together as was needed for getting through with the season.

Some Indians were taken, among whom was one the cacique greatly esteemed. The Governor sent an Indian to the cacique to say, that he desired to see him and have his friendship. He came, and offered him the services of his person, territories, and subjects: he said that he would cause two chiefs to visit him in peace. In a few days he returned with them, they bringing their Indians. They presented the Governor one hundred and fifty rabbits, with clothing of the country, such as shawls and skins. The name of the one was Alimamu, of the other Nicalasa. . . .

Account of the Expedition to Cibola, 1540, by Pedro de Castañeda, of Najera.

To me it seems very certain, my very noble lord, that it is a worthy ambition for great men to desire to know and wish to preserve for posterity correct information concerning the things that have happened in distant parts, about which little is known. I do not blame those inquisitive persons who, perchance with good intentions, have many times troubled me not a little with their requests that I clear up for them some doubts which they have had about different things that have been commonly related concerning the events and occurrences that took place during the expedition to Cibola, or the New Land, which the good viceroy—may he be with God in His glory-Don Antonio de Mendoza, ordered and arranged, and on which he sent Francisco Vazquez de Coronado as captain-general. In truth, they have reason for wishing to know the truth, because most people very often make things of which they have heard, and about which they have perchance no knowledge, appear either greater or less than they are. They make nothing of those things that amount to something, and those that do not they make so remarkable that they appear to be something impossible to believe. This may very well have been caused by the fact that, as that country was not permanently occupied, there has not been anyone who was willing to spend his time in writing about its peculiarities, because all knowledge was lost of that which it was not the pleasure of God—He alone knows the reason—that they should enjoy. In truth, he who wishes to employ himself thus in writing out the things that happened on the expedition, and the things that were seen in those lands, and the ceremonies and customs of the natives, will have matter enough to test his judgment, and I believe that the result can not fail to be an account which, describing only the truth, will be so remarkable that it will seem incredible.

And besides, I think that the twenty years and more since that expedition took place have been the cause of some stories which are related. For example, some make it an uninhabitable country, others have it bordering on Florida, and still others on Greater India, which does not appear to be a slight difference. They are unable to give any basis upon which to found their statements. There are those who tell about some very peculiar animals, who are contradicted by others who were on the expedition, declaring that there was nothing of the sort seen. Others differ as to the limits of the provinces and even in regard to the ceremonies and customs, attributing what pertains to one people to others. All this has had a large part, my very noble lord, in making me wish to give now, although somewhat late, a short general account for all those who pride themselves on this noble curiosity, and to save myself the time taken up by these solicitations. Things enough will certainly be found here which are hard to believe. All or the most of these were seen with my own eyes, and the rest is from reliable information obtained by inquiry of the natives themselves. Understanding as I do that this little work would be nothing in itself, lacking authority, unless it were favored and protected by a person whose authority would protect it from the boldness of those who, without reverence, give their murmuring tongues liberty, and knowing as I do how great are the obligations under which I have always been, and am, to your grace, I humbly beg to submit this little work to your protection. May it be received as from a faithful retainer and servant. It will be divided into three parts, that it may be better understood. The first will tell of the discovery and the armament or army that was made ready, and of the whole journey, with the captains who were there; the second, of the villages and provinces which were found, and their limits, and ceremonies and customs, the animals, fruits, and vegetation, and in what parts of the country these are; the third, of the return of the army and the reasons for abandoning the country, although these were insufficient, because this is the best place there is for discoveries—the marrow of the land in these western parts, as will be seen. And after this has been made plain, some remarkable things which were seen will be described at the end, and the way by which one might more easily return to discover that better land which we did not see, since it would be no small advantage to enter the country through the land which the Marquis of the Valley, Don Fernando Cortes, went in search of under the Western star, and which cost him no small sea armament. May it please our Lord to so favor me that with my slight knowledge and small abilities I may be able by relating the truth to make my little work pleasing to the learned and wise readers, when it has been accepted by your grace. For my intention is not to gain the fame of a good composer or rhetorician, but I desire to give a faithful account and to do this slight service to your grace, who will, I hope, receive it as from a faithful servant and soldier, who took part in it. Although not in a polished style, I write that which happened—that which I heard, experienced, saw, and did.

I always notice, and it is a fact, that for the most part when we have something valuable in our hands, and deal with it without hindrance, We do not value or prize it so highly as if we understood how much we should miss it after we had lost it, and the longer we continue to have it the less we value it; but after We have lost it and miss the advantages of it, we have a great pain in the heart, and we are all the time imagining and trying to find ways and means by which to get it back again. It seems to me that this has happened to all or most of those who went on the expedition which, in the year of our Savior Jesus Christ 1540, Francisco Vazquez Coronado led in search of the Seven Cities. Granted that they did not find the riches of which they had been told, they found a place in which to search for them and the beginning of a good country to settle in, so as to go on farther from there. Since they came back from the country which they conquered and abandoned, time has given them a chance to understand the direction and locality in which they were, and the borders of the good country they had in their hands, and their hearts weep for having lost so favorable an opportunity. Just as men see more at the bullfight when they are upon the seats than when they are around in the ring, now when they know and understand the direction and situation in which they were, and see, indeed, that they can not enjoy it nor recover it, now when it is too late they enjoy telling about what they saw, and even of what they realize that they lost, especially those who are now as poor as when they went there. They have never ceased their labors and have spent their time to no advantage. I say this because I have known several of those who came back from there who amuse themselves now by talking of how it would be to go back and proceed to recover that which is lost, while others enjoy trying to find the reason why it was discovered at all. And now I will proceed to relate all that happened from the beginning.

In the year 1530 Nuño de Guzman, who was President of New Spain, had in his possession an Indian, a native of the valley or valleys of Oxitipar, who was called Tejo by the Spaniards. This Indian said he was the son of a trader who was dead, but that when he was a little boy his father had gone into the back country with fine feathers to trade for ornaments, and that when he came back he brought a large amount of gold and silver, of which there is a good deal in that country. He went with him once or twice, and saw some very large vil-

lages, which he compared to Mexico and its environs. He had seen seven very large towns which had streets of silver workers. It took forty days to go there from his country, through a wilderness in which nothing grew, except some very small plants about a span high. The way they went was up through the country between the two seas, following the northern direction. Acting on this information, Nuño de Guzman got together nearly 400 Spaniards and 20,000 friendly Indians of New Spain, and, as he happened to be in Mexico, he crossed Tarasca, which is in the province of Michoacan, so as to get into the region which the Indian said was to be crossed toward the North Sea, in this way getting to the country which they were looking for, which was already named "The Seven Cities." He thought, from the forty days of which the Tejo had spoken, that it would be found to be about 200 leagues, and that they would easily be able to cross the country. Omitting several things that occurred on this journey, as soon as they had reached the province of Culiacan, where his government ended, and where the New Kingdom of Galicia is now, they tried to cross the country, but found the difficulties very great, because the mountain chains which are near that sea are so rough that it was impossible, after great labor, to find a passageway in that region. His whole army had to stay in the district of Culiacan for so long on this account that some rich men who were with him, who had possessions in Mexico, changed their minds, and every day became more anxious to return. Besides this, Nuño de Guzman received word that the Marquis of the Valley, Don Fernando Cortes, had come from Spain with his new title, and with great favors and estates, and as Nuño de Guzman had been a great rival of his at the time he was president, and had done much damage to his property and to that of his friends, he feared that Don Fernando Cortes would want to pay him back in the same way, or worse. So he decided to establish the town of Culiacan there and to go back with the other men, without doing anything more. After his return from this expedition, he founded Xalisco, where the city of Compostela is situtated, and Tonala, which is called Guadalaxara, and now this is the New Kingdom of Galicia. The guide they had, who was called Tejo, died about this time, and thus the name of these Seven Cities and the search for them remains until now, since they have not been discovered. . . .

Source: Frederick W. Hodge, ed., Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528–1543 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907).

6. Accounts of the Destruction of Fort Caroline, 1565 [Excerpts]

Introduction

The first bloodshed between opposing European nations on North American soil took place in 1565. Despite Spanish claims to the region, the French believed that Giovanni da Verrazano's explorations and the lack of a permanent Spanish settlement entitled them to establish a post. In 1562, France sent an expedition to the

coast of present-day South Carolina. The party consisted of Protestants, called Huguenots, who were a minority in predominantly Catholic France. This first expedition failed when the men, suffering from hunger, abandoned the outpost and returned to France. Jean Ribault brought a second French expedition to the Florida coast and built Fort Caroline in 1564. In the meantime, the king of Spain had sent an expedition to establish a base at St. Augustine in 1565. The Spanish quickly moved to wipe out the French settlement. The Spanish commander, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, captured and ordered the execution of Ribault and his men on the grounds that they would corrupt the Indians with their Protestantism. He spared the lives of a few highly skilled men, such as the carpenter who wrote the first account. The second account is excerpted from Menéndez's report to Spain's King Philip II.

Primary Source

A True and Perfect Description of the Last Voyage or Navigation Attempted by Captain John Ribault

After the tumult of the Civil War, the king determined to send a sufficient number of men and ships to Florida, one of the countries of India recently discovered by France. For the leadership of this enterprise, the court chose John Ribault, a man of heart and wisdom. He received seven ships to carry men, victuals, and munitions of war, and the king honored him with the title of lieutenant, or general of the fleet. He had a commission to impress whatever he needed, and he was expressly warned to keep his course to Florida, not to land in any other country or island, especially those under the dominion of the king of Spain.

News of this voyage quickly spread abroad and many were persuaded to submit themselves as candidates for the enterprise. They volunteered for a variety of reasons: some were spurred by an honest desire to see Florida, hoping that the trip would enrich them; others were driven by the desire for adventure; some had nothing to lose: they preferred to tempt the raging seas than to remain in their current poor state and condition.

Rumors spread that Florida promised all that a man might wish for in the world. Florida enjoyed the singular favor of heaven, for it had neither frost nor snow, and yet it avoided the burning heat of the lands to the south. Without laboring or tilling the soil, the fields brought forth enough to sustain all that dwell or shall dwell therein. It must be the most fruitful and richest of countries. If but there were men that would employ their industry and diligence to cultivate the soil. . . .

[...]

Overcome with these promises and covetous of the riches to be secured, particularly the gold, men came from all over and enlisted for the journey. Ribault selected from among them those most fit....

[...]

You have heard how Captain John Ribault set off with some soldiers to seek the Spaniards. After looking for five days without success, he met the flagship of his fleet, the Trinitie. He had been told to hold the coast against the Spaniards, so he returned to our fort in Florida, not knowing its fate. The weather was troublesome, for the wind blew hard and it rained continually. The first day the tempest increased so strongly that they could not resist it, and were driven to shore about fifty leagues above the May River. They were shipwrecked and lost their munitions but the men survived except for Captain Grange who fell upon a mast and was drowned. His loss was much lamented for he always gave good counsel. Those who were saved from the rage of the waves found themselves snared in a trap from which there was no remedy. Unless they would eat such things that the earth brought forth, like herbs, roots and the like, they would not be able to satisfy their craving stomachs. Neither was there anything to quench their thirst, except ponds of water that were so covered with scum, that merely to look on it would make a man sick. Their hunger and thirst were so great that they consumed these strange and unwholesome things for eight days. Fortunately, on the ninth day they found a little bark, which gave them hope of reaching the fort.

[…]

As mentioned before, they had to cross the River of Dolphins to get to the fort. The first day they reached the river and saw on the other side a company of armed men with their standards displayed. They assumed that they were Spaniards. Disheartened, and unsure of what to do, they sent some of their company to swim across the river to offer to submit to the Spaniards in return for their lives.

The swimmers were received courteously by a company under the command of Captain Vallemande. He swore by the word of a gentleman and a Christian knight to use his good will for the Frenchmen, and since it was always practiced in war that the victorious should be content (especially with Frenchmen), without asking of the vanquished anything more, he gave us signs to convince us of the truth of his promise, that none should have any doubt. He would provide no reason for our countries to war.

He ordered a barge to be made ready and commanded five of his men to cross the river and fetch the French. They convinced John Ribault and thirty of his men to enter. Ribault was gently received by Vallemande but his men were carried off, bound with their hands behind their backs, two and two together. While Vallemande entertained our good Captain Ribault with flattering words, the rest of our men were carried over, thirty at a time. Ribault trusted Vallemande's faithful promise. Our men continued to come over thirty at a time, bound two by two. When all had come over, the Spanish marched them toward the fort. Ribault and others, especially the

Sieur of Ottigny, changed their countenance when they saw the men bound together, contrary to Vallemande's assurances. The latter said that they were bound only to bring them in safely, and that he would keep that which he promised. When they were near the fort he asked of them who were mariners, carpenters, gunners, and others who were necessary to the running of a ship. Thirty men stepped forward. Shortly after, a company from the fort came, and our men were made to follow Vallemande like beasts being led to the slaughter. Then with the noise of drums, flutes, and trumpets, the courage of these furious Spaniards was extended upon the poor Frenchmen still bound. There was a fray—who could best strike a man with a pike, halberd or sword. Within a half hour they won the field, and claimed a glorious victory, by cruelly killing those who had yielded and whom they had received on their faith and promises.

During this cruelty Captain Ribault made certain exhortations to Vallemande to save his life. Also the Sieur of Ottigny got on his knees and reminded Vallemande of his faithful promise, but it was all to no effect, for he turned his back, went a short distance from them, and then one of his murderers struck Captain Ribault from behind with a dagger. Ribault fell and the murderer doubled his strokes, till he had taken his life from him.

 $[\ldots]$

Reports of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to King Philip II

On the 28th of September [1565] the Indians notified me that many Frenchmen were about six leagues from here on the coast, that they had lost their vessels and escaped by swimming and in boats. Taking fifty soldiers I was with them next morning at daylight, and leaving my men in ambush, I took one with me to the banks of the river, because they were on one side and I on the other bank. I spoke to them, told them I was Spanish; they said they were French. They asked me to come over to them either alone or with my partner, the river being narrow. I replied that we did not know how to swim, but that they could safely come to us. They agreed to do so, and sent a man of some intellect, master of a boat, who carefully related to me how they had left their Fort with four galleons and eight small vessels, that each carried twenty-four oars with four hundred picked soldiers and two hundred marines and John Ribault as General and Monsieur Le Grange, who was General of the Infantry, and other good captains, soldiers, and gentlemen, with the intention of finding me on the sea, and if I attempted to land, to land their people on the small boats and capture me . . . [t] hat they were overtaken by a hurricane and tempest and were wrecked about twenty or twentyfive leagues from here. . . . [H]e asked for himself and companions safe passage to their Fort, since they were not at war with the Spaniards. I then told him how we had taken their Fort and hanged all those we found in it, because they had built it without Your Majesty's permission and because they were scattering the odious

Lutheran doctrine in these Provinces, and that I had [to make] war [with] fire and blood, as Governor and Captain-General of these Provinces, against all those who came to sow this hateful doctrine; representing to him that I came by order of Your Majesty to place the Gospel in these parts and to enlighten the natives in all that the Holy Church of Rome says and does so as to save their souls. That I would not give them passage; rather would I follow them by sea and land until I had taken their lives. He begged to be allowed to go with this embassy and that he would return at night swimming, if I would grant him his life. I did to show him that I was in earnest and because he would enlighten me on many subjects. Immediately after his return to his companions there came a gentleman, a Monsieur Laudonnier, a man well versed and cunning to tempt me. After much talk he offered to give up their arms if I would grant their lives. I told him he could surrender the arms and give themselves up to my mercy, that I might do with them that which our Lord ordered. More than this he could not get from me, and that God did not expect more of me. Thus he returned and they came to deliver up their arms. I had their hands tied behind them and had them stabbed to death, leaving only sixteen, twelve being great big men, mariners whom they had stolen, the other four master carpenters and caulkers—people for whom we have much need, and it seemed to me to punish them in this manner would be serving God, our Lord, and Your Majesty. Hereafter they will leave us free to plant the Gospel, enlighten the natives, and bring them to obedience and submission to Your Majesty. The lands being extensive, it will be well to make them work fifty years—besides, a good beginning makes a good end, so I have hopes in our Lord that in all He will grant me prosperity and success, so that I and my descendants may give to Your Majesty those Kingdoms full and return the people Christians. My particular interest as I have written Your Majesty is this: We are gaining great favor with the Indians and will be feared by them, although we make them many gifts.

Source: Alan Gallay, ed., *Voices of the Old South* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1994).

7. The Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, 1571

Introduction

For centuries in Western Europe, Christianity and Roman Catholicism had been one and the same, but in 1517 Martin Luther brought about the Protestant Reformation. In 1534, England's King Henry VIII embraced Protestantism and formed the Church of England, declaring himself its head. In 1554, Queen Mary restored Catholicism as the official religion of England. Five years later, Queen Elizabeth I restored the Church of England. Under her rule, and that of the next two kings, Catholicism was outlawed, and those who continued to practice it faced arrest. The Anglican archbishops, bishops, and clergy drafted the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion

in 1563. The articles set forth the basic beliefs and doctrines of the Church of England. Parliament ordered the Anglican Church to adopt them in 1571. Several of the articles were specifically directed against the beliefs and practices of Roman Catholics and various Christian minorities. For example: article 12 mocks "Romish" doctrine as "invented"; other articles reject conducting worship in Latin and call for marriage to be permitted among the clergy. Articles promoting baptism and the swearing of oaths are directed against the beliefs of Anabaptists and Quakers. Strife among Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Protestant minorities such as Quakers played a part in the wars of Europe and colonial America.

Primary Source

Articles of Religion

(Spelling and punctuation are conformed to modern usage.)

I. Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker, and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

II. Of the Word or Son of God which was made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took Man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man, who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.

III. Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

As Christ died for us, and was buried: so also it is to be believed that he went down into hell.

IV. Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of Man's nature, wherewith he ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth, until he return to judge all Men at the last day.

V. Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

VI. Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not

to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite as necessary to salvation. In the name of Holy Scripture, we do understand those canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.

Of the names and number of the Canonical Books.

Genesis.

Exodus.

Leviticus.

Numbers.

Deuteronomy.

Joshua.

Judges.

Ruth.

The 1. Book of Samuel.

The 2. Book of Samuel.

The 1. Book of Kings.

The 2. Book of Kings.

The 1. Book of Chronicles.

The 2. Book of Chronicles.

The 1. Book of Esdras.

The 2. Book of Esdras.

The Book of Esther.

The Book of Job.

The Psalms.

The Proverbs.

Ecclesiastes or Preacher.

Cantica, or Songs of Solomon

Four Prophets the greater.

Twelve Prophetes the less.

And the other Books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine; such as are these following:

The third Book of Esdras, The fourth Book of Esdras, The Book of Tobias, The Book of Judith, The rest of the Book of Esther, The Book of Wisdom, Jesus the Son of Sirach, Baruch, the Prophet, The Song of the three Children, The Story of Susanna, Of Bel and the Dragon, The Prayer of Manasses. The 1. Book of Maccabees, The 2. Book of Maccabees.

All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them for Canonical.

VII. Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New: for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the old Fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the Law

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given from God by Moses, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the Civil precepts thereof, ought of necessity to be received in any common wealth; yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever, is free from the obedience of the Commandments, which are called moral.

VIII. Of the Creeds.

The Three Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius's Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.

IX. Of Original or Birth Sin.

Original Sin standeth not in the following of Adam (as the Pelagians do vainly talk;) but it is the fault and corruption of the Nature of every man, that naturally is ingendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original Righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit, and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek phronema sarkos (which some do expound, the wisdom, some sensuality, some the desire of the flesh) is not subject to the Law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized; yet the Apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

X. Of Free Will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he can not turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God: Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

XI. Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

XII. Of Good Works.

Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after Justification, can not put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgement: yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith, in so much that by them, a lively Faith may be as evidently known, as a tree discerned by the fruit.

XIII. Of Works before Justification.

Works done before the grace of Christ, and the Inspiration of his spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ; neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the School authors say) deserve grace of congruity: yea, rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

XIV. Of Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary Works besides, over and above Gods Commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety: for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake then of bounden duty is required: whereas Christ saith plainly, When ye have done al that are commanded to you, say, We be unprofitable servants.

XV. Of Christ alone without Sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in al things, sin only except, from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh, and in his spirit. He came to be the Lamb without spot, who by the sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world: and sin, (as Saint John saith) was not in him. But all we the rest, although baptized, and born again in Christ, yet offend in many things, and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

XVI. Of Sin after Baptism.

Not every deadly sin willingly committed after Baptism, is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore, the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God (we may) arise again and amend our lives. And therefore, they are to be condemned, which say they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.

XVII. Of Predestination and Election.

Predestination to Life, is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath constantly decreed by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpose by his spirit working in due season: they through Grace obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made sons of God by adoption: they be made like the image of his only begotten son Jesus Christ: they walk religiously in good works, and at length by gods mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of Predestination, and our Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the Works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it

doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: So, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of Gods Predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchlessness of most unclean living, no less perilous then desperation.

Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture: and in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

XVIII. Of obtaining eternal Salvation, only by the Name of Christ. They also are to be had accursed, that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature. For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

XIX. Of the Church.

The visible Church of Christ, is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred: so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith

XX. Of the Authority of the Church.

The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in Controversies of Faith: And yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound one place of scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same, ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of Salvation.

XXI. Of the Authority of General Councils.

General Counsels may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes. And when they be gathered together (forasmuch as they be an Assembly of Men, whereof all be not governed with the spirit and word of God) they may err, and sometime have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore, things ordained by them as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.

XXII. Of Purgatory.

The Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration as well of Images, as of Reliques, and also invocation

of Saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.

XXIII. Of Ministering in the Congregation.

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of publick preaching, or ministering the Sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have publick authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

XXIV. Of Speaking in the Congregation, in such a Tongue as the people understandeth.

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have publick prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understanded of the people.

XXV. Of the Sacraments.

Sacraments ordained of Christ, be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession: but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and Gods good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five, commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures: but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about: but that we should duly use them. And in such only, as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation: But they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation, as Saint Paul saith.

XXVI. Of the Unworthiness of the Ministers, which hinders not the effect of the Sacraments.

Although in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometime the evil have chief authority in the Ministration of the Word and Sacraments: yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name but in Christ's, and do minister by his commission and authority, we may use their Ministry, both in hearing the word of God, and in the receiving of the Sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of Gods gifts diminished from such as by faith and rightly do receive the Sacraments ministered unto them, which be effec-

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tual, because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men.

Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that enquiry be made of evil ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences: and finally being found guilty by just judgement, be deposed.

XXVII. Of Baptism.

Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from other that be not christened: but is also a sign of regeneration or New Birth, whereby as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly, are grafted into the Church: the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God, by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed: faith is confirmed: and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God. The Baptism of young Children, is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

XXVIII. Of the Lord's Supper.

The Supper of the Lord, is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another: but rather it is a Sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing, is a partaking of the blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by holy Writ, but is repugnant to the plain word of scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner: And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

XXIX. Of the wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper.

The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as Saint Augustine saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ: yet in no wise are the partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or Sacrament of so great a thing.

XXX. Of both kinds.

The cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay people. For both the parte of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike. XXXI. Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Crosse.

The offering of Christ once made, is the perfect redemption, propitiation, satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in which it was commonly said that the Priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead; to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.

XXXII. Of the Marriage of Priests.

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's Law either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage. Therefore it is lawful also for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

XXXIII. Of Excommunicate Persons, how they are to be avoided. That person which by open denunciation of the Church, is rightly cut of from the unity of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church by a judge that hath authority thereto.

XXXIV. Of the Traditions of the Church.

It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly alike, for at all times they have been diverse, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private judgement, willingly and purposely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like) as he that offendeth against the Common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

Every particular or national Church, hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by mans authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

XXXV. Of Homilies.

The second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this article, doth contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Ministers diligently, and distinctly, that they may be understanded by the people.

Of the names of the Homilies.

- 1 Of the right use of the Church.
- 2 Against peril of Idolatry.
- 3 Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches.
- 4 Of good works, first of Fasting.
- 5 Against gluttony and drunkenness.

- 6 Against excess of Apparel.
- 7 Of Prayer.
- 8 Of the place and time of Prayer.
- 9 That Common Prayers and Sacraments ought to be ministered in a known Tongue.
- 10 Of the reverend estimation of Gods Word.
- 11 Of Alms doing.
- 12 Of the Nativity of Christ.
- 13 Of the Passion of Christ.
- 14 Of the Resurrection of Christ.
- 15 Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.
- 16 Of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost.
- 17 For the Rogation days.
- 18 Of the state of Matrimony.
- 19 Of Repentance.
- 20 Against Idleness.
- 21 Against Rebellion.

XXXVI. Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers.

The Book of Consecration of Archbishops, and Bishops, and ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering: neither hath it any thing, that of it self is superstitious or ungodly. And therefore, whosoever are consecrate or ordered according to the rites of that Book, since the second year of the aforenamed King Edward, unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

XXXVII. Of the Civil Magistrates.

The King's (or Queen's) Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of England, and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the King's Majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended: we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word, or of Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen, doth most plainly testify: But that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself, that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evildoers.

The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England. The laws of the Realm may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars.

XXXVIII. Of Christian Men's Goods, which are not common.

The Richs and Goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding every man ought of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

XXXIX. Of a Christian Man's Oath.

As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men by our lord Jesus Christ, and James his Apostle: So we judge that Christian religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the prophets teaching, in justice, judgement, and truth.

Source

http://www.reformed.org/documents/articles_39_1572.html.

8. Juan Rogel, Account of the Massacre of Spanish Jesuits in Chesapeake Bay, August 28, 1572

Introduction

Like the other European powers, Spain hoped to find a seagoing passage to Asia. The Chesapeake Bay (called Bahia de Santa Maria by the Spanish) appeared a promising direction in which to search. The Spanish explorer Juan Menéndez Marques promoted the establishment of a Jesuit mission on the bay. On his visit, Menéndez exchanged a Spanish youth for an Indian one. In 1570, eight Jesuits from Florida, accompanied by the Indian youth, built a mission on the York River. The Indian youth returned to his people and reportedly turned against the Spanish. The Jesuits expected the Powhatan Indians to give them food, which was in short supply. Instead, the Spanish demand led the Indians to attack and kill them in 1571. The Indians also attacked a Spanish supply ship that arrived after the massacre. Yet another Spanish expedition attacked the Powhatans and rescued the Spanish youth. A Jesuit who accompanied the rescue expedition wrote this letter to his superior. He describes the recovery of the Spanish youth, Alonso, and relates Alonso's account of how the Jesuits died. He also suggests that a well-armed Spanish settlement would keep a new mission safe. However, Spain made no further attempts to settle the Chesapeake Bay.

Primary Source

Our Most Reverend Father in Christ,

At the end of last June, I wrote to Your Paternity from Havana, telling how, under an order of holy obedience, I made ready to make this journey in search of Ours who had come to these parts. Although I

had written from there that at the end of the trip I had to go to the Isles of Azores, because the Governor Pedro Menendez was obliged to take the ship, in which I had come here, for the trip to Spain; nevertheless, when he reached San Agustin, he changed his plans. He decided to make this trip in person at the head of his fleet, and on completing the trip, to give me a ship in which I might go back to the island of Cuba. Thus, on July 30, we left San Agustin for this purpose, and after staying at Santa Elena for five days, we arrived at the Bay of the Mother of God. With me are Brother Juan de la Carrera and Francisco de Villareal and the small store of supplies we had on Santa Elena. After this we will all go to Havana to await the order of Father Provincial since Father Sedeño would order me to do that.

Reaching this bay, the Governor immediately ordered us to search for Alonso, the boy who came with Father Baptista. He had not died, according to what we heard from one of the Indians of this region, who was captured by the pilot on his second trip. This Indian has been brought along in chains. Anchoring the fleet in a port of this bay, the Governor sent an armed *fragatilla* with 30 soldiers to a fresh-water stream where Ours disembarked when they came here. This place is 20 leagues from this port. It seemed best to me to take the bound native in company to be our spokesman. The order of the Governor was to take the uncle of Don Luis, a principal chief of that region, as well as some leading Indians. On taking them, we were to ask them to give us the boy and we would let them go. Everything happened in excellent fashion, for within an hour after our arrival, he took the chief with five of this leaders and eight other Indians.

This was the method capture. After we had anchored in the middle of the narrow stream, Indians soon appeared on the bank and some entered the boat. To these the Spaniards gave gift and made some exchanges. When they left, the boat very contentedly, others arrived. With a third group came the chief and his leaders; one of them wore as a decoration or trinket a silver paten that Ours had brought. At once the Spaniards seized them and forced them down into the boat, and dressing the ship, passed to the mouth of the stream 3 leagues away by oar. On the way, the soldiers killed some Indians who were trying to shoot arrows at us and had wounded a soldier.

At the mouth of the river, which was very wide, we anchored again an arquebus shot away from the shore. Canoes of Indians came in peace, and they said that the boy was in the hands of a leading chief who lived two days journey from there, near this port. They asked that we give them time to send for him and bring him. This we did, and we gave them trinkets to give the chief who held the boy and we stayed there waiting for him. It seems that as soon as the chief learned of the capture of the others and about the fleet and the imminent death of the Indians, he sought to curry favor with the Governor. For he did not want to let the boy be brought to our ship, but he sent him to this port with two Indians. It is a marvelous thing in how short a time the Governor learned what was happening there from the mouth of the boy.

When the Indians did not bring the boy, we fought off an ambush of many canoes loaded with archers ready to attack the vessel. First, there came two large canoes filled with Indians who were so concealed that no one was seen except the two who steered and they pretended they brought us oysters. Before they got aboard the watchman discovered them. We made ready and the others retreated. At my request, the steersmen were not fired upon, for we were still not certain whether it was an ambush or whether they came in peace. When the time was up and the boy did not come we waited for a night and further into midday and finally we set sail with our captives. By way of farewell, the pilot steered the ship towards land with the excuse that he wanted to speak to them, and then he ordered a blast from the arquebuses into the group of Indians who were standing crowded together on the shore. I believe many of them were killed and this was done without any knowledge of mine until it happened. Then we returned to this port.

Now I will relate to Your Paternity how Ours who were here suffered death, as this boy tells it. After they arrived there, Don Luis abandoned them, since he did not sleep in their hut more than two night nor stay in the village where the Fathers made their settlement for more than five days. Finally he was living with his brothers a journey of a day and a half away. Father Master Baptista sent a message by a novice Brother on two occasions to the renegade. Don Luis would never come, and Ours stayed therein a great distress, for they had no one by whom they could make themselves understood to the Indians. They were without means of support, and no one could buy grain from them. They got along as best they could, going to other villages to barter maize with copper and tin, until the beginning of February. The boy says that each day Father Baptista caused prayers to be said for Don Luis, saying that the devil held him in great deception. As he had twice sent for him and he had not come, he decided to send Father Quirós and Brother Gabriel de Solis and Brother Juan Baptista to the village of the chief near where Don Luis was staying. Thus they could take Don Luis along with them and barter for maize on the way back. On the Sunday after the feast of the Purification, Don Luis came to the three Jesuits who were returning with other Indians. He sent an arrow through the heart of Father Quirós and then murdered the rest who had come to speak with him. Immediately Don Luis went on to the village where the Fathers were, and with great quiet and dissimulation, at the head of a large group of Indians, he killed the five who waited there. Don Luis himself was the first to draw blood with one of those hatchets which were brought along for trading with the Indians; then he finished the killing of Father Master Baptista with his axe, and his companions finished off the others. This boy says that when he saw them killing the Fathers and Brothers, he sought to go among the Indians as they inflicted the wounds so that they might kill him too. For it seemed better to him to die with Christians than live alone with Indians. A brother of Don Luis took him by the arm and did not let him go. This happened five or six days after the death of the others. This boy then told Don Luis to bury them since he had killed them, and at least in their burial, he was kind to them.

The boy stayed in the same hut for 15 days. Because of the famine in the land, Don Luis told him that they should go and seek grain. Alonso came in this way with him to the chief where he remained. The chief told the boy to stay and he would treat him well and hold him as a son. This he did. Finally Don Luis distributed the clothes of the Fathers among himself and his two brothers who shared in the murders. The boy took nothing but the relics and beads of Father Baptista which he kept till now and handed over to us. After this Don Luis went away very anxious to get hold of the boy to kill him, so that there would be no one to give details of what happened to Ours, but because of this fear of the chief with whom the boy was staying, he gave up the idea.

When he had learned the truth, the Governor acted in this fashion. He told the captured chief that he must bring in Don Luis and his two brothers for punishment, and if he did not do this, the Governor would punish all those captured. Since three had been killed in that chief's lands, he could not escape blame for the murders. The chief promised that he would bring them within five days. We are waiting for this time to elapse, and I am not sure whether the Governor will send us on our trip to the island of Cuba before the time is up. He will report to Spain, God willing, whatever action he will have taken. The country remains very frightened from the chastisement the Governor inflicted, for previously they were free to kill any Spaniard who made no resistance. After seeing the opposite of what the Fathers were, they tremble. This chastisement has become famous throughout the land, and if this further one is done, it will be all the more famous.

I have noticed something about this region. There are more people here than in any of the other lands I have seen so far along the coast explored. It seemed to me that the natives are more settled than in other regions I have been and I am confident that should Spaniards settle here, provided they would frighten the natives that threaten harm, we could preach the Holy Gospel more easily than elsewhere. We are keeping this boy with us. He is very fluent in the language and had almost forgotten his Spanish. After he was freed from his captivity, we asked him if he wished to be with us, or go with his father who is also here. He said that he wanted to be with us only. In order to make sure that he retains the language and does not forget it, I am debating whether to bring along with me an Indian boy, who has come along with Alonso, leaving his parent and home to be with him. Thus he might train in the language, unless, meanwhile, Your Paternity or Father Provincial order otherwise.

For my part, I can say to Your Paternity that if it is judged in Our Lord that this enterprise ought to be begun, and if you desire that the task should fall to me, I would consider myself most fortunate. I fear that there will be the same difficulty among these people in making conversions, as has been found in the places where we have been. If there is to be some fruit here, it will have to be by wearing them away like water on a rock. I believe there are fewer inconven-

iences and difficulties than in regions where I have already stayed. First, because the country is so cold, there will be no reason for long absences away from their huts in winter. Also it appears to me that there are more tribes and more natives in this region than in others where I have dwelt.

When this boy was with Don Luis, following the death of the others, Don Luis left the vestments and books and everything else locked up in chests. On returning, they took up their share of spoils. He said that a brother of Don Luis is going around clothed in the Mass vestment and altar cloths. The captured chief told me that Don Luis gave the silver chalice to an important chief in the interior. The paten was given to one of those Indians we captured, while the other images were thrown away. Among other things there was a large crucifix in a chest; some Indians told this boy that they do not dare approach that chest since three Indians who wanted to see what was in it, fell down dead on the spot. So they keep it closed and protected. About the books, Alonso said that after pulling off the clasps, the Indians tore them all up and threw them away.

If I should learn any other details, whether those sent out by the Governor bring in Don Luis and his companions, I will write them from Havana to Your Paternity, when, in Our Lord's pleasure, we arrive there.

As I can not think of anything else to write, I close. I commend myself to the holy sacrifices and prayers of Your Paternity and of the Fathers and Brothers of the Company. God Our Lord Grant Your Paternity His Holy Spirit for all success in fulfilling His Divine Will.

From the Bay of the Mother of God in Florida, August 28, 1572.

Your Paternity's unworthy son and servant in Our Lord, [signed:] Juan Rogel.

Source: David B. Quinn, ed., *New American World: a documentary history of North America to 1612*, vol. 2 (New York: Arno Press, 1979).

9. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Letters to the King of Spain regarding the Indians of Florida, 1572 and 1573

Introduction

Between 1492 and the first Spanish landfall in the present-day United States, Spain had established a presence in the Caribbean and brutally conquered the Aztecs in Mexico. Spanish contact with native peoples invariably resulted in decimation of the natives by violence and disease. The Spaniards turned northward to explore for precious metals. Pánfilo de Narváez landed his expedition on Tampa Bay, Florida, in 1528. The Apalachee Indians defeated the

Spanish and forced them to flee to the coast. In 1539, Hernando de Soto landed an expedition in Florida and cut a swath of pillage and destruction through the Southeast. In 1565, the king of Spain sent an expedition, commanded by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, to establish a base at St. Augustine. After wiping out the French, Menéndez turned his attention to the Indians, many of whom remained intractably hostile to the Spanish. In his letter of 1572 addressed to his king, he recommends that the hostile natives be exterminated or captured and sold into slavery. Philip II apparently did not grant the desired permission, so Menéndez presented his arguments more strongly in 1573. However, Philip ordered that the Spanish focus on converting Native Americans to Christianity rather than conquering them.

Primary Source

1572

The Adelantado, Pedro Menendez, says that it is seven years since he went upon the conquest and settlement of Florida from these parts, and he has tried and is trying his utmost that the Indians may be taught and very well treated, and no trouble or vexatins be caused them, in order that they may listen to the religious, and render obedience to your Majesty, with the more love and willingness; but all the Indians, from the river of Mosquitos, at the beginning of the Bahama Channel, as far as Los Martires, and returning up to the bay of Tocobaga (although great gifts and demonstrations of friendship have been made them, and many were brought to Havana and taken back to their lands, and gave allegiance to your Majesty)—have broken the peace many times, slaying many Christians, and they have been forgiven. And yet withal this is of no use, nor has it been, for they have been accustomed since the Indies have been discovered to kill all the people from the ships which are, the most of them, lost in this district; and although concerning this I have told the caciques of that land they should not do it, and that if they slew them I would make war upon them, killing them and making slaves of those I captured alive—and they promised me not to do it—they do not keep their word, nor have they wished to comply. I have made peace with them three times, and three times they have broken it, and when they saw they could kill Christians safely, they did it, as it happened after this in Tocobaga, when they treacherously slew twenty soldiers. At Los Martires, about twenty months ago, they killed eight Spaniards from a boat which was going from Florida to Havana; and in Giga, which is in that same Bahama Channel, when an English corsair had seized a vessel wherein came thirty persons, and they, under a deceptive peace were preparing the boat so that it would have more available space, that they might go therein to Havana, the Indians killed them all, except one woman with two little girls, and one little boy, and one man whom they left for dead, and he lived, for afterward I had him removed and taken to Havana. Two other ships, which were going from New Spain to Santo Domingo to take on sugar and hides, were lost by reason of a storm off Cape Canaveral, at the end of the Bahama Channel; and

as the crews were journeying to the fort of San Agustin, thirty leagues thence, the Indians slew most of them, when they had gone half the distance, and they kept others alive to use as slaves, whom I afterward ransomed; others took refuge at the fort of San Agustin. About thirteen months ago, when I sailed from Florida with two frigates to go to Havana, and thence in search of corsairs, I was wrecked at Cape Canaveral because of a storm which came upon me, and the other boat was lost fifteen leagues farther on in the Bahama Channel, in a river they call Ays, because the cacique is so called. Seeing the opportunity, he killed nineteen persons who were on board the frigate, without leaving one, and I, by miracle, reached the fort of San Agustin with seventeen persons I was taking. Three times the Indians gave the order to attack me, and the way I escaped from them was by ingenuity and arousing fear in them, telling them that behind me many Spaniards were coming who would slay them if they found them; that they should seek safety in the forest. The first year I set out on the conquest, I ransomed from among the Indians thirty-two persons, men and women, who had been slaves of the caciques and Indians for fifteen, eighteen and twenty years. There were some who had been numbered among two hundred and thirty Spaniards, men and women together, from wrecked ships, and each year the Indians sacrificed seventeen or eighteen in the feasts they hold, and they used the heads in their balls and ceremonies. They are so blood thirsty in this because they consider it a great glory and victory for them and that the other caciques of the interior may hold a high opinion of them and they may triumph, saying that they live on the seashore and are the masters of the Christians and hold them as slaves. They follow this custom because they consider it the pious and natural order of things, without observing amity, or hope that later on they may observe it in the service of God Our Lord and of your Majesty. It is needful that this should be remedied by permitting that war be made upon them with all rigor, a war of fire and blood, and that those taken alive shall be sold as slaves, removing them from the country and taking them to the neighboring islands, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico. So that in this manner, besides the service rendered to God Our Lord and to your Majesty, this district where war must be made on such people, because it is the most full of danger and where many ships are lost coming from the Indies to these kingdoms, will remain clear and unobstructed. It is very poor land, subject to inundation, and the Indians cannot sustain themselves except on roots and shellfish. And if this be done, no Indian will be living therein, and if any vessel shall be wrecked, the people can easily go in safety to the fort of San Agustin and take refuge there; and this will arouse fear, and be a great example among the friendly Indians, so that they may observe and fulfil the amity they establish; wherefore, etc.

1573

The Adelantado, Pero Menedez, says that through the reports he has presented, it will be found that God Our Lord and your Majesty will be well served in giving up as slaves the Indians of the Cabeca de los

Martires and the Bahama Channel, from Ays to Tocobaga, which is in the provinces of Florida; for all of them, since the Indies were discovered, have killed many Christians, under the pledge of peace and friendship they made to the captains-general who have gone there by order of your Majesty. And although, since he has gone about pacifying them, he has exerted his utmost ability with them, fearing God and your Majesty, trying to do all the good he could among them to preserve the friendship they established with him after having rendered obedience to your Majesty, and to pass over without coming to an open breach, many cases of Christians slain by them; and giving them to understand that he did this because he loved them and that if he wished to harm them he could safely do so, whereby they might be killed and made captive; and they knew this to be truth, without their being able to help it—it was not enough. On the contrary, they have continued in their evil ways, killing Christians under the peace pledge, exulting in victory over the inland caciques, their enemies; telling them that the Spaniard are their slaves, and that for this reason the inland caciques must obey them; these caciques of the coast being infamous people, Sodomites, sacrificers to the devil of many souls, in their ancient ceremonies; wherefore it would greatly serve God Our Lord and your Majesty if these same were dead, or given as slaves. Being informed of all this by the aforesaid reports, your majesty replies to the last petition presented concerning this matter, on the seventeenth of this month, that at present there is no occasion for giving up the Indians as slaves; and because the injury from delay may be irreparable, and Our Lord and your Majesty may be very ill-served thereby:

He beseeches your Majesty to be pleased to command that all the reports which he has given on this be examined, and that if expedient, what he has petitioned be decreed; for he knows that Our Lord will be well served thereby. It may appear that he will be better served if such Indians of that said district are not allowed to be sold or given as slaves, excepting the islands of Hispaniola, San Juan and Cuba for a period of twelve years, the buyers of them obligating themselves to teach them, and endeavor that they become Christians and be saved; and that before they land they shall be declared before the royal officials of your Majesty's Exchequer, in order that there may be no trickery so that, instead of the Indians of Florida, they might want to make slaves of others who are not from there; and if your Majesty should decree neither the one nor the other, he fears that the Indies of Florida will be depopulated of the Spaniards who are settled there. Because they are the key to all the Indies, as the treasure that comes therefrom must pass through that Bahama Channel; and because even though your Majesty may spend much from your Royal Exchequer, you will not be able to bring them to the point where they now are; besides the risk there is of Lutherans settling there, on account of the many Indian friends they have in those provinces—he entreats your Majesty to order that it all be examined, and, if there be reason, that what he has begged for be decreed; and if not, this is the last he asks, since thereby God Our

Lord and your Majesty and the profit of your Royal Exchequer will be so greatly served; and it is for the general good of all the Indies and those who navigate therein. And since he is occupied in your Majesty's service in these parts and the states of Flanders, let it not at any time be held to be his fault and charge if the settlers should depart from that land, because of the notable injuries they receive from the said Indians.

Source: David B. Quinn, ed., New American World: a documentary history of North America to 1612, vol. 2 (New York: Arno Press, 1979).

10. Ordinances for the Discovery, the Population and the Pacification of the Indies, July 13, 1573 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Beginning in 1492, Spain established a presence in the Caribbean, brutally conquered the Aztecs in Mexico, and turned their attention to exploiting North America. By 1536, Spanish explorers had heard rumors of fabulous cities of gold in the interior of the continent. Spanish ventures in the New World, though licensed by the king, were privately financed and expected to make a profit. Thus, conquistadors were primarily seeking their personal fortunes and would stop at nothing to find riches. Typical of these was Hernando de Soto, who in 1539 landed an expedition in Florida and cut a swath of pillage and destruction through the Southeast. Some of the men accompanying these expeditions of conquest began to express misgivings about their treatment of the native peoples. They were, however, in the minority. As late as 1573, for example, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, governor of Florida, was recommending to King Philip II that the natives be exterminated or captured and sold into slavery. In 1573, however, Philip II issued a set of ordinances from which talk of conquest was absent. Instead, he emphasized "pacification" and conversion of the natives to Christianity, expressed concern for their welfare, and gave explicit instructions for earning their friendship and cooperation.

Primary Source

Don Felipe, by the Grace of God, King of Castilla . . . let it be known: That in order that the discoveries and new settlements and pacification of the land and provinces that are to be discovered, settled, and pacified in the Indies be done with greater facility and in accordance with the service to God Our Lord, and for the welfare of the natives, among other things, we have prepared the following ordinances:

1. No person, regardless of state or condition, should, on his own authority make a new discovery by sea or land, or enter a new settlement or hamlet in areas already discovered. If he were found

without our license and approval or by those who had our power to give it, he would face a death penalty and loss of all his possessions to our coffers. And, we order to all our viceroys, audiencias, and governors and other justices of the Indies, that they give no license to make new discoveries without previous consultation with us and only after having obtained our permission; but we do consent that in areas already discovered, they can give license to build towns as necessary, adhering to the order that in so doing they must keep to the laws of February regarding settlements in discovered lands, then they should send us a description.

- 2. Those who are in charge of governing the Indies, whether spiritually or temporally, should inform themselves diligently whether within their districts, including lands and provinces bordering them, there is something to be discovered and pacified, of the wealth and quality, of the peoples and nations who inhabit there; but do this without sending to them war personnel nor persons who can cause scandal. They [the governors] should inform themselves by the best means available; and likewise, they should obtain information on the persons who are best suited to carry out discoveries—and with those who are best fit for this purpose, they [the governors] should confer and make arrangements, offering them the honors and advantages that justly, without injury to the natives, can be given them—and—before carrying out what has been arranged or has been learned, give narratives to the viceroy and the audiencias and also send them to the Council, which, after looking at the case, will issue a license to proceed with the discovery, which should be carried out in the following order:
- 3. Having made, within the confines of the province, a discovery by land, pacified it, subjected it to our obedience, find an appropriate site to be settled by Spaniards—and if not [arrange] for the vassal Indians so they be secure.
- 4. If the boundaries of the settlement are populated, utilising commerce and ransom, go with vassal Indians and interpreters to discover those lands, and with churchmen and Spaniards, carrying offerings and ransoms and peace, try to learn about the place, the contents and quality of the land, the nation(s) to which the people there belong, who governs them, and carefully take note of all you can learn and understand, and always send these narratives to the Governor so that they reach the Council [Consejo de Indias].
- 5. Look carefully at the places and ports where it might be possible to build Spanish settlements without damage to the Indian population.

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41. Do not select sites for towns in maritime locations because of the danger that exists of pirates and because they are not very healthy, and because in these [locations] there are less people able to work and cultivate the land, nor is it possible to instill in them these habits. Unless the site is in an area where there are good and principal harbors, among these, select for settlement only those that are necessary for the entry of commerce and for the defense of the land.

[…]

136. If the natives should resolve to take a defensive position toward the [new] settlement, they should be made aware of how we intend to settle, not to do damage to them nor take away their lands, but instead to gain their friendship and teach them how to live civilly, and also to teach them to know our God so they learn His law through which they will be saved. This will be done by religious, clerics, and other persons designated for this purpose by the governor and through good interpreters, taking care by the best means available that the town settlement is carried out peacefully and with their consent, but if they [the natives] still do not want to concur after having been summoned repeatedly by various means, the settlers should build their own town without taking what belongs to the Indians and without doing them more harm that it were necessary for the protection of the town in order that the settlers are not disturbed.

137. While the town is being completed, the settlers should try, inasmuch as this is possible, to avoid communication and traffic with the Indians, or going to their towns, or amusing themselves or spilling themselves on the ground [sensual pleasures?]; nor allow the Indians to enter within the confines of the town until it is built and its defenses ready and houses built so that when the Indians see them they will be struck with admiration and will understand that the Spaniards are there to settle permanently and not temporarily. They [the Spaniards] should be so feared that they [the Indians] will not dare offend them, but they will respect them and desire their friendship. At the beginning of the building of a town, the governor shall name one person who will occupy himself with the sowing and cultivation of the land, planting wheat and vegetables so that the settlers can be assisted in their maintenance. The cattle that they brought shall be put out to pasture in a safe area where they will not damage cultivated land nor Indian property, and so that the aforesaid cattle and its offspring may be of service, help, and sustenance to the town.

138. Having completed the erection of the town and the buildings within it, and not before this is done, the governor and settlers, with great care and holy zeal, should try to bring peace into the fraternity of the Holy Church and bring on to our obedience all the natives of the province and its counties, by the best means they know or can understand, and in the following manner:

139. Obtain information of the diversity of nations, languages, sects, and prejudices of the natives within the province, and about the lords they may pledge allegiance to, and by means of commerce and exchange, [the Spaniards] should try to establish friendship with them [the Indians], showing great love and caressing them and also

giving them things in barter that will attract their interest, and not showing greediness for their things. [The Spaniards] should establish friendship and alliances with the principal lords and other influential persons who would be most useful in the pacification of the land.

140. Having made peace and alliance with [the Indian lords] and with their republics, make careful efforts so that they get together, and then [our] preachers, with utmost solemnity, should communicate and begin to persuade them that they should desire to understand matters pertaining to the holy Catholic faith. Then shall begin our teaching [efforts]—with great providence and discretion, and in the order stipulated in the first book of the holy Catholic faith—utilizing the mildest approach so as to entice the Indians to want to learn about it. Thus you will not start by reprimanding their vices or their idolatry, nor taking away their women nor their idols, because they should not be scandalized or develop an enmity against the Christian doctrine. Instead, they should be taught first, and after they have been instructed, they should be persuaded that on their own will they should abandon all that runs contrary to our holy Catholic faith and evangelical doctrine.

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148. The Spaniards to whom the Indians are entrusted [encomendados], should seek with great care that these Indians be settled into towns, and that, within these, churches be built so that the Indians can be instructed into Christian doctrine and live in good order. Because we order you see to it that these Ordinances, as presented above, be incorporated, complied with, and executed, and that you make what in them is contained be complied with and executed, and never take action or move against them, nor consent that others take action or move against either their content or form, under penalty of our Lord.

Dated in the Woods of Segovia, the thirteenth of July, in the year fifteen hundred and seventy-three, I the King; the Licendiado Otalaza; the Licendiado Diego Gasca de Alazar; the Licenciado Gamboa, the Doctor Gomez de Santillán.

Source: http://www.arc.miami.edu/Law%20of%20Indies.html (University of Miami)

11. Francis Fletcher, Account of Francis Drake on the California Coast, 1579 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The renowned English seaman Francis Drake was born in poverty and went to sea as a boy. He conceived an enduring hatred for Spain when he and his shipmates were attacked off the coast of Mexico in

1567. Thereafter he took every opportunity to raid Spanish ships and outposts. In command of a five-vessel fleet, Drake set sail from England in 1577. After crossing the Atlantic Ocean and passing through the Straits of Magellan to the Pacific, he raided up the western coast of South America. In June 1579, Drake's expedition landed on the California coast and laid claim to the country. The narrator—Francis Fletcher, a minister on the expedition—argues that the Spanish had never visited that coast. Drake then crossed the Pacific and rounded the Horn of Africa, returning home in September 1580. Having circumnavigated the globe, Drake was knighted by Queen Elizabeth I. He later raided Spanish settlements in the West Indies, destroyed St. Augustine on the Florida coast in 1586, and on his way back to England rescued the English garrison left on Roanoke Island. He served as a vice admiral at the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Drake died of fever in 1596 while on yet another expedition against Spanish outposts in the West Indies.

Primary Source

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They are a people of a tractable, free, and loving nature, without guile or treachery; their bowes and arrows (their only weapons, and almost all their wealth) they use very skillfully, but yet not to do any great harme with them, being by reason of their weaknesse more fit for children then for men, sending the arrows neither farre off nor with any great force: and yet are the men commonly so strong of body, that that which 2 or 3 of our men could hardly beare, one of them could take upon his backe, and without grudging carrie it easily away, up hill and downe hill and English mile together: they are also exceeding swift in running, and of long continuance, the use whereof is so familiar with them, that they seldome goe, but for the most part runne. One thing we observed in them with admiration, that if at any time they chanced to see a fish so neere the shoare that they might reach the place without swimming, they would never, or very seldome, misse to take it.

After that our necessary businesses were well dispatched, our Generall, with his gentlemen and many of his company, made a journey up into the land, to see the manner of their dwelling, and to be the better acquainted with the nature and commodities of the country. There houses were all such as we have formerly described, and being many of them in one place, make severall villages here and there. The inland we found to be farre different from the shoare, a goodlly country, and fruitfull soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the use of a man: infinite was the company of very large and fat Deere which there we sawe by thousands, as we supposed, in a heard: besides a multitude of a strange kinde of Conies, by farre exceeding them in number: their heads and bodies, in which they resemble other Conies, are but small; his tayle, like the tayle of a Rat, exceeding long; and his feet like the pawes of a Want or moale; under his chinne, on either side, he hath a bagge, into which he gathereth his meate, when

he hath filled his belly abroade, that he may with it, either feed his young, or feed himselfe when he lists not to travaile from his burrough; the people eate their bodies, and make great account of their skinnes, for their kings holidaies coate was made of them.

This country our Generall name *Albion*, and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white bancks and cliffs, which lie toward the sea; the other, that it might have some affinity, even in name also, with our own country, which was sometimes so called.

Before we went from thence, our Generall caused to be set up a monument of our being there, as also of her majesties and successors right and title to that kingdome; namely, a plate of brasse, fast nailed to a great and firme poste; whereon in engraven her graces name, and the day and yeare of our arrival there, and of the free giving up of the province and kingdome, both by the king and people, into her majesties hands: together with her highnesse picture and armes, in a piece of sixpence currant English monie shewing itselfe by a hoe made of purpose thorough the plate; underneath was likewise engraven the name of our Generall, etc.

The Spaniards never had any dealing, or so much as set a foote in this country, the utmost of their discoveries reaching onely to many degrees Southward of this place.

And now, as the time of our departure was perceived by them to draw nigh, so did the sorrowes and miseries of this people seeme to themselves to increase upon them, and the more certiane they were of our going away, the more doubtful they shewed themselves what they might doe; so that we might easily judge that the joy (being exceeding great) wherewith they received us at our first arrival, was cleane drowned in their excessive sorrow of our departing. For they did not onely loose on a sudden all mirth, joy, glad countenance, pleasant, speeches, agility of body, familiar rejoicing one with another, and all pleasure what ever flesh and blood might bee delighted in, but with sighes and sorrowings, with heavy hearts and grieved minds, they powred out wofull complaints and moanes, with bitter teares and wringing of their hands, tormenting themselves. And as men refusing all comfort, they onely accounted themselves as cast-awayes, and those whom the gods were about to forsake: so that nothing we could say or do, was able to ease them of their so heavy a burthen, or to deliver them from so desperate a straite, as our leaving of them did seeme to them that it would cast them into.

Howbeit, seeing they could not still enjoy our presence, the (supposing us to be gods indeed) thought it their duties to intreate us that, being absent, we would yet be mindfull of them, and making signes of their desires that in time to come wee would see them againe, they stole upon us a sacrifice, and set it on fire erre we were aware, burning therein a chaine and a bund of feathers. We laboured by all meanes possible to withhold or withdraw them, but could not prevaile, till at last we fell to prayers and singing of Psalmes, whereby they were allured immediately to forget their

folly, and leave their sacrifice unconsumed, suffering the fire to go out; and imitating us in all our actions, they fell a lifting of their eyes and hands to heaven, as they saw us do.

The 23 of July the tooke a sorrowfull farewell of us, but being loath to leave us, they presently ranne to the top of the hils to keepe us in their sight as long as they could, making fires before and behind, and on each side of them, burning therein (as is to be supposed) sacrifices at our departure.

Source: Henry S. Burrage, ed. *Early English and French Voyages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906).

12. Edward Haies, Report of the Voyage of Humphrey Gilbert to Newfoundland, 1583

Introduction

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was a soldier, member of Parliament, and a favorite of Queen Elizabeth I. After his repeated requests, the queen finally granted him a patent to colonize new lands across the Atlantic. With his half brother Walter Raleigh, Gilbert outfitted seven ships and set sail in 1578, but the expedition fell apart due to poor leadership. Gilbert again set sail with five vessels in June 1583. He arrived at St. John's, Newfoundland, in August. Since the early 1500s, fishermen from England, France, Spain, and Portugal had been sailing each spring to the Grand Banks in the North Atlantic to fish for cod. The fishermen treated Newfoundland's coast as neutral ground for common use. They set up stations onshore to process the catch and worked out a system for allocating space. An informal government exercised what authority existed. A so-called fishing admiral—the commander of the first fishing vessel to arrive each spring—administered justice during the fishing season. When Gilbert's expedition arrived, Gilbert read his patent to the assembled fishermen and claimed the land for England. Edward Haies, captain of one of Gilbert's ships, describes their arrival and the ceremony. Gilbert's ship went down in a storm on the return voyage. France and England eventually established year-round colonies on the Newfoundland coast, but the small population of colonists struggled through the long winters.

Primary Source

Thus after we had met with the Swallow, we held on our course Southward, until we came against the harbor called S. John, about 5 leagues from the former Cape of S. Francis: where before the entrance into the harbor, we found also the Frigate or Squirrill lying at anker. Whom the English marchants (that were and alwais be Admirals by turnes interchangeably over the fleetes of fishermen within the same harbor) would not permit to enter into the harbor. Glad of so happy meeting both of Swallow and Frigate in one day (being Saturday the 3. of August) we made readie our fights, and pre-

pared to enter the harbor, any resistance to the contrarie notwith-standing, there being within of all nations, to the number of 36 sailes. But first the Generall dispatched a boat to give them knowledge of his comming for no ill intent, having Commission from her Majestie for his voyage he had in hand. And immediately we followed with a slacke gale, and in the very entrance (which is but narrow, not above 2 buts length) the Admirall fell upon a rocke on the larboord side by great oversight, in that the weather was faire, the rocke much above water fast by the shore, where neither went any sea gate. But we found such readinesse in the English Marchants to helpe us in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of boats, which towed off the ship, and cleared her of danger.

Having taken place convenient in the road, we let fall ankers, the Captaines and masters repairing aboord our Admirall: whither also came immediately the Masters and owners of the fishing fleete of Englishmen, to understand the Generals intent and cause of our arrivall there. They were all satisfied when the general had shewed his commission, and purpose to take possession of those lands to the behalfe of the crowne of England, and the advancement of Christian religion in those Paganish regions, requiring but their lawfull ayde for repayring of his fleete, and supply of some necessaries, so farre as might conveniently be afforded him, both out of that and other harbors adjoining. In lieu whereof, he made offer to gratifie them, with any favour and priviledge, which upon their better advise they should demand, the like being not to be obteyned hereafter for greater price. So craving expedition of his demand, minding to proceede further South without long detention in those parts, he dismissed them, after promise given of their best indevour to satisfie speedily his so reasonable request. The marchants with their Masters departed, they caused forthwith to be discharged all the great Ordinance of their fleete in token of our welcome.

It was further determined that every ship of our fleete should deliver unto the marchants and Masters of that harbour a note of all their wants: which done, the ships as well English as strangers, were taxed at an easie rate to make supply. And besides, Commissioners were appointed, part of our owne companie and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adjoyning (for our English marchants command all there) to leavie our provision: whereunto the Portugals (above other nations) did most willingly and liberally contribute. Insomuch as we were presented (above our allowance) with wines, marmalades, most fine ruske or bisket, sweet oyles and sundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, trouts, lobsters and other fresh fish brought daily unto us. Moreover as the maner is in their fishing, every weeke to choose their Admirall a new, or rather they succeede in orderly course, and have weekely their Admirals feast solemnized: even so the General, Captaines and masters of our fleete were continually invited and feasted. To grow short, in our abundance at home, the intertainment had bene delightfull, but after our wants and tedious passage through the Ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the same was unexpected in that desolate corner of the world: where at other times of the yeare, wilde beasts and birds have only the fruition of all those countries, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented.

The next morning being Sunday and the 4 of August, the Generall and his company were brought on land by English marchants, who shewed unto us their accustomed walks unto a place they call the Garden. But nothing appeared more then Nature it selfe without art: who confusedly hath brought foorth roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable. Also the like plenty of raspis berries, which doe grow in every place.

Munday following, the Generall had his tent set up, who being accompanied with his own followers, summoned the marchants and masters, both English and strangers to be present at his taking possession of those Countries. Before whom openly was read and interpreted unto the strangers his Commission: by virtue whereof he tooke possession in the same harbour of S. John, and 200 leagues every way, invested the Queenes Majestie with the title and dignitie thereof, had delivered unto him (after the custome of England) a rod and a turffe of the same soile, entering possession also for him his heires and assignes for ever: And signified unto al men, that from that time forward, they should take the same land as a territorie appertaining to the Queene of England, and himselfe authorized under her Majestie to possesse and enjoy it, And to ordaine lawes for the government thereof, agreeable (so neere as conveniently might be) unto the lawes of England: under which all people coming thither hereafter, either to inhabite, or by way of traffique, should be subjected and governed. And especially at the same time for a beginning, he proposed and delivered three lawes to be in force immediately. That is to say: the first for Religion, which in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England. The 2. for maintenance of her Majesties right and possession of those territories, against which if any thing were attempted prejudiciall the partie or parties offending should be adjudged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the lawes of England. The 3. if any person should utter words sounding to the dishonour of her Majestie, he should loose his eares, and have his ship and goods confiscate.

These contents published, obedience was promised by generall voyce and consent of the multitude aswell of Englishmen as strangers, praying for continuance of this possession and government begun. After this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingraven in lead, and infixed upon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in the right of her Majestie, and to the behoofe of Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, his heires and assignes for ever: the Generall granted in fee farme divers parcels of land lying by the water side, booth in this harbor of S. John, and elsewhere, which was to the owners a great commoditie, being thereby assured (by their proper inheritance) of grounds convenient to dresse and to drie their fish, whereof many times before they did faile, being prevented by them that came first into the harbor. For which grounds they did

covenant to pay a certaine rent and service unto sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes for ever, and yeerely to maintaine possession of the same, by themselves or their assignes.

Now remained only to take in provision granted, according as every shippe was taxed, which did fish upon the coast adjoining. In the meane while, the Generall appointed men unto their charge: some to repaire and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering together our supply and provisions: others to search the commodities and singularities of the countrey, to be found by sea or land, and to make relation unto the Generall what eyther themselves could knowe by their owne travaile and experience, or by good intelligence of English men or strangers, who had longest frequented the same coast. Also some observed the elevation of the pole, and drewe plats of they countrey exactly graded. And by that I could gather by each mans severall relation, I have drawen a briefe description of the Newfoundland, with the commodities by sea or lande already made, and such also as are in possibilitie and great likelihood to be made: Neverthelesse the Cardes and plats that were drawing, with the due gradation of the harbors, bayes, and capes, did perish with the Admirall: wherefore in the description following, I must omit the particulars of such things.

Source: Henry S. Burrage, ed. *Early English and French Voyages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906).

13. Charter to Sir Walter Raleigh,1584 [Excerpt]

Introduction

After his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, perished at sea, Walter Raleigh received a royal charter to colonize North America. Like she had granted to Gilbert, Queen Elizabeth I gave Raleigh permission to explore, settle, own, and govern any lands not already controlled or occupied by Christians. The charter applied only to whatever land Raleigh could succeed in colonizing before six years had passed. Raleigh never set foot on North American soil, but he sponsored numerous expeditions—in 1584, 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, and 1590. The first expedition was a success: Captains Arthur Barlowe and Philip Amadas explored an area of the North Carolina coast and returned to England with two natives they had befriended. The land was named Virginia, after the virgin queen, and Raleigh received a knighthood. The second expedition set up a garrison on Roanoke Island, which the men abandoned after making enemies of the natives. The 1587 expedition founded what came to be known as the "Lost Colony," after 117 men, women, and children disappeared without a trace. Of the two latter expeditions, only the 1590 voyage reached Roanoke Island, finding the colony a deserted ruin. After the queen's death, King James I imprisoned Raleigh for treason in 1603 and had him executed in 1618.

Primary Source

Knowe yee that of our especial grace, certaine science, and meere motion, we have given and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, we give and graunt to our trustie and welbeloved servant Walter Ralegh, Esquire, and to his heires assignes for ever, free libertie and licence from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to discover, search, finde out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian People, as to him, his heires and assignes, and to every or any of them shall seems good, and the same to have, holde, occupie and enjoy to him, his heires and assignes for ever, with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, and preheminences, thereto or thereabouts both by sea and land, whatsoever we by out letters patents may graunt, and as we or any of our noble progenitors have heretofore graunted to any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate: and the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and all such as from time to time, by licence of us, our heires and successors, shall goes or travaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie, at the discretion of the said Walter Ralegh his heires and assignes, the statutes or acte of Parliament made against fugitives, or against such as shall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without Licence, or any other statue, acte, lawe, or any ordinance whatsoever to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

And we do likewise by these presents, of our especial grace, mere motion, and certain knowledge, for us, our heires and successors, give and graunt full authoritie, libertie and power to the said *Walter* Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may at all and every time, and times hereafter, have, take, and leade in the saide voyage, and travaile thitherward, or to inhabit there with him, or them, and every or any of them, such and so many of our subjects as shall willingly accompanie him or them, and every or any of them to whom also we doe by these presents, give full libertie and authority in that behalfe, and also to have, take, an employ, and use sufficient shipping and furniture for the Transportations and Navigations in that behalfe, so that none of the same persons or any of them, be such as hereafter shall be restrained by us, our heires, or successors.

And further that the said *Walter Ralegh*, his heires and assignes, and every of them, shall have holde, occupie, and enjoye to him, his heires and assignes, and every of them for ever, all the soile of all such lands, territories, and Countreis, so to bee discovered and possessed as aforesaide, and of all such Cities, castles, townes, villages, and places in the same, with the right, royalties, franchises, and jurisdictions, as well marine as other within the saide landes, or countries, or the seas thereunto adioyning, to be had, or used, with full power to dispose thereof, and of every part in fee-simple or otherwise, according to the order of the lawes of England, as neere as the same conveniently may bee, at his, and their will and pleasure, to any persons then being, or that shall

remaine within the allegiance of us, our heires, and successors: reserving always to us our heires, and successors, for all services, duties, and demaundes, the fift part of all the oare of golde and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discoveries, subduing and possessing, shalbe there gotten and obtained: All which landes, Countreis, and territories, shall for ever be holden of the said *Walter Ralegh*, his heires, or assignes, of us, our heirs and successors, by homage, and by the said payment of the said fift part, reserved onely for all services.

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And for as much as upon the finding our, discovering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countries, and territories as aforesaid, it shal be necessary for the safetie of al men, that shal adventure them selves in this journies or voyages to determine to live together in Christian peace, and civil quietness each with other, whereby every one may with more pleasure and profit enioy that whereunto they shall attaine with great paine and peril, we for us, our heires and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents do give and graunt to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes for ever, that hee and they, and every or any of them shall and may from time to time for ever hereafter, within the said mentioned remote landes and Countreis in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, have full and mere power and authhoritie to correct, punish, pardon, governe, and rule by their and every or any of their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capital, or criminall, as civil, both marine and other, all such our subjects as shall from time to time adventure themselves in the said journies or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such landes, countries, or territories as aforesaide, or shall abide within 200, leagues of any of the side place or places, where the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes inhabite within 6. yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statues, lawes and ordinances, as shall bee by him the saide Walter Ralegh his heires and assignes, and every or any of them devised, or established, for the better government of the said people as aforesaid. So always as the said statutes, lawes, and ordinances may be as neere as conveniently may, agreeable to the forme of the lases, statues, government, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, now professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdrawe any of the subjects or people of those landes or places from the allegiance of us, our heires and successours, as their immediate Soveraigne under God.

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Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, and wee do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes and states, that if the saide *Walter Ralegh*, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter, robbe or spoile by sea or by lande, or do any acte of unjust or unlawful hostilitie, to any of the subjects, of us, our heires or successors, or to any of the subjects of any kings, princes, rulers, governors, or

estates, being then in perfect league and amitie with us, our heires and successors, and that upon such injury, or upon iust complaint of any such prince, ruler, governoir, or estate, or their subjects, wee, our heires and successours, shall make open proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England, that the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, or any to whome these our letters patents may extende, shall within the termes to be limited, by such proclamation, make full restitution, and satisfaction of all such injuries done, so as both we and the said princes, or other so complayning, may holde us and themselves fully contented, And that if the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly, within such time so to be limited, that then it shall be lawfull to us our heires and successors, to put the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the said places to be discovered (as is aforesaide) or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection the said Walter Ralegh, his heires, assignes and adherents, and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shal be out of our allegiance and protection, and free for all princes and others, to pursue with hostilitie, as being not our subjects, norby us any way to the auounced, maintained or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection or dominion, or allegiance any way belonging, for that expresse mention of the cleer yeerely value of the certaintie of the premises, or any part thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by us, or any our progenitors, or predecessors to the said Walter Ralegh, before this time made in these present be not expressed, or any other grant, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint tot the contrary thereof, before this time given, ordained, or provided; or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selves, at Westminster, the 25. day of march, in the sixe and twentieth yeere of our Raigne.

Source: Francis Newton Thorpe, ed., *The Federal and State Constitutions*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909).

14. Richard Hakluyt, *Discourseon Western Planting*, 1584 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Richard Hakluyt the Younger—a well-educated and influential man—served as secretary for England's ambassador to France, but he had a covert mission as well. Several Englishmen interested in exploring and colonizing North America asked Hakluyt to gather whatever information he could find about the unknown continent from French, Spanish, and Portuguese sources. He returned to England to report his findings in July 1584. The first Walter Raleigh—sponsored expedition to North America, led by Captains

Arthur Barlowe and Philip Amadas, returned in September 1584, bringing with it two natives and glowing reports of the North Carolina coast. England's would-be colonizers of North America believed that in order to succeed, they must engage the queen's interest and support. Hakluyt prepared a long secret report urging England to establish "plantations" on the continent in the west—thus the reference to "western planting." The 21-point introduction appears here. Hakluyt's official position gave him valuable international information that permitted him to persuade his readers that England must preempt other European powers in North America. His arguments in favor of colonization touch on the potential military, religious, social, and economic benefits. Hakluyt also published accounts of the early English expeditions to North America.

Primary Source

- That this westerne discoverie will be greately for thinlargemente of the gospell of Christe, whereunto the princes of the refourmed relligion are chefely bounde, amongst whome her Majestie ys principall.
- 2. That all other Englishe trades are growen beggerly or daungerous, especially in all the Kinge of Spayne his domynions, where our men are dryven to flinge their bibles and prayer bookes into the sea, and to forsweare and renounce their relligion and conscience and consequently theyr obedience to her Majestie.
- That his westerne voyadge will yelde unto us all the commodities of Europe, Affrica, and Asia, as farr as wee were wonte to travell, and supply the wantes of all our decayed trades.
- 4. That this enterprise will be for the manifolde imploymente of nombers of idle men, and for bredinge of many sufficient, and for utteraunce of the greate quantitie of the commodities of our realme.
- 5. That this voyadge will be a great bridle to the Indies of the Kinge of Spaine and a meane that wee may arreste at our pleasure for the space of tenne weekes or three monethes every yere, one or twoo hundred saile of his subjectes shippes at the fysshinge in Newfounde lande.
- 6. That the mischefe that the Indian threasure wroughte in time of Charles the late Emperor, father to the Spanishe kinge, is to be had in consideration of the Queens moste excellent Majestie, leaste the contynual commynge of the like threasure from thence to his sonne, worke the unrecoverable annoye of this realme, whereof already wee have had very dangerous experience.
- What speciall meanes may bringe Kinge Phillippe from his highe throne, and make him equall to the princes his neighbours, wherewithal is shewed his weakenes in the West Indies.
- 8. That the lymites of the Kinge of Spaines domynions in the West Indies be nothinge so large as ys generally ymagined and surmised, neither those partes which be holdeth be of

- any such forces as ys falsly geven oute by the popishe clergye and others his fautors, to terrifie the princes of the relligion and to abuse and blynde them.
- The names of the riche townes lienge alonge the sea coaste on the northe side from the equinoctical of the mayne lande of America under the kinge of Spayne.
- 10. A brefe declaration of the chefe ilandes in the bay of Mexico beinge under the Kinge of Spaine, with their havens and fortes, and what commodities they yelde.
- 11. That the Spaniardes have executed most outragious and more then Turkishe cruelties in all the West Indies, whereby they are everywhere there become moste odious unto them, whoe woulde joyne with us or any other moste willingly to shake of their moste intolerable yoke, and have begonne to doe it already in dyvers places where they were lordes heretofore.
- 12. That the passage in this voyadge is easie and shorte, that it cutteth not nere the trade of any other mightie princes, nor nere their contries, that it is to be perfourmed at all tymes of the yere, and nedeth but one kinde of winde, that Ireland beinge full of goodd havens on the southe and west sides, it the nerest parte of Europe to yt, which by this trade shall be in more securitie, and the sooner drawen to more civilitie.
- 13. That hereby the revenewes and customes of her Majestie, bothe outwardes and inwardes, shall mightily be inlarged by the toll, excises, and other dueties, which withoute oppression may be raised.
- 14. That this action will be greately for thincrease, maynetey-naunce and safetie of our navye, and especially of greate shippinge, which is the strengthe of our realme, and for the supportation of all those occupations that depende upon the same.
- 15. That spedie plantinge in divers fitt places is moste necessarie upon these luckye westerne discoveries, for feare of the daunger of being prevented by other nations which have the like intentions, with the order thereof, and other reasons therewithall alleaged.
- 16. Meanes to kepe this enterprise from overthrowe, and the enterprisers from shame and dishonour.
- 17. That by these colonies the Northwest Passage to Cathaia and China may easely quickly and perfectly be searched oute, aswell by river and overlande as by sea, for proofe whereof here are quoted and alleaged divers rare testymonies oute of three volumes of voyadges gathered by Ramusius and other grave authors.
- 18. That the Queene of Englands title to all the West Indies, or at the leaste to as moche as is from Florida to the circle articke, is more lawfull and righte then the Spaniardes, or any other Christian Princes.
- 19. An aunswer to the Bull of the Donation of all the West Indies graunted to the Kinges of Spaine by Pope Alexander the VIth who was himself a Spaniardes borne.

- 20. A brefe collection of certaine reasons to induce her Majestie and the state to take in hande the westerne voyadge and the plantinge there.
- 21 A note of some thinges to be prepared for the voyadge, which is sett downe rather to drawe the takers of the voyadge in hande to the presente consideration then for any other reason, for that divers thinges require preparation longe before the voyadge, withoute which the voyadge is maymed.

Source: David B. Quinn, ed., New American World: a documentary history of North America to 1612, vol. 3 (New York: Arno Press, 1979).

15. Captain Arthur Barlowe's Narrative of the First Voyage to the Coasts of America, 1584 [Excerpt]

Introduction

After his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, perished at sea, Walter Raleigh received from Queen Elizabeth I a royal charter to explore and colonize North America. The charter applied only to whatever land Raleigh could succeed in colonizing before six years had passed. Raleigh never visited North America, but he sponsored numerous expeditions—in 1584, 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, and 1590. The first expedition was a success: Captains Arthur Barlowe and Philip Amadas returned to England in September 1584 and gave a glowing report of the North Carolina coast, a land of plenty with a temperate climate, inhabited by welcoming natives. The returning ships also carried two Indian men named Manteo and Wanchese, whom the English treated like celebrities. The land was named Virginia, in honor of the virgin queen. The second expedition set up a garrison on Roanoke Island, which the men abandoned after making enemies of the natives. The 1587 expedition founded what came to be known as the "Lost Colony," after 117 men, women, and children disappeared without a trace. Of the two latter expeditions, only the 1590 voyage reached Roanoke Island, finding the colony a deserted ruin.

Primary Source

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This Island had many goodly woodes full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, even in the middest of Summer in incredible abundance. The woodes are not such as you finde in Bohemia, Moscovia, or Hercynia, barren and fruitles, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world, farre bettering the Ceders of the Açores, of the Indies, or Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras, the Lentisk, or the tree that beareth the Masticke, the tree that beareth the rine of blacke Sinamon, of which Master Winter brought from the streights of Magellan, and many other of excellent smell and qualitie. We remained by the side of this Island two whole dayes before we saw any people

of the Countrey: the third day we espied one small boate rowing towardes us having in it three persons: this boat came to the Island side, foure harquebuz-shot from our shippes, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shoreside towards us, and wee being then all within boord, he walked up and downe upon the point of the land next unto us: then the Master and the Pilot of the Admirall, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captaine Philip Amadas, my selfe, and others rowed to the land, whose comming this fellow attended, never making any shewe of feare or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not understood by us, we brought him with his owne good liking, aboord the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat and some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very wel: and after having viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his owne boat again. . . .

The next day there came unto us divers boates, and in one of them the Kings brother, accompanied with fortie or fiftie men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civill as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the countrey Wingandacoa and now by her Majestie Virginia. . . .

[…]

The Kings brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and divers other things which we had: and offered to lay a great box of pearl in gage for them: but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them knowe, that we esteemed thereof, untill we had understoode in what places of the countrey the pearle grew: which now your Worshippe doeth very well understand.

He was very just of his promise: for many times we delivered him merchandize upon his word, but ever he came within the day and performed his promise. He sent us every day a brase or two of fat Bucks, Conies, Hares, Fish the best of the world. He sent us divers kindes of fruits, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Pease, and divers rootes, and fruites very excellent good, and of their Countrey corne, which is very white, faire and well tasted, and groweth three times in five moneths: in May they sow, in July they reape, in June they sow, in August they reape: in July they sow, in September they reape: onely they cast the corne into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turfe with a wodden mattock, or pickeaxe: our selves prooved the soile, and put some of our Pease in the ground, and in tenne dayes they were of fourteene ynches high: they have also Beanes very faire of divers colours and wonderfull plentie: some growing naturally, and some in their gardens, and so have they wheat and oates.

The soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull and wholsome of all the worlde: there were above fourteene severall sweete smelling timber trees, and the most part of their underwoods are Bayes and such like: they have those Okes that we have, but farre greater and

920 16. Watercolor by John White

better. After they had bene divers times aboord our shippes, my selfe, with seven more went twentie mile into the River, that runneth towarde the Citie of Skicoak, which River they call Occam: and the evening following, wee came to an Island which they call Raonoak, distant from the harbour by which we entered, seven leagues: and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turne pike very artificially; when wee came towardes it, standing neere unto the waters side, the wife of Granganimeo the kings brother came running out to meete us very cheerefully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village: some of her people shee commanded to drawe our boate on shore for the beating of the billoe: others she appointed to cary us on their backes to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the house for feare of stealing. When we were come into the utter roome, having five roomes in her house, she caused us to sit downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dryed them againe: some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, and shee her selfe tooke great paines to see all thinges ordered in the best maner shee could, making great haste to dress some meate for us to eate.

[…]

Thus Sir, we have acquainted you with the particulars of our discovery made this present voyage, as farre foorth as the shortnesse of the time we there continued would affoord us to take viewe of: and so contenting our selves with this service at this time, which wee hope hereafter to inlarge, as occasion and assistance shalbe given, we resolved to leave the countrey, and to apply ourselves to returne for England. . . .

 $[\ldots]$

We brought home also two of the Savages being lustie men, whose names were Wanchese and Manteo.

Source: Henry S. Burrage, ed., *Early English and French Voyages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906).

16. Watercolor by John White, ca. 1585

Introduction

John White made several voyages to North America. His paintings of the Indians of the North Carolina coast are among the earliest to be created by a first hand witness to the lives of the native peoples. They are notable for their portrayal of native life before it was irrevocably changed by European contact. White sailed the North Atlantic with Martin Frobisher in 1577, and traveled to Carolina on



An Algonquin village by John White, ca. 1585. His paintings of the Indians of the North Carolina coast are among the earliest to be created by a firsthand witness to the lives of the native peoples. (Library of Congress)

several Walter Raleigh–sponsored expeditions during the 1580s. His images helped stir interest in colonization. White came to the Carolina coast again in 1587 as governor of the English colony on Roanoke Island. White's granddaughter, Virginia Dare, was the first European child born on North American soil. The colony's 117 English men, women, and children—like Ralph Lane's garrison of 1585—had arrived too late to plant crops, and faced starvation. White returned to England to organize a relief mission and bring back food. Political events conspired to delay White's return to the Roanoke colony until 1590. After his three-year absence, he found only a deserted ruin, and stormy weather prevented him from searching further. The fate of the lost colonists remains unknown, though some historians theorize that the native people either killed, enslaved, or absorbed the colonists into their villages.

17. Pedro Menéndez Marqués, Spanish Report of Francis Drake's Attack on St. Augustine, 1586

Introduction

The renowned English seaman Francis Drake was born in poverty and went to sea as a boy. He conceived an enduring hatred for Spain when he and his shipmates were attacked off the coast of Mexico in 1567. Thereafter he took every opportunity to raid Spanish ships and outposts. Drake circumnavigated the globe in command of an expedition lasting from 1577 to 1580. In the course of his voyage he made his fortune raiding Spanish ports and shipping. On his return to England, Queen Elizabeth I knighted him. In 1586, Drake set out to raid Spanish interests in the West Indies. Turning northward, he destroyed the fort and town of St. Augustine, which the Spanish had established on the Florida coast in 1565. As a result, Pedro Menéndez Marqués, the commander of St. Augustine, recalled his men from an outlying fort and appealed for help. Help eventually arrived from Cuba and Spain to rebuild the settlement. Meanwhile, on his way back to England, Drake rescued the English garrison left on Roanoke Island. Drake later served as a vice admiral at the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, and died of fever in 1596 while on yet another expedition against Spanish outposts in the West Indies.

Primary Source

Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the president of the House of Trade, San Agustin June 17, 1586

Very Illustrious Sir

I am reduced to such a situation that I do not know where to begin to relate the hardship and misery which have befallen this land. Therefore this communication will not be long, as will be observed.

On the 6th instant Francis Drake arrived at this port with 42 sail, 23 being large vessels and nineteen pinnaces, frigates and shallops. At dawn on the 7th he landed 500 men and with seven large pinnaces sought me forthwith in the fort. With 80 men I had in the fort I resisted him until nearly midday. In view of my resistance he sent to the ships which lay outside the bar for reinforcements, and in nine vessels landed some 2000 men and planted four pieces of artillery among certain sand dunes near the fort, which he began to batter it. I retired as best I could, to protect my women and children (more than 200 persons).

Having occupied the fort, the enemy took and sacked the town and burned the church with its images and crosses, and cut down the fruit trees, which were numerous and good. He burned the fort and carried off the artillery and munitions and food supplies. We are all left with the clothes we stood in, and in the open country with a little munition which was hidden. We are without food or any sort except six hogsheads of flour which will last twenty days at half a pound per head.

I am reporting to His Majesty in full in the accompanying despatch and entreat your lordship to forward it immediately, and to favour me as far and as speedily as possible, since help for Florida must come from your lordship's hands.

Our Lord, etc.

Pedro Menéndez Marqués

Source: David B. Quinn, ed., New American World: a documentary history of North America to 1612, vol. 5 (New York: Arno Press, 1979).

18. Philip II, Instructions to Locate the English Colony on Roanoke Island, November 27, 1586

Introduction

Under the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas, Spain laid claim to much of the Americas. However, the other European powers did not recognize this claim. The English, French, and Dutch all explored the coast of North America. In 1562 and 1564, the French, based on the explorations of Giovanni da Verrazano, made two attempts to establish outposts on the coast of South Carolina and Florida. King Philip II of Spain then sent an expedition to establish a base in Florida and destroy the new French outpost. This was accomplished in 1565 with the founding of St. Augustine and the destruction of Fort Caroline and massacre of its inhabitants. Ever vigilant to safeguard Spain's claim to North America, Philip ordered his governor of Florida, Pedro Menéndez Marqués, to investigate the location of an English colony on the coast somewhere to the north of Florida. He was referring to the English presence on Roanoke Island, but his order demonstrates how vague was knowledge of the North American coast. Menéndez dispatched an expedition and reported its findings to the king. In 1589, Spanish authorities decided to destroy the English colony and plant a 300-man garrison on the Chesapeake Bay. The fate of the Roanoke colony was still unknown at that time, but the expedition against it never took place.

Primary Source

Philip II to Pedro Menéndez Marqués

The King

Pedro Menéndez, Marqués, My Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of Florida. Captain Vicene González has reported that as he was going under your orders along the coast near Newfoundland to find out if, as has been said, there were some pirates based there, he went investigating the whole coast and going into all the bays: and among the many others he went into, he came across one that is two leagues wide at the mouth and extends thirty leagues inland; he talked with an Indian chief whom many of the others respected, and among other pieces of information concerning the fertility and richness of the land, he gathered that to the North of that place there was a river that went through to the other ocean, and that near to it there were some English settlers, as is explained in more detail in the report he made, a copy of which accompanies this letter. It is important to find out in detail what there is in this, so I instruct you with great diligence and care to try and find out if it is true that there is in that area the river which is said to go from one ocean to the other, and how far north it is, and if by any chance it could be found out whether these pirates have tried to sail along it, and where they have settled, and what their plans are; and everything that you can discover either for certain or by hearsay you will send me an account of as quickly as possible.

From Madrid, 27th November 1586. signed; I the King

Source: David B. Quinn, ed., New American World: a documentary history of North America to 1612, vol. 5 (New York: Arno Press, 1979).

19. Ralph Lane, Account of the Englishmen Left at Roanoke Island,1586 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Walter Raleigh received from Queen Elizabeth I a royal charter to explore and colonize North America. Raleigh never visited North America, but he sponsored numerous expeditions—in 1584, 1585, 1587, 1588, and 1590. The first expedition, led by Captains Arthur Barlowe and Philip Amadas, returned to England in September 1584 and gave a glowing report of the North Carolina coast, a land of plenty with a temperate climate, inhabited by welcoming natives. The land was named Virginia, to honor the virgin queen. The second expedition, led by Raleigh's cousin Sir Richard Grenville in 1585, left a 108-man garrison under the command of Ralph Lane on Roanoke Island. The men built Fort Raleigh, which was to serve as a base from which to raid Spanish shipping. Having arrived in August—too late to plant crops—with insufficient food, they fell to fighting with the Indians. When Sir Francis Drake, fresh from the destruction of St. Augustine, called at Roanoke in June 1586, Lane and his men decided to return with him to England. Future settlers paid the price for their treatment of the natives. Within days of their departure, Grenville returned with food supplies and several hundred more men. After learning that the outpost had been abandoned, he left 15 men on the island to hold it for England, and put out to sea. Those 15 men were never seen again.

Primary Source

That I may proceede with order in this discourse, I thinke it requisite to divide it into two parts. The first shall declare the particularities of such partes of the Countrey within the maine, as our weake number, and supply of things necessarie did enable us to enter into the discovery of.

The second part shall set downe the reasons generally moving us to resolve on our departure at the instant with the Generall Sir Francis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barkes, pinnesses, and boates with the Masters and Mariners meant by him to bee left in the Countrey, for the supply of such, as for a further time meant to have stayed there, were caryed away with tempest and foule weather: In the beginning whereof shall bee declared the conspiracie of Pemisapan, with the Savages of the maine to have cut us off, &c.

 $[\ldots]$

The second part touching the conspiracie of Pemisapan, the discovery of the same, and at the last, of our request to depart with Sir Francis Drake for England.

Ensenore a Savage father to Pemisapan being the onely friend to our nation that we had amongest them, and about the King, died the 20 of April 1586. He alone had before opposed himselfe in their consultations against all matters proposed against us, which both the King and all the rest of them after Grangemoes death, were very willing to have preferred. And he was not onely by the meere providence of God during his life, a meane to save us from hurt, as poysonings and such like, but also to doe us very great good, and singularly in this.

The King was advised and of himselfe disposed, as a ready meane to have assuredly brought us to ruine in the moneth of March 1586. himselfe also with all his Savages to have runne away from us, and to have left his ground in the Iland unsowed: which if hee had done, there had bene no possibilitie in common reason, (but by the immediate hande of God) that wee coulde have bene preserved from starving out of hande. For at that time wee had no weares for fish, neither coulde our men skill of the making of them, neither had wee one graine of Corne for seede to put into the ground.

In mine absence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists, and Mangoaks, they had raised a brute among themselves, that I and my company were part slaine, and part starved by the Chaonists, and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starved, but the other false.

Neverthelesse untill my returne it tooke such effect in Pemisapans breast, and in those against us, that they grew not onely into contempt of us, but also (contrary to their former reverend opinion in shew, of the Almightie God of heaven, and Jesus Christ whom wee serve and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confesse the onely God) now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lorde God was not God, since hee suffered us to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks, for so they call by that generall name all the inhabitants of the whole maine, of what province soever. Insomuch as olde Ensenore, neither any of his fellowes, could for his sake have no more credite for us: and it came so farre that the king was resolved to have presently gone away as is aforesaid.

But even in the beginning of this bruite I returned, which when hee sawe contrary to his expectation, and the advertisement that hee had received: that not onely my selfe, and my company were all safe, but also by report of his owne. Savages which had bene with mee besides Manteo in that voyage, that is to say Tetepano, his sisters husband Eracano, and Cossine, that the Chanoists and Mangoaks (whose name and multitude besides their valour is terrible to all the rest of the provinces) durst not for the most part of them abide us, and that those that did abide us were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his sonne that he best loved to Roanoak with mee, it did not a little asswage all devises against us: on the other side, it made Ensenores opinions to be received againe with greater respects. For he had often before tolde them, and then renewed those his former speeches, both to the king and the rest, that wee were the servants of God, and that wee were not subject to bee destroyed by them: but contrarywise, that they amongst them that sought our destruction, shoulde finde their owne, and not bee able to worke ours, and that we being dead men were able to doe them more hurt, then now we could do being alive: an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wisest amongst them, and of their old men, as also, that they have bene in the night, being 100. miles from any of us, in the aire shot at, and stroken by some men of ours, that by sicknesse had died among them: and many of them holde opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world againe, and that wee doe not remaine dead but for a certaine time, and that then we returne againe.

All these speeches then againe grewe in ful credite with them, the King, and all, touching us, when hee sawe the small troupe returned againe, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible unto them: But that which made up the matter on our side for that time was an accident, yea rather (as all the rest was) the good providence of the Almightie for the saving of us, which was this.

 $[\ldots]$

But the towne tooke the alarme before I meant it to them: the occasion was this, I had sent the Master of the light horseman, with a

few with him, to gather up all the canoas in the setting of the Sun, and to take as many as were going from us to Dasamonquepeio, but to suffer any that came from thence, to land. He met with a Canoa, going from the shore, and overthrew the Canoa, and cut off two Savages heads: this was not done so secretly but he was discovered from the shore; whereupon the cry arose: for in trueth they, privy to their owne villanous purposes against us, held as good espial upon us, both day and night, as we did upon them.

The allarme given, they tooke themselves to their bowes, and we to our armes: some three or foure of them at the first were slaine with our shot; the rest fled into the woods. The next morning with the light horsman and one Canoa taking 25 with the Colonel of the Chesepians, and the Sergeant major, I went to Dasamonquepeio: and being landed, sent Pemisapan word by one of his owne Savages that met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complaine unto him of Osocon, who the night past was conveying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an handlocke. Heereupon the king did abide my comming to him, and finding myselfe amidst seven or eight of his principall Weroances and followers, (not regarding any of the common sort) I gave the watch-word agreed upon, (which was, Christ our victory) and immediatly those his chiefe men and himselfe had by the mercy of God for our deliverance, that which they had purposed for us. The king himselfe being shot thorow by the Colonell with a pistoll, lying on the ground for dead, and I looking as watchfully for the saving of Manteos friends, as others were busie that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started up, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, insomuch as he overran all the company, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my petronell. In the end an Irish man serving me, one Nugent, and the deputy provost, undertooke him; and following him in the woods, overtooke him: and I in some doubt least we had lost both the king and my man by our owne negligence to have beene intercepted by the Savages, wee met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapans head in his hand.

 $[\ldots]$

Source: Henry S. Burrage, ed. *Early English and French Voyages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906).

20. A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia by Thomas Hariot, 1588 [Excerpt] Introduction

Under charter from Queen Elizabeth I, Walter Raleigh sponsored numerous expeditions to North America—in 1584, 1585, 1587, 1588, and 1590. The first expedition returned to England in

September 1584 and gave a glowing report of the North Carolina coast, a land of plenty with a temperate climate, inhabited by welcoming natives. The land was named Virginia, to honor the virgin queen. The second expedition, led by Raleigh's cousin, Sir Richard Grenville in 1585, left a 108-man garrison under the command of Ralph Lane on Roanoke Island. Thomas Hariot, a mathematician and astronomer, accompanied this expedition as a scientific adviser. The men built Fort Raleigh, which was to serve as a base from which to raid Spanish shipping. Having arrived in August too late to plant crops—with insufficient food, they fell to fighting with the Indians. When Sir Francis Drake called at Roanoke in June 1586, Lane and his men abandoned Fort Raleigh. Hariot published his report to counteract the complaints of the returnees and describe the resources of the country. By the time this report was published, 117 men, women, and children had established a colony on Roanoke, but their ultimate fate was still unknown.

Primary Source

To the Adventurers, Favourers, and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia

[...]

The treatise whereof for your more readie view & easier understanding I will divide into three speciall parts. In the first I will make declaration of such commodities there already found or to be raised, which will not onely serve the ordinary turnes of you which are and shall bee the planters and inhabitants, but such an overplus sufficiently to bee yelded, or by men of skill to bee provided, as by way of trafficke and exchaunge with our owne nation of England, will enrich your Selves the providers; those that shall deal with you; the enterprisers in general; and greatly profit our owne countrey men, to supply the with most things which heretofore they have bene faine to provide, either of strangers or of our enemies: which commodities for distinction sake, I call *Merchantable*.

In the second, I will set downe all the commodities which wee know the countrey by out experience doeth yeld of it selfe for victual, and sustenance of mans life; such as is usually fed upon by the inhabitant of the countrey, as also by us during the time we were there.

In the last part I will make mention generally of such other commodities besides, as I am able to remember, and as I shall thinke behoofull for those that shall inhabite, and plant there to knowe of; which specially concerne building, as also some other necessary uses; with a briefe description of the nature and maners of the people of the countrey.

The first part of Merchantable *commodities*.

Silke of grasse or grasse Silke. There is a kind of grasse in the countrey upon the blades whereof there groweth very good silke in forme of a thin glittering skin to bee stript of. It growth two foote and a halfe high or better: the blades are about two foot in length, and half inch broad. The like growth in Persia, which is in the selfe same climate as *Virginia*, of which very many of the silke workes that come from thence into Europe are made.

 $[\ldots]$

The of the new found land of Virginia
The third and last part of such other
Thinges as is behoofull for those which shall
Plant and inhabit to know of; with a description
of the nature and manners of the
People of the countrey.
Of commodities for building and
Other necessary uses.

Those other things which I am more to make rehearsall of, are such as concerne building, and other mechanicall necessarie uses; as divers fortes of trees for house & ship timber, and other uses els: Also lime, stone, and brick, least that being not mentioned some might have bene doubted of, or by some that are malicious reported the contrary.

Okes, there are as faire, straight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and also great store, and in some places very great.

Walnut trees, as I have saide before very many, some have bene seen excellent faire timber of foure & five fadome, & above fourscore foot straight without bough.

Firre trees fit for masts of ships, some very tall & great.

Rakiock, a kind of trees so called that are sweet wood of which the inhabitans that were neere unto us doe commoly make their boats or Canoes of the form of trowes; only with the helpe of fire, hatchets of stones, and shels; we have known some so great being made in that fort of one tree that they have carried well xx. men at once, besides much baggage: the timber of being great, tal, straight, soft, light & yet tough enough I thinke (besides other uses) to be fit also for masts of ships.

Cedar, a sweet wood good for seelings, Chests, Boxes Bedsteedes, Lutes, Virginals, and many things els, as I have also said before. Some of our company which have wandered in some places where I have not bene, have made certaine affirmation of *Cyprus* which for such and other excellent uses, is also a wood of price and no small estimation.

Maple, and also *Wich-hazle*, wherof the inhabitants use to make their bowes.

Holly a necessary thing for the making of birdlime.

Willowes good for the making of weares and weeles to take fish after the English manner, although the inhabitants use only reedes, which because they are so strong as also flexible, do serve for that turne very well and sufficiently.

Beech and *Ashe*, good for caske, hoopes: and if neede require, plow worke, as also for many things els.

Elme.

Sassafras trees.

Ascopo a kinde of tree very like unto Lawrell, the barke is hoat in taft and spicie, it is very like to that tree which Monardus describeth to bee *Cafsia Lignea* of the West Indies.

[...]

Of the nature and manners of *The people.*

It resteth I speake a word or two of the naturall inhabitants, their natures and maners, leaving large discourse thereof until time more convenient hereafter; nowe onely so farre foorth, as that you may know, how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared; but that they shall have cause both to feare and love us, that shall inhabite with them.

They are a people clothed with loofe mantles made of Deere skins, & aprons of the same rounde about their middles, all els naked, of such a difference of statures only as wee in England; having no edge tooles or weapons of yron or steels to offend us withal, neither know they how to make any: those weapons they have, are onlie bowes made of Witch hazle, & arrows of reeds, flat edged truncheons also of wood about a yard long, neither have they any thing to defend themselves but targets made of barks; and some armours made of stickes wickered together with thread.

Their townes are but small, & neere the sea coast but few, some containing but 10. or 12. houses: some 20. the greatest that we have seene have bene but of 30. houses: if they bewalled it is only done with barks of trees made fast to stakes, or els with poles onely fixed upright and close one by another.

Their homses are made of small poles made fast at the tops in rounde forme after the maner as if used in many arbories in our gardens of England, in most townes covered with barkes, and in some with artificiall mattes made of long rushes, from the tops of the houses downe to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in some places they are but 12. and 16. yards long, and in other some wee have seene of foure and twentie.

In some places of the countrey one onely towne belongeth to the government of a *Wiroans* or chiefe Lorde; in other some two or three, in some sixe, eight, & more; the greatest *Wiroans* that yet we had healing with had but eighteene townes in his government, and able to make not above seven or eight hundred fighting men at the most: the language of every government is different from any other, and the farther they are distant the greater is the difference.

Their maner of warres amongst themselves is either by sudden surprising one an other most commonly about the dawning of the day, or moone light; or els by ambushes, or some suttle devises: Set battles are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where eyther part may have some hope of defence, after the deliverie of every arrow, in leaping behind some or other.

If there fall out any warres between us & them, what their fight is likely to bee, we having advantages against them so many maner of waies, as by our discipline, our strange weapons and devises els; especially by ordinance: great and small, it may be easily imagine; by the experience we have had in some places, the turning up of their heeles against us in running away was the best defence.

In respect of us they are a people poore, and for want of skill and judgement in the knowledge and use of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before things of greater value; Nowwithstanding in their proper manner considering the want of such meanes as we have, they seeme very ingenious; For although they have no such tooles, nor any such craftes, sciences and artes as wee; yet in those thing they doe, they shewe excellencie of wit. And by how much they upon due consideration shall finde our manner of knowledges and craftes to exceede theirs in perfection, and speed for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendship & love, and have the greater respect for pleasing and obeying us. Whereby may bee hoped if meanes of good government bee used, that they may in short time be brought to civilitie, and the imbracing of true religion.

[...]

The Conclusion.

[...]

And this is all the fruites of our labours, that I have thought necessary to advertise you of at this present: what els concerneth the nature and manners of the inhabitant of *Virginia*: The number with

the particularities of the vovages thither made; and of the actions of such that have bene by *Sir Water Raleigh* therein and there imployed, many worthy to bee remembered; as of the first discoverers of the Countrye: of our Generall for the time *Sir Richard Greinvile*: and after his departure, of our Governour there master *Rafe Lane*: with divers other directed and imployed under theyr governement: Of the Captaynes and Masters of the voyages made since for transportation; of the Governour and assistants of those alredie transported as of many persons, accidents, and thinges els, I have ready in a discourse by itself in a maner of a chronicle according to the course of times, and when time shall bee thought convenient shall be also published.

Thus referring my relation to your favourable constructions, expecting good successe of the action, from him which is to be acknowledge the authour and governour not only of this but of all things else, I take my leave of you, this moneth of *February*.1588.

Source: facsimile edition, New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1903.

21. John White, Account of the Disappearance of the Inhabitants of Roanoke Island, 1590

Introduction

John White's paintings of the Indians of the North Carolina coast are among the earliest to be created by a first hand witness to the lives of the native peoples. White sailed the North Atlantic with Martin Frobisher in 1577, and traveled to North Carolina on several Walter Raleigh-sponsored expeditions during the 1580s. His images helped stir interest in colonization. White came to the Carolina coast again in 1587 as governor of the English colony on Roanoke Island. White's granddaughter, Virginia Dare, was the first European child born on North American soil. The colony's 117 English men, women, and children—like Ralph Lane's garrison of 1585—had arrived too late to plant crops, and faced starvation. White returned to England to organize a relief mission and bring back food. Political events conspired to delay White's return to the Roanoke colony until 1590. After his three-year absence, he found only a deserted ruin, and stormy weather prevented him from searching further. He wrote this report shortly before his death in 1593, knowing that he would never learn the fate of the lost colonists. Some historians theorize that the native people either killed, enslaved, or absorbed the colonists into their villages.

Primary Source

The Admirals boat first passed the breach, but not without some danger of sinking, for we had a sea brake into our boat which filled us halfe full of water, but by the will of God and carefull styrage of Captaine Cooke we came safe ashore, saving onely that our furniture, victuals, match and powder were much wet and spoyled. For at this time the winde blue at Northeast and direct into the harbour so great a gale, that the Sea brake extremely on the barre, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance. By that time our Admirals boat was halled ashore, and most of our things taken out to dry, Captaine Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his mast standing up, and was halfe passed over, but by the rash and undiscreet styrage of Ralph Skinner his Masters mate, a very dangerous Sea brake into their boate and overset them quite, the men kept the boat some in it, and some hanging on it, but the next sea set the boat on ground, where it beat so, that some of them were forced to let goe their hold, hoping to wade ashore: but the Sea still beat them downe, so that they could neither stand nor swimme, and the boat twise or thrise was turned the keele upward, whereon Captaine Spicer and Skinner hung untill they sunke, and were seene no more. But foure that could swimme a litle kept themselves in deeper water and were saved by Captaine Cookes meanes, who so soone as he saw their oversetting, stripped himselfe, and foure other that could swimme very well, and with all haste possible rowed unto them, and saved foure. There were 11 in all and 7 of the chiefest were drowned, whose names were Edward Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Edward Kelly, Thomas Bevis, Hance the Surgion, Edward Kelborne, Robert Coleman. This mischance did so much discomfort the saylers, that they were all of one mind not to goe any further to seeke the planters. But in the end by the commandement and perswasion of me and Captaine Cooke, they prepared the boates: and seeing the Captaine and me so resolute, they seemed much more willing. Our boates and all things fitted againe, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 persons in both boates: but before we could get to the place where our planters were left, it was so exceeding darke, that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile: there we espied towards the North ende of the Island the light of a great fire thorow the woods, to which we presently rowed: when wee came right over against it, we let fall our Grapnel neere the shore and sounded with a trumpet a Call, and afterwardes many familiar English tunes of Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answere, we therefore landed at day-breake, and comming to the fire, we found the grasse and sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went thorow the woods to that part of the Iland directly over against Dasamongwepeuk, and from thence we returned by the water side, round about the North point of the Iland, untill we came to the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1586. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the Salvages feet of 2 or 3 sorts troaden the night, and as we entred up the sandy banke upon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carved these faire Romane letters CRO: which letters presently we knew to signifie the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon betweene them and me at my last departure from them, which was, that in any wayes they should not faile to write or carve on the trees or posts of the dores the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my comming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name, a Crosse & in this forme, but we found no such signe of distresse. And having well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fortlike, and one of the chiefe trees or postes at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5 foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was graven CROA-TOAN without any crosse or signe of distresse; this done, we entred into the palisado, where we found many barres of iron, two pigges of Lead, foure yron fowlers, Iron sacker-shotte, and such like heavie thinges, throwen here and there, almost overgrowen with grasse and weedes. From thence wee went along by the water side, towards the poynt of the Creeke to see if we could find any of their botes or Pinnisse, but we could perceive no signe of them, nor any of the last Falkons and small Ordinance which were left with them, at my departure from them. At our returne from the Creeke, some of our Saylers meeting us, told us that they had found where divers chests had bene hidden, and long sithence digged up againe and broken up, and much of the goods in them spoyled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the Savages knew any use of, undefaced. Presently Captaine Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the ende of an olde trench, made two yeeres past by Captaine Amadas: wheere wee found five Chests, that had bene carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the same chests three were my owne, and about the place many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust; this could bee no other but the deede of the Savages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and assoone as they were departed digged up every place where they suspected any thing to be buried: but although it much grieved me to see such spoyle of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Savages of the Iland our friends.

Source: Henry S. Burrage, ed. *Early English and French Voyages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906).

22. Pedro Fernandez de Chocas, Account of the Guale Uprising, October 4, 1597

Introduction

Between 1492 and the first Spanish landfall in the present-day United States, Spain had established a presence in the Caribbean and brutally conquered the Aztecs in Mexico. Spanish contact with native peoples invariably resulted in decimation of the natives by

violence and disease. The Spaniards turned northward to explore for precious metals, and by 1565 had established a base at St. Augustine. The governor of Florida wrote to his king recommending that the hostile natives be exterminated or captured and sold into slavery. King Philip II instead ordered that the Spanish focus on converting Native Americans to Christianity rather than conquering them. During the 1590s, Franciscan friars began establishing missions in the regions surrounding St. Augustine. They used a combination of gifts, trade goods, destruction of native idols, and punishment to win converts. Epidemics of European diseases caused many Indians to seek—in vain—divine protection from the friars' religion. In 1597, the Guale region, along the coast of present-day Georgia, erupted into violence against the Spanish missions. This report describes how the uprising began with the killing of five friars and the capture of a sixth. The governor of Florida avenged the deaths by destroying Guale villages and enslaving the captives.

Primary Source

October 4, 1597

Fray Pedro Fernandez de Chocas to Gonzalo Mendez de Canzo

Let Him through whose virtues hell is rendered powerless, give me strength to endure the hardships which confront us at each moment. To-day Saturday, in the morning, twenty-three canoes filled with Indians from all the land and province of Guale appeared to this river of Puturiba; they were going to Guale. After the men of the two of the canoes had disembarked at the village of San Pedro, the principal village of this province, and shot arrows at the Indian who came out of his house when the dogs made a noise and barked, their presence was immediately made known through the whole village from the cries of the wounded man, who is not dead yet. Don Iuan and his Indians went in two canoes after the two canoes of the enemy, who drew over to the other side of the river, and landed, leaving in the canoes everything they were carrying. Our Christian Indians went in pursuit of them into the forest until they overtook one, and according to the custom of Indians, they slew him and took his scalp, although his hair was short, as he was a Christian. I censured this, for it they had bound him, as I had told them to do, the cause and reason of the war could have been learned from him. Another canoe was also found adrift, and leaving it at the landingplace, the enemy fled into the forest without the men of this village being able to overtake them. The rest went to Bejesse, which is beyond this island; and there, through an arequi, my fiscal, spoke with the Cacique of Asao and censured him, and he went to his district and begged him to land. He would not do so; rather did he shamelessly show the hat of the Father Vicar of Asao, Fray Francisco de Berascula, saying: "See, hero, [what belonged] to that Father. Come, you others, and bring him tortas." He also showed the arquebue with which the said father used to call for a canoe by the streams he had to pass when he went to visit his villages. And [the cacique] said, in a loud voice, that there no longer was any

Christianity since Our Lord had permitted this, and the enemy of our Catholic faith had ordained it thus, for the condemnation of so many souls. It is much to be deplored that with the said Father they killed the Father of Guale, Fray Miguel de Aunon; him of Tolomato, Fray Pedro de Corpa; him of Tupiqui, Fray Blas Rodriguez; him of Talapuz, Fray Francisco de Avila, priests all of them; and that they had only kept alive as a prisoner and slave the Father, Fray Antonio de Badajoz, a lay-brother; and they took him to Tulufina with all the martyred religious, as is proved to be the truth by all the spoils which are taken away from them here: cowls and shreds of garments which the Indians divided among themselves. For that is what they did with such inhumanity to the most innocent Lamb [of all]. How they must have felt, Senor General, those little lambs, on receiving martyrdom all alone as they were! The thought of this so moves me that I cannot go on farther. I envy them the crowns of glory which they bear before us; and I await in this desert, by saintly obedience, that which Our Lord in His mercy may have in store for me; for the enemy Indians are already threatening those of this land, telling them to wander away from it and go to Timucua, because there they will not be warred upon again. The number of all the Indians who came might have been upwards of four hundred. May that religious whom they say they have spared from death and are keeping in Tulufina be favored by the one only God; and may they give decent burial to the bodies of the blessed dead; and may it be possible that the dead are not so many. There may be peril in any delay in assistance, although it is not my purpose the they be avenged by fire and sword rather should the remedy be gentleness and forbearance, as is your Honor's custom and intent, for they should be taken and treated like children. But I beg in mercy that the religious who have been saved may be visited, and taken from the hands of their foes; and if this cannot be shortly provided for our defence, and for the assistance of these Christian natives, it would be well to send six or more veteran soldiers, who could be divided meantime between Bezesi, here and San Pedro, doing the duty of sentinels with the Indians, if they can content themselves with tortas, gacha, and fish whenever there is any for here there is nothing else; and even this could not be furnished unless it be for a short time. But they, being honorable men, God will not fail them, for the love of Whom we subject ourselves to these perils; and may He inspire your Honor for the good task, and defend us from our enemies. From Puturiba, the fourth day of October, 1597. The altarfurnishings I used when I said mass in this mission, which his Majesty gave us with the corporal cloths, and a silver chalice from the convent which I had borrowed, were left in Tolomato when I made the journey to the mountains in safety [to Tama?], glory be to God. If it be right, may another be supplied me from his Majesty's funds. Well does your Honor see how necessary this is for my consolation and that of the Indians, and the good and benefit of the souls of purgatory, which has its part in the sacrifice. I supplicate your Honor to provide [in these matters], since therein God our Lord will be served, etc.

[Signed:] Fray Pedro Fernandez de Chocas

Source: David B. Quinn, ed., *New American World: a documentary history of North America to 1612*, vol. 5 (New York: Arno Press, 1979).

23. Don Juan de Oñate, Letter from New Mexico, 1599 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Spanish ventures in the New World, though licensed by the king, were privately financed and expected to make a profit. In 1573, King Philip II ordered that Spanish conquistadors focus on pacifying and converting Native Americans to Christianity rather than conquering them. The order to pacify rather than conquer made it more difficult for investors to realize a profit. Don Juan de Oñate was named to pacify and colonize New Mexico, a land of scarce resources populated by pueblo-dwelling natives. Oñate entered New Mexico in 1598 with several hundred colonists, including soldiers and Franciscan friars. His soldiers rampaged through the country plundering the natives. In January 1599, Acoma Pueblo revolted and killed about a dozen Spaniards. Oñate ordered massive retaliation. His forces killed 800 men, women, and children and enslaved and mutilated hundreds of captives. His letter, written shortly after the massacre, gives lip service to pacification and only briefly mentions events at Acoma. Oñate then led several futile expeditions in search of fabled riches. Oñate's colonists, failing to find wealth in New Mexico, eventually returned to Mexico and complained of his conduct. The royal governor of Mexico recalled and prosecuted Oñate. The Spanish founded a permanent settlement at Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1610.

Primary Source

[...

Although I reached [the province of New Mexico] on the twentyeighth day of May (going ahead with as many as sixty soldiers to pacify the land and free it from traitors, if in it there should be any, seizing Humana and his followers, to obtain full information, by seeing with my own eyes, regarding the location and nature of the land, and regarding the nature and customs of the people, so as to order what might be best for the army, which I left about twenty-two leagues from the first pueblos, after having crossed the Rio del Norte, at which river I took possession, in the name of his Majesty, of all these kingdoms and pueblos which I discovered before departing from it with scouts), the army did not overtake me at the place where I established it and where I now have it established, in this province of the Teguas, until the nineteenth day of August of the past year. During that time I travelled through settlements sixty-one leagues in extent toward the north, and thirty-five in width from east to west. All this district is filled with pueblos, large and small, very continuous and close together.

At the end of August I began to prepare the people of my camp for the severe winter with which both the Indians and the nature of the land threatened me; and the devil, who has ever tried to make good his great loss occasioned by our coming, plotted, as is his wont, exciting a rebellion among more than forty-five soldiers and captains, who under pretext of not finding immediately whole plates of silver lying on the ground, and offended because I would not permit them to maltreat these natives, either in their persons or in their goods, became disgusted with the country, or to be more exact, with me, and endeavored to form a gang in order to flee to that New Spain, as they proclaimed, although judging from what has since come to light their intention was directed more to stealing slaves and clothing and to other acts of effrontery not permitted. I arrested two captains and a soldier, who they said were guilty, in order to garrote them on this charge, but ascertaining that their guilt was not so great, and on account of my situation and of the importunate pleadings of the religious and of the entire army, I was forced to forego the punishment and let bygones be bygones.

Although by the middle of September I succeeded in completely calming and pacifying my camp, from this great conflagration a spark was bound to remain hidden underneath the ashes of the dissembling countenances of four of the soldiers of the said coterie. These fled from me at that time, stealing from me part of the horses, thereby violating not only one but many proclamations which, regarding this matter and others, I had posted for the good of the land in the name of his Majesty.

Since they had violated his royal orders, it appeared to me that they should not go unpunished; therefore I immediately sent post-haste the captain and procurator-general Gaspar Perez de Villagran and the captain of artillery Geronimo Marques, with an express order to follow and overtake them and give them due punishment. They left in the middle of September, as I have said, thinking that they would overtake them at once, but their journey was prolonged more than they or I had anticipated, with the result to two of the offenders which your Lordship already knows from the letter which they tell me they wrote from Sancta Barbara. The other two who fled from them will have received the same at your Lordship's hands, as is just.

I awaited their return and the outcome for some days, during which time I sent my *sargento mayor* to find and utilize the buffalo to the east, where he found an infinite multitude of them, and had the experience which he set forth in a special report. Both he and the others were so long delayed that, in order to lose no time, at the beginning of October, this first church having been founded, wherein the first mass was celebrated on the 8th of September, and the religious having been distributed in various provinces and *doctrinas*, I went in person to the province of Abo and to that of the Xumanas and to the large and famous salines of this country, which must be about twenty leagues east of here.

... I have, then, discovered and seen up to the present the following provinces:

The province of the Piguis, which is the one encountered in coming from that New Spain; the province of the Xumanas; the province of the Cheguas, which we Spaniards call Puaray; the province of the Cheres; the province of the Trias; the province of the Emmes; the province of the Teguas; the province of the Picuries; the province of the Taos; the province of the Peccos; the province of Abbo and the salines; the province of Juni; and the province of Mohoce.

These last two are somewhat apart from the rest, towards the west, and are the places where we recently discovered the rich mines, as is attested by the papers which your Lordship will see there. I could not work or improve these mines because of the death of my *maese de campo*, Joan de Zaldivar, and of the rectification of the results of it, which I completed at the end of last month. Nor could I complete my journey to the South Sea, which was the purpose with which I went to the said provinces, leaving my camp in this province of the Teguas, whence I am now writing.

There must be in this province and in the others abovementioned, to make a conservative estimate, seventy thousand Indians, settled after our custom, house adjoining house, with square plazas. They have no streets, and in the pueblos, which contain many plazas or wards, one goes from one plaza to the other through alleys. They are of two and three stories, of an *estado* and a half or an *estado* and a third each, which latter is not so common; and some houses are of four, five, six, and seven stories. Even whole pueblos dress in very highly colored cotton *mantas*, white or black, and some of thread—very good clothes. Others wear buffalo hides, of which there is a great abundance. They have most excellent wool, of whose value I am sending a small example.

It is a land abounding in flesh of buffalo, goats with hideous horns, and turkeys; and in Mohoce there is game of all kinds. There are many wild and ferocious beasts, lions, bears, wolves, tigers, penicas, ferrets, porcupines, and other animals, whose hides they tan and use. Towards the west there are bees and very white honey, of which I am sending a sample. Besides, there are vegetables, a great abundance of the best and greatest salines in the world, and a very great many kinds of very rich ores, as I stated above. Some discovered near here do not appear so, although we have hardly begun to see anything of the much there is to be seen. There are very fine grape vines, rivers, forests of many oaks, and some cork trees, fruits, melons, grapes, watermelons, Castilian plums, capuli, pinenuts, acorns, ground-nuts, and coralejo, which is a delicious fruit, and other wild fruits. There are many and very good fish in this Rio del Norte, and in others. From the ores here are made all the colors which we use, and they are very fine.

[...]

We have seen other nations such as the Querechos, or herdsmen, who live in tents of tanned hides, among the buffalo. The Apaches, of whom we have also seen some, are innumerable, and although I heard that they lived in rancherias, a few days ago I ascertained that they live like these in pueblos, one of which, eighteen leagues from here, contains fifteen plazas. They are a people whom I have compelled to render obedience to His Majesty, although not by means of legal instruments like the rest of the provinces. This has caused me much labor, diligence, and care, long journeys, with arms on the shoulders, and not a little watching and circumspection; indeed, because my maese de campo was not as cautious as he should have been, they killed him with twelve companions in a great pueblo and fortress called Acoma, which must contain about three thousand Indians. As punishment for its crime and its treason against his Majesty, to whom it had already rendered submission by a public instrument, and as a warning to the rest, I razed and burned it completely, in the way in which your Lordship will see by the process of this cause. All these provinces, pueblos, and peoples, I have seen with my own eyes.

There is another nation, that of the Cocoyes, an innumerable people with huts and agriculture. Of this nation and of the large settlements at the source of the Rio del Norte and of those to the northwest and west and towards the South Sea, I have numberless reports, and pearls of remarkable size from the said sea, and assurance that there is an infinite number of them on the coast of this country. And as to the east, a person in my camp, an Indian who speaks Spanish and is one of those who came with Humana, has been in the pueblo of the said herdsmen. It is nine continuous leagues in length and two in width, with streets and houses consisting of huts. It is situated in the midst of the multitude of buffalo, which are so numerous that my sargento mayor, who hunted them and brought back their hides, meat, tallow, and suet, asserts that in one herd alone he saw more than there are of our cattle in the combined three ranches of Rodrigo del Rio, Salvago, and Jeronimo Lopez, which are famed in those regions.

I should never cease were I to recount individually all of the many things which occur to me. I can only say that with God's help I shall see them all, and give new worlds, new, peaceful, and grand, to his Majesty, greater than the good Marquis gave to him, although he did so much, if you, Illustrious Sir, will give to me the aid, the protection, and the help which I expect from such a hand. And although I confess that I am crushed at having been so out of favor when I left that country, and although a soul frightened by disfavor usually loses hope and despairs of success, it is nevertheless true that I never have and never shall lose hope of receiving many and very great favors at the hand of your Lordship, especially in matters of such importance to his Majesty. And in order that you, Illustrious Sir, may be inclined to render them to me, I beg that you take note of the great increase which the royal crown and the rents of his

Majesty have and will have in this land, with so many and such a variety of things, each one of which promises very great treasures. I shall only note these four, omitting the rest as being well known and common:

First, the great wealth which the mines have begun to reveal and the great number of them in this land, whence proceed the royal fifths and profits. Second, the certainty of the proximity of the South Sea, whose trade with Piru, New Spain, and China is not to be depreciated, for it will give birth in time to advantageous and continuous duties, because of its close proximity, particularly to China and to that land. And what I emphasize in this matter as worthy of esteem is the traffic in pearls, reports of which are so certain, as I have stated, and of which we have had ocular experience from the shells. Third, the increase of vassals and tributes, which will increase not only the rents, but his renown and dominion as well, if it be possible that for our king these can increase. Fourth, the wealth of the abundant salines, and of the mountains of brimstone, of which there is a greater quantity than in any other province. Salt is the universal article of traffic of all these barbarians and their regular food, for they even eat or suck it alone as we do sugar. These four things appear as if dedicated solely to his Majesty. I will not mention the founding of so many republics, the many offices, their quittances, vacancies, provisions, etc., the wealth of the wool and hides of buffalo, and many other things, clearly and well known, or, judging from the general nature of the land, the certainty of wines and oils.

In view, then, Illustrious Sir, of things of such honor, profit, and value, and of the great prudence, magnanimity, and nobility of your Lordship, who in all matters is bound to prosper me and overcome the ill fortune of my disgrace, I humbly beg and supplicate, since it is of such importance to the service of God and of his Majesty, that the greatest aid possible be sent to me, both for settling and pacifying, your Lordship giving your favor, mind, zeal, and life for the conservation, progress, and increase of this land, through the preaching of the holy gospel and the founding of this republic, giving liberty and favor to all, opening wide the door to them, and, if it should be necessary, even ordering them to come to serve their king in so honorable and profitable a matter, in a land so abundant and of such great beginnings of riches. I call them beginnings, for although we have seen much, we have not yet made a beginning in comparison with what there is to see and enjoy. And if the number should exceed five hundred men, they all would be needed, especially married men, who are the solid rock on which new republics are permanently founded; and noble people, of whom there is such a surplus there....

[…]

Source: Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed. Spanish Exploration in the Southwest (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916).

24. Bartholomew Gosnold, Letter to his Father regarding his First Voyage to New England, 1602

Introduction

In 1602, Englishman Bartholomew Gosnold commanded an expedition to explore the New England coast and possibly establish a colony. The English referred to the entire east coast of North America as Virginia, the name conferred after the 1584 voyage sponsored by Walter Raleigh. Gosnold reached the New England, or "North Virginia," coast at southern Maine and explored as far south as Rhode Island. He gave Cape Cod its name and named the island of Martha's Vineyard after his daughter. Gosnold and his men decided they did not have enough food to survive the winter. They returned to England with a ship full of furs, lumber, and sassafras. Gosnold reported that the North Virginia climate was colder than that of European lands of the same latitude, but that it was nevertheless healthful as evidenced by the appearance of the native inhabitants. Gosnold's venture encouraged other English traders. In 1603 Martin Pring made a similar voyage, as did Sir George Waymouth in 1605. The French explorer Samuel de Champlain also charted the New England coast in search of a site for a French colony, but hard winters and French politics conspired to defeat the effort. In 1607, Gosnold returned to North America as vice admiral of the expedition to establish the colony at Jamestown, Virginia. He died there of malaria within months of his arrival.

Primary Source

My dutie remembred, &c. Sir, I was in good hope that my occasions would have allowed mee so much libertie, as to have come unto you before this time; otherwise I would have written more at large concerning the Countrie from whence we lately came, then I did: but not well remembring what I have already written (though I am assured that there is nothing set downe disagreeing with the truth) I thought it fittest not to goe about to adde any thing in writing, but rather to leave the report of the rest till I come my selfe; which now I hope shall be shortly, and so soone as with conveniency I may. In the meane time, notwithstanding whereas you seeme not to be satisfied by that which I have already written concerning some especiall matters. I have here briefely (and as well as I can) added these few lines for your further satisfaction: and the first as touching that place where we were most resident, it is in the Latitude of 41. degrees, and one third part: which albeit it be so much to the Southward, yet is it more cold then those parts of Europe, which are scituated under the same paralell: but one thing is worth the noting, that notwithstanding the place is not so much subject to cold as England is, yet did we finde the Spring to be later there, then it is with us here, by almost a moneth: this whether it hapned accidentally this last Spring to be so, or whether it be so of course, I am not very certaine: the latter seemes most likely, whereof also there may be given some sufficient reason, which now I omit: as for the Acornes we saw gathered on heapes, they were of the last yeare, but doubtlesse their Summer continues longer then ours. We cannot gather by any thing we could observe in the people, or by any triall we had thereof our selves: but that it is as healthfull a Climate as any can be. The Inhabitants there, as I wrote before, being of tall stature, comely proportion, strong, active, and some of good yeares, and as it should seeme very healthfull, are sufficient proofe of the healthfulnesse of the place. First, for our selves (thankes be to God) we had not a man sicke two dayes together in all our Voyage; whereas others that went out with us, or about that time on other Voyages (especially such as went upon reprisall) wer most of them infected with sicknesse, whereof they lost some of their men, and brought home a many sicke, returning notwithstanding long before us. But Verazzano and others (as I take it, you may reade in the Booke of Discoveries) doe more particularly intreate of the Age of the people in that coast. The Sassafras which we brought we had upon the Ilands: where though we had little disturbance, and reasonable plenty: yet for that the greatest part of our people were imployed about the fitting of our house, and such like affaires, and a few (and those but easie labourers) undertooke this worke, the rather because we were informed befor our going forth, that a tunne was sufficient to cloy England and further, for that we had resolved upon our returne, and taken view of our victuall, we judged it then needfull to use expedition; which afterward we had more certaine proofe of; for when we came to an anker before Portsmouth, which was some foure dayes after we made the land, we had not one Cake of Bread, nor any drinke, but a little Vinegar, left: for these and other reasons, we returned no otherwise laden then you have heard. And thus much I hope shall suffice till I can my selfe come to give you further notice, which though it be not so soone as I could have wisht, yet I hope it shall be in convenient time. In the meane time craving your pardon, for which the urgent occasions of my stay will pleade, I humbly take my leave. September 7, 1602.

Your dutifull Sonne, Barth. Gosnold

Source: David B. Quinn, ed., New American World: a documentary history of North America to 1612, vol. 3 (New York: Arno Press, 1979).

25. Virginia Company of London Charter, 1606

Introduction

The first permanent English settlement in the New World, Jamestown, was established in Virginia in 1607 by the Virginia Company of London. This charter, granted by King James I to the Virginia Company in 1606, gave the organization the authority to

claim and profit from the land. The charter granted the company an enormous tract of land in North America that included presentday New England. The company included "knights, gentlemen, merchants, and adventurers" who wanted mainly to make money for themselves and the company. Once in Virginia, they intended to search for gold and other valuable products. When the first settlers landed in Virginia, they contended for leadership of the colony. The leaders in turn faced the challenge of getting gentlemen to perform the manual labor required to build and feed a settlement. When the settlers failed to find easy riches, the company tried to raise money in England by selling shares. In 1609, the company received a second charter from James, which granted it greater autonomy in administering the colony's affairs. A third charter in 1612 extended the company's territorial holdings in North America. In the face of poor earnings, James revoked the charter in 1624, making Virginia a royal colony.

Primary Source

I JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. WHEREAS our loving and well-disposed Subjects, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard Hackluit, Prebendary of Westminster, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Ralegh Gilbert, Esqrs. William Parker, and George Popham, Gentlemen, and divers others of our loving Subjects, have been humble Suitors unto us, that We would vouchsafe unto them our Licence, to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a Colony of sundry of our People into that Part of America, commonly called VIRGINIA, and other Parts and Territories in America, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any Christian Prince or People, situate, lying, and being all along the Sea Coasts, between four and thirty Degrees of Northerly Latitude from the Equinoctial Line, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude, and in the main Land between the same four and thirty and five and forty Degrees, and the Islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred Miles of the Coasts thereof:

II. And to that End, and for the more speedy Accomplishment of their said intended Plantation and Habitation there, are desirous to divide themselves into two several Colonies and Companies; The one consisting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our City of London and elsewhere, which are, and from time to time shall be, joined unto them, which do desire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in some fit and convenient Place, between four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude, along the Coasts of Virginia and Coasts of America aforesaid; And the other consisting of sundry Knights, gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our Cities of Bristol and Exeter, and of our Town of Plimouth, and of other Places, which do join themselves unto that Colony, which do desire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in some fit and convenient Place, between eight and thirty Degrees and five and forty Degrees of the said Lat-

itude, all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, as that Coast lyeth:

III. We, greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their Desires for the Furtherance of so noble a Work, which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian Religion to such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those Parts, to human Civility, and to a settled and quiet Government; DO, by these our Letters Patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well-intended Desires;

IV. And do therefore, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GRANT and agree, that the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, Adventurers of and for our City of London, and all such others, as are, or shall be, joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the first Colony; And they shall and may begin their said first Plantation and Habitation, at any Place upon the said Coast of Virginia or America, where they shall think fit and convenient, between the said four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude; And that they shall have all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty Miles of English Statute Measure, all along the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the West and Southwest, as the Coast lyeth, with all the Islands within one hundred Miles directly over against the same Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Waters, Marshes, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the space of fifty like English Miles all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the East and Northeast, or towards the North, as the Coast lyeth, together with all the Islands within one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land by the Space of one hundred like English Miles; And shall and may inhabit and remain there; and shall and may also build and fortify within any the same, for their better Safeguard and Defence, according to their best Discretion, and the Discretion of the Council of that Colony; And that no other of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the Backside of them, towards the main Land, without the Express License or Consent of the Council of that Colony, thereunto in Writing first had and obtained.

V. And we do likewise, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by these Presents, GRANT and agree, that the said Thomas Hanham, and Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and all others of the Town of Plimouth in the County of Devon, or elsewhere, which are, or shall be, joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the second Colony, And that they shall and may begin their said Plantation and Seat of their first Abode and Habitation, at any Place upon the said Coast of Virginia and America, where they shall think fit and convenient, between eight and thirty Degrees of the said Latitude, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude; And that they shall have all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever from the first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty like English Miles as is aforesaid, all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the West and Southwest, or towards the South, as the Coast lyeth, and all the Islands within one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the Space of fifty like Miles, all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the East and Northeast, or towards the North, as the Coast lyeth, and all the Islands also within one hundred Miles directly over against the same Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Woods, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land, by the Space of one hundred like English Miles; And shall and may inhabit and remain there; and shall and may also build and fortify within any the same for their better Safeguard, according to their best Discretion, and the Discretion of the Council of that Colony; And that none of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the back of them, towards the main Land, without the express License of the Council of that Colony, in Writing thereunto first had and obtained.

VI. Provided always, and our Will and Pleasure herein is, that the Plantation and Habitation of such of the said Colonies, as shall last plant themselves, as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred like English Miles of the other of them, that first began to make their Plantation, as aforesaid.

VII. And we do also ordain, establish, and agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, that each of the said Colonies shall have a Council, which shall govern and order all Matters and Causes, which shall arise, grow, or happen, to or within the same several Colonies, according to such Laws, Ordinances, and Instructions, as shall be, in that behalf, given and signed with Our Hand or Sign Manual, and pass under the Privy Seal of our Realm of England, Each of which Councils shall consist of thirteen Persons, to be ordained, made, and removed, from time to time, according as shall be directed, and comprised in the same instructions; And shall have a several Seal, for all Matters that shall pass or concern the same several Councils;

Each of which Seals shall have the King's Arms engraven on the one Side thereof, and his Portraiture on the other; And that the Seal for the Council of the said first Colony shall have engraven round about, on the one side, these Words; Sigillum Regis Magna Britannia, Francia, & Hibernia; on the other Side this Inscription, round about; Pro Concilia prima Colonia Virginia. And the seal for the Council of the said second Colony shall also have engraven, round about the one Side thereof, the aforesaid Words; Sigillum Regis Magna, Britannia, Francia & Hibernia, and on the other Side; Pro Concilio secunda Colonia Virginia:

VIII. And that also there shall be a Council established here in England, which shall, in like Manner, consist of thirteen Persons, to be, for that Purpose, appointed by Us, our Heirs and Successors, which shall be called our Council of Virginia, And shall, from time to time, have the superior Managing and Direction, only of and for all Matters, that shall or may concern the Government, as well of the said several Colonies, as of and for any other Part or Place, within the aforesaid Precincts of four and thirty and five and forty Degrees, abovementioned; Which Council shall, in like manner, have a Seal, for Matters concerning the Council of Colonies, with the like Arms and Portraiture as aforesaid, with this Inscription, engraven round about on the one Side; Sigillum Regis Magna Britannia, Francia, & Hibernia; and round about the other side, Pro Concilio suo Virginia.

IX. And moreover, we do GRANT and agree, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, that the said several Councils, of and for the said several Colonies, shall and lawfully may, by Virtue hereof, from time to time, without any Interruption of Us, our Heirs, or Successors, give and take Order, to dig, mine, and search for all Manner of Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper, as well within any part of their said several Colonies, as for the said main Lands on the Backside of the same Colonies; And to HAVE and enjoy the Gold, Silver, and Copper, to be gotten thereof, to the Use and Behoof of the same Colonies, and the Plantations thereof; YIELDING therefore, to Us, our Heirs and Successors, the fifth Part only of all the same Gold and Silver, and the fifteenth Part of all the same Copper, so to be gotten or had, as is aforesaid, without any other Manner or Profit or Account, to be given or yielded to Us, our Heirs, or Successors, for or in Respect of the same:

X. And that they shall, or lawfully may, establish and cause to be made a Coin; to pass current there between the People of those several Colonies, for the more Ease of Traffick and Bargaining between and amongst them and the Natives there, of such Metal, and in such Manner and Form, as the said several Councils there shall limit and appoint.

XI. And we do likewise, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by these Presents, give full Power and Authority to the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and to every of them, and to the said several Companies,

Plantations, and Colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may, at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the said Voyage, and for and towards the said several Plantations and Colonies, and to travel thitherward, and to abide and inhabit there, in every the said Colonies and Plantations, such and so many of our Subjects, as shall willingly accompany them, or any of them, in the said Voyages and Plantations; With sufficient Shipping and Furniture of Armour, Weapons, Ordinance, Powder, Victual, and all other things, necessary for the said Plantations, and for their Use and Defence there: PROVIDED always, that none of the said Persons be such, as shall hereafter be specially restrained by Us, our Heirs, or Successors.

XII. Moreover, we do, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT Licence unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and to every of the said Colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for their several Defences, encounter, expulse, repel, and resist, as well by Sea as by Land, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every such Person and Persons, as without the especial Licence of the said several Colonies and Plantations, shall attempt to inhabit within the said several Precincts and Limits of the said several Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, or that shall enterprise or attempt, at any time hereafter, the Hurt, Detriment, or Annoyance, of the said several Colonies or Plantations.

XIII. Giving and granting, by these Presents, unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, and their Associates of the said first Colony, and unto the said Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and their Associates of the said second Colony, and to every of them, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, Power and Authority to take and surprise, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every Person and Persons, with their Ships, Vessels, Goods and other Furniture, which shall be found trafficking, into any Harbour or Harbours, Creek or Creeks, or Place, within the Limits or Precincts of the said several Colonies and Plantations, not being of the same Colony, until such time, as they, being of any Realms or Dominions under our Obedience, shall pay, or agree to pay, to the Hands of the Treasurer of that Colony, within whose Limits and Precincts they shall so traffick, two and a half upon every Hundred, of any thing, so by them trafficked, bought, or sold; And being Strangers, and not Subjects under our Obeysance, until they shall pay five upon every Hundred, of such Wares and Merchandise, as they shall traffick, buy, or sell, within the Precincts of the said several Colonies, wherein they shall so traffick, buy, or sell, as aforesaid, WHICH Sums of Money, or Benefit, as aforesaid, for and during the Space of one and twenty Years, next ensuing the Date hereof, shall be wholly emploied to the Use, Benefit, and Behoof of the said several Plantations, where such Traffick

shall be made; And after the said one and twenty Years ended, the same shall be taken to the Use of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by such Officers and Ministers, as by Us, our Heirs, and Successors, shall be thereunto assigned or appointed.

XIV. And we do further, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, and to their Associates of the said first Colony and Plantation, and to the said Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and their Associates of the said second Colony and Plantation, that they, and every of them, by their Deputies, Ministers and Factors, may transport the Goods, Chattels, Armour, Munition, and Furniture, needful to be used by them, for their said Apparel, Food, Defence, or otherwise in Respect of the said Plantations, out of our Realms of England and Ireland, and all other our Dominions, from time to time, for and during the Time of seven Years, next ensuing the Date hereof, for the better Relief of the said several Colonies and Plantations, without any Custom, Subsidy, or other Duty, unto Us, our Heirs, or Successors, to be yielded or paid for the same.

XV. Also we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, DECLARE, by these Presents, that all and every the Persons, being our Subjects, which shall dwell and inhabit within every or any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, and every of their children, which shall happen to be born within any of the Limits and Precincts of the said several Colonies and Plantations, shall HAVE and enjoy all Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities, within any of our other Dominions, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had been abiding and born, within this our Realm of England, or any other of our said Dominions.

XVI. Moreover, our gracious Will and Pleasure is, and we do, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, declare and set forth, that if any Person or Persons, which shall be of any of the said Colonies and Plantations, or any other, which shall traffick to the said Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, shall, at any time or times hereafter, transport any Wares, Merchandises, or Commodities, out of any of our Dominions, with a Pretence to land, sell, or otherwise dispose of the same, within any the Limits and Precincts of any the said Colonies and Plantations, and yet nevertheless, being at Sea, or after he hath landed the same within any of the said Colonies and Plantations, shall carry the same into any other Foreign Country, with a Purpose there to sell or dispose of the same, without the Licence of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, in that Behalf first had and obtained; That then, all the Goods and Chattels of such Person or Persons, so offending and transporting, together with the said Ship or Vessel, wherein such Transportation was made, shall be forfeited to Us, our Heirs, and Successors.

XVII. Provided always, and our Will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian Kings, Princes, and States, that if any Person or Persons, which shall hereafter be of any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, or any other, by his, their or any of their Licence and Appointment, shall, at any time or times hereafter, rob or spoil, by Sea or by Land, or do any Act of unjust and unlawful Hostility, to any the Subjects of Us, our Heirs, or Successors, or any the Subjects of any King, Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, being then in League or Amity with Us, our Heirs, or Successors, and that upon such Injury, or upon just Complaint of such Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, or their Subjects, We, our Heirs, or Successors, shall make open Proclamation, within any of the Ports of our Realm of England, commodious for that Purpose, That the said Person or Persons, having committed any such Robbery or Spoil, shall, within the Term to be limited by such Proclamations make full Restitution or Satisfaction of all such Injuries done, so as the said Princes, or others, so complaining, may hold themselves fully satisfied and contented; And that, if the said Person or Persons, having committed such Robbery or Spoil, shall not make, or cause to be made, Satisfaction accordingly, within such Time so to be limited, That then it shall be lawful to Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to put the said Person or Persons, having committed such Robbery or Spoil, and their Procurers, Abetters, or Comforters, out of our Allegiance and Protection; And that it shall be lawful and free, for all Princes and others, to pursue with Hostility the said Offenders, and every of them, and their and every of their Procurers, Aiders, Abetters, and Comforters, in that Behalf.

XVIII. And finally, we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GRANT and agree, to and with the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, and all others of the said first Colony, that We, our Heirs, and Successors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, shall, by Letters-patent under the Great Seal of England, GIVE and GRANT unto such Persons, their Heirs, and Assigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the most Part of them, shall, for that Purpose nominate and assign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which shall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforesaid, To BE HOLDEN of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manor at East-Greenwich in the County of Kent, in free and common Soccage only, and not in Capite:

XIX. And do, in like Manner, Grant and Agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to and with the said Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and an others of the said second Colony, That We, our Heirs, and Successors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, shall by Letters-patent under the Grant Seal of England, GIVE and GRANT unto such Persons, their Heirs, and Assigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the most Part of them, shall, for that Purpose, nominate and assign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which shall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforesaid To BE HOLDEN OF US, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manour of East-Greenwich in the County of Kent, in free and common Soccage only, and not in Capite.

XX. All which Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, so to be passed by the said several Letters-patent, shall be sufficient Assurance from the said Patentees, so distributed and divided amongst the Undertakers for the Plantation of the said several Colonies, and such as shall make their Plantations in either of the said several Colonies, in such Manner and Form, and for such Estates, as shall be ordered and set down by the Council of the said Colony, or the most Part of them, respectively, within which the same Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments shall lye or be; Although express Mention of the true yearly Value or Certainty of the Premises, or any of them, or of any other Gifts or Grants, by Us or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors, to the aforesaid Sir Thomas Gates, Knt. Sir George Somers, Knt. Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, or any of them, heretofore made, in these Presents, is not made; Or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, or Provision, Proclamation, or Restraint, to the contrary hereof had, made, ordained, or any other Thing, Cause, or Matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. In Witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents; Witness Ourself at Westminster, the tenth Day of April, in the fourth Year of our Reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the nine and thirtieth.

Source: Eliot, Charles W., ed. *American Historical Documents* 1000–1904. New York: P F Collier & Son, 1910.

26. John Smith, The Settlement at Jamestown, 1607

Introduction

Captain John Smith (1580–1631) was part of the first expedition to colonize Virginia in 1607. The son of a tenant farmer, he became a professional soldier. As such, he did not get along with the upperclass gentlemen of the expedition. Smith spent much of his time in Virginia exploring the countryside, forging a relationship with the native peoples, and mapping the coastal waterways. The native peoples consisted of the Algonquian inhabitants of some 30 villages who accepted the leadership of their chieftain, Powhatan. Ongoing power struggles propelled Smith to the presidency of the colony after the first two presidents were discredited. Unlike the previous leaders, Smith imposed discipline and forced the gentlemen to work for the survival of the colony. Nevertheless, they faced months of starvation and many fell ill and died. Smith left Virginia in 1609 and returned home to recuperate from an injury. He returned to North America and mapped the coast of New England in 1614. After his final return to England, Smith wrote an account of his adventures. Here he describes the colonists' landfall, their construction of the fort, early relations with the Powhatan Indians, power struggles among the colonists, and loss of lives to illness.

Primary Source

Kinde Sir, commendations remembred &c. You shall understand that after many crosses in the downes by tempests, wee arrived safely uppon the Southwest part of the great Canaries: within foure or five daies after we set saile for Dominica, the 26. Of Aprill: the first land we made, wee fell with Cape Henry, the verie mouth of the Bay of Chissiapiacke, which at that present we little expected, having by a cruell storme bene put to the Northward: anchoring in this Bay, twentie or thirtie went a shore with the Captain, and in comming aboard, they were assalted with certaine Indians, which charged them within Pistoll shot: in which conflict, Captaine Archer and Mathew Morton were shot: whereupon, Captaine Newport seconding them, made a shot at them, which the Indians little respected, but having spent their arrowes retyred without harme, and in that place was the Box opened, wherin the Counsell for Virginia was nominated: and arriving at the place where wee are now seated, the Counsell was sworne, the President elected, which for that yeare was Maister Edm. Maria Wingfield, where was made choice for our scituation a verie fit place for the erecting of a great cittie, about which some contention passed betwixt Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Gosnold, notwithstanding all our provision was brought a shore, and with as much speede as might bee wee went about our fortification.

The two and twenty day of Aprill, Captain Newport and my selfe with divers others, to the other number of twenty two persons, set forward to discover the River, some fiftie or sixtie miles, finding it in some places broader, & in some narrower, the Countrie (for the moste part) on each side plaine high ground, with many fresh Springes, the people in all places kindely intreating us, daunsing and feasting us with Strawberries, Mulberries, Bread, Fish, and other their Countrie provisions wherof we had plenty: for which Captaine Newport kindely requited their least favours with Bels, Pinnes, Needles, beades, or Glassas, which so contented them that his liberallitie made them follow us from place to place, ever kindely to respect us. In the midway staying to refresh our selves in a little Ile foure or five savages came unto us which described unto us the course of the River, and after in our journey, they often met us, trading with us for such provision as wee had, and ariving at Arsatecke, hee whom we supposed to bee the chiefe King of all the rest, moste kindely entertained us, giving us in a guide to go with us up the River to Powhatan, of which place their great Emperor taketh his name, where he that they honored for King used us kindely. But to finish this discoverie, we passed on further, where within an mile we were intercepted with great craggy stones in the midst of the river, where the water falleth so rudely, and with such a violence, as not any boat can possibly passe, and so broad disperseth the streame, as there is not past five or sixe Foote at a low water, and to the shore scarce passage with a barge, the water floweth foure foote, and the freshes by reason of the Rockes have left markes of the inundations 8. or 9. foote: The south side is plaine low ground, and the north side high mountaines, the rockes being of gravelly nature, interlaced with many vains of glistring spangles.

That night we returned to Powhatan: the next day (being Whitsunday after dinner) we returned to the fals, leaving a mariner in pawn with the Indians for a guide of theirs, hee that they honoured for King followed us by the river (further he would not goe) so there we erected a crosse, and that night taking our man at Powhatans, Captaine Newport congratulated his kindenes with a Gown and a Hatchet: returning to Arsetecke, and stayed there the next day to observe the height therof, & so with many signes of love we departed. The next day the Queene of Apamatuck kindely intreated us, her people being no lesse contented then the rest, and from thence we went to another place, (the name wherof I doe not remember) where the people shewed us the manner of their diving of Mussels, in which they finde Pearles.

That night passing by Weanock some twentie miles from our Fort, they according to their former churlish condition, seemed little to affect us, but as wee departed and lodged at the point of Weanocke, the people the next morning seemed kindely to content us, yet we might perceive many signs of a more Jealousie in them then before, and also the Hinde that the King of Arseteck had given us, altered his resolution in going to our Fort, and with many kinde circumstances left us there. This gave us some occasion to doubt some mischiefe at the Fort, yet Captaine Newport intended to have visited Paspahegh and Tappahanocke, but the instant change of the winde being faire for our return we repaired to the fort with all speed, where the first we heard was that 400. Indians the day before assalted the fort, & surprised it; had not God (beyond al their expectations) by meanes of the shippes at whom they shot with their Ordinances and Muskets), caused them to retire, they had entred the fort with our own men, which were then busied in setting Corne, their armes beeing then in driefats & few ready but certain Gentlemen of their own, in which conflict, most of the Counsel was hurt, a boy slaine in the Pinnas, and thirteene or fourteene more hurt. With all speede we pallisadoed our Fort: (each other day) for sixe or seaven daies we had alarums by ambuscadoes, and foure or five cruelly wounded by being abroad: the Indians losse wee know not, but as they report three were slain and divers hurt.

Captaine Newport having set things in order, set saile for England the 22 of June, leaving provision for 13. or 14 weeks. The day before the Ships departure, the king of Pamaunke sent the Indian that had met us before in our discoverie, to assure us peace, our fort being then palisadoed round, and all our men in good health and comfort, albeit, that throgh some discontented humors, it did not so long continue, for the President and Captaine Gosnold, with the rest of the Counsell being for the moste part discontented with one another, in so much, that things were neither carried with that discretion nor any busines effected in such good sort as wisdome would, nor our owne good and safetie required thereby, and through the hard dealings of our President, the rest of the counsell being diverslie affected through his audacious commaund, and for Captaine Martin, (albeit verie honest) and wishing the best good,

yet so sicke and weake, and my selfe disgrac'd through others mallice, through which disorder God (being angrie with us) plagued us with such famin and sicknes, that the living were scarce able to bury the dead: our want of sufficient and good victualls, with continuall watching foure or five each night at three Bulwarkes, being the chiefe cause: onely of Sturgion wee had great store, whereon our men would so greedily surfet, as it cost manye their lives: the Sack, Aquavitie, and other preservatives for our health, being kept onely in the Presidents hands, for his owne diet, and his few associates: shortly after Captaine Gosnold fell sicke, and within three weeks died, Captaine Ratcliffe being then also verie sicke and weake, and my selfe having also tasted of the extremitie therof, but by Gods assistance being well recovered.

Source: Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, vol. 1 (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1986).

27. Relation of a Voyage to Sagadahoc, 1608

Introduction

The charter granted by King James I in 1606 provided for both a southern and a northern colony in Virginia. Virginia at that time referred to the entire coastal region from the Carolinas to Maine. Among the charter's recipients were Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Sir John Popham, who were most keenly interested in a northern colony. They sent an initial exploratory expedition which reached the coast of Maine. Based on the report of navigator Martin Pring, the investors sent two vessels with colonists to Maine in June 1607. Among the colonists were Popham's nephew and Raleigh Gilbert, the son of the late Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Arriving in mid-August, the colonists selected a site at the mouth of the Sagadahoc (presentday Kennebec) River. This colony failed because an exceptionally harsh winter and the death of one of the leaders discouraged the settlers. They did succeed, however, in building a fort and a vessel, establishing cordial relations with the Indians, and acquiring valuable furs and sassafras logs. On arrival of a supply ship in the spring of 1608, the colonists returned to England with their trade goods and the ship they had built, called the Virginia. This anonymous account was probably written by the navigator of one of the two original vessels that carried the colonists to Maine.

Primary Source

Mundays beinge the 17th Auguste Capt. popham in his shallop with 30 others and Capt. Gilbert in his shipes bott accompanied with 18 other persons depted early in the morninge from thear ships and sailled up the Ryver of Sagadehock for to vew the Ryver and also to See whear they might fynd the most convenient place for thear plantation my Selffe beinge with Capt. Gilbert. So we Sailled up into this ryver near 14 Leags and found ytt to be a most gallant ryver very brod

and of a good depth. We never had Lesse Wattr then 3 fethan when we had Least and abundance of great fyshe in ytt Leaping above the Wattr on eatch Syd of us as we Sailled. So the nyght aprochinge after a whill we had refreshed our Selves upon the shore about 9 of the Cloke we sett backward to retorn and Cam abourd our shipes the next day followinge about 2 of the Clok in the afternoon. We fynd this ryver to be very pleasant with many goodly Illands in ytt and to be both Large and deepe Wattr havinge many branches in ytt. that which we tooke bendeth ytt Selffe towards the northest.

Tuesdaye beinge the 18th after our retorn we all went to the shore and thear mad Choies of a place for our plantation which ys at the very mouth or entry of the Ryver of Sagadehocke on the West Syd of the Ryver beinge almoste an Illand of a good bygness. whylst we wear uppon the shore thear Cam in three Cannoos as by us but they wold not Com near us but rowed up the Ryver and so past away.

Wensday beinge the 19th Auguste we all went to the shore whear we mad Choise for our plantation and thear we had a Sermon delyvred unto us by our precher and after the Sermon our pattent was red with the orders and Lawes thearin prescrybed and then we retorned abord our ships again.

Thursdaye beinge the 20th of Auguste all our Companyes Landed and thear began to fortefye. our presedent Capt. popham Sett the fryst spytt of ground unto ytt and after hem all the rest followed and Labored hard in the trenches about ytt.

Frydaye the 21th of Auguste all hands Labored hard about the fort Som in the trentch Som for fagetts and our ship Carpenters about the buildinge of a small penis or shallop.

Satterdaye the 22th Auguste Capt. popham early in the morninge depted in his shallop to go for the ryver of pashipskoke. thear they had parle with the Salvages again who delyvred unto them that they had ben att wars wtb Sasanoa and had slain his Soone in fyght. skid wares and Dehanada wear in this fyght.

Sondaye the 23th our presedent Capt. popham retorned unto us from the ryver of pashipscoke.

The 24th all Labored about the fort.

Tuesdaye the 25th Capt. Gilbert imbarked hem Selffe with 15 other with hem to go to the Westward uppon Som Discovery but the Wynd was contrary and forsed hem backe again the Sam daye.

The 26th and 27th all Labored hard about the fort.

Frydaye the 28th Capt. Gilbert with 14 others my Selffe beinge on Imbarked hem to go to the westward again. So the wynd Servinge

we Sailled by many gallant Illands and towards nyght the winde Cam Contrary against us So that we wear Constrained to remain that nyght under the head Land called Semeamis whear we found the Land to be most fertill. The trees growinge thear doth exceed for goodnesse and Length being the most pt of them ocke and wallnutt growinge a great space assoonder on from the other as our parks in Ingland and no thickett growinge under them. hear wee also found a gallant place to fortefye whom Nattuer ytt Selffe hath already framed with out the hand of man with a runynge stream of wattr hard adjoyninge under the foott of ytt.

Satterdaye the 29th Auguste early in the mornynge we depted from thence and rowed to the westward for that the wind was againste us but the wynd blew so hard that forsed us to remain under an Illand 2 Leags from the place we remayned the night beffore. whilst we remayned under this Illand thear passed to Cannoos by us but they wold nott Com neare us after mydnyght we put from this Illand in hope to have gotten the place we dessyered but the wind arose and blew so hard at Southwest Contrary for us that forsed us to retorn.

Sondaye beinge the 30th Auguste retornynge beffore the wynd we sailled by many goodly Illands for betwixt this head Land called Semeamis and the ryver of Sagadehock ys a great baye in the which Lyeth So many Illands and so thicke and neare together that yo Cannott well desern to Nomber them yet may yo go in betwixt them in a good ship for yo shall have never Lesse Wattr then 8 fethams these Illands ar all overgrowen with woods very thicke as ocks wallnut pyne trees and many other things growinge as Sarsaperilla hassell nuts and whorts in aboundance. So this day we retorned to our fort att Sagadehock.

Munday being the Last of Auguste nothinge hapened but all Labored for the buildinge of the fort and for the storehouse to resea ve our vyttuall.

Tuesday the first of September thear Cam a Canooa unto us in the wch was 2 greatt kettells of brasse. Som of our Company did parle with them but they did rest very doutfull of us and wold nott Suffer mor then on att a tyme to Com near unto them. So he depted. The Second daye third and $4^{\rm th}$ nothinge hapened worth the wryttinge but that eatch man did his beste endevour for the buildinge of the fort.

Satterdaye beinge the 5th of Septembr thear Cam into the entraunce of the ryver of Sagadehocke nine Canoos in the which was Dehanada and skidwarres with many others in the wholl near fortye persons men women and Children they Cam and parled with us and we aggain ussed them in all frindly maner We Could and gave them vyttaills for to eatt. So skidwarres and on more of them stayed with us untill nyght the rest of them withdrew them in thear Canooas to the farther Syd of the ryver but when nyght Cam for that skidwares woold needs go to the rest of his Company Capt. Gilbert acompaned with James Davis and Capt. ellis best took them into our bott and

Caryed them to thear Company on the farther syd the ryver and thear remained amongst them all the nyght and early in the mornynge the Sallvages depted in thear Canooas for the ryver of pemaquid promyssinge Capt. Gilbert to accompany hem in thear Canooas to the ryver of penobskott whear the bashabe remayneth.

The 6th nothinge happened the 7th our ship the *Mary ana John* began to discharge her vyttualls.

Tuesday beinge the 8th Septembr Capt. Gilbert acompaned with xxii others my Selffe beinge on of them depted from the fort to go for the ryver of penobskott takinge with hem divers Sorts of M'chandise for to trad with the Bashabe who ys the Cheeffe Comander of those parts but the wind was Contrary againste hem so that he could nott Com to dehanada and skidwares at the time apointed for ytt was the xith daye beffor he Could gett to the ryver of pemaquid Whear they do make thear abbod.

Frydaye beinge the xith in the mornynge early we Cam into the ryver of pemaquyd thear to Call nahanada and skidwares as we had promyste them. but beinge thear aryved we found no Lyvinge Creatuer. they all wear gon from thence. the wch we perseavinge presently depted towards the ryver of penobskott Saillinge all this daye and the xiith and xiiith the Lyke yett by no means Could we fynd ytt. So our vitall beinge spent we hasted to retorn. So the wynd Cam faier for us and we Sailled all the 14th and 15th dayes in retornynge the Wind blowinge very hard att north and this mornynge the15th daye we pseaved a blassing star in the northest of us.

The 16th 17th 18th 19th 20th 21th 22th nothinge hapened but all Labored hard about the fort and the store house for to Land our wyttaills.

The 23th beinge Wensdaye Capt. Gilbert acompaned with 19 others my Selffe on of them depted from the fort to go for the head of the ryver of Sagadehock. we Sailled all this daye. So did we the Lyke the 24th untill the evenynge. then we Landed thear to remain that Nyght. hear we found a gallant Champion Land and exceeddinge fertill. So hear we remained all nyght.

The 25th beinge frydaye early in the mornynge we depted from hence and sailled up the ryver about eyght Leags farther untill we Cam unto an Illand beinge Lo Land and flatt. att this Illand ys a great down Fall of watt" the wch runeth by both Sydes of this Illand very swyfte and shallow. in this Illand we found greatt store of grapes exceedinge good and sweett of to Sorts both red butt the on of them ys a mervellous deepe red. By both the syds of this ryver the grapes grow in abundance and also very good Hoppes and also Chebolls and garleck. and for the goodnesse of the Land ytt doth so far abound that I Cannott allmost expresse the Sam. hear we all went ashore and with a stronge Rope made fast to our bott and on man

in her to gyde her aggainst the Swyfte stream we pluckt her up throwe ytt pforce. after we had past this down-Fall we all went into our bott again and rowed near a Leage farther up into the ryver and nyght beinge att hand we hear stayed all nyght, and in the fryst of the night about ten of the Cloke thear Cam on the farther syd of the ryver sartain Salvages Callinge unto us in broken inglyshe. we answered them aggain. So for this time they depted.

The 26th beinge Satterdaye thear Cam a Canooa unto us and in hear fower salvages those that had spoken unto us in the nyght beffore. his name that Came unto us ys Sabenoa. he macks hemselffe unto us to be Lord of the ryver of Sagadehock.

End: The relation of Whole Voyage to Virginia, New England, 1607

(The remainder of the narration is taken from the" Historie of Travaile into Virginia," by William Strachey.)

They entertayned him friendly, and tooke him into their boat and presented him with some triffiing things, which he accepted; howbeyt, he desired some one of our men to be put into his canoa as a pawne of his safety, whereupon Captain Gilbert sent in a man of his, when presently the canoa rowed away from them with all the speed they could make up the ryver. They followed with the shallop, having great care that the Sagamo should not leape overbourd. The canoa quickly rowed from them and landed, and the men made to their howses, being neere a league on the land from the ryver's side, and carried our man with them. The shallop making good waye, at length came to another downefall, which was so shall owe and soe swift, that by noe meanes they could passe any further, for which, Captain Gilbert, with nine others, landed and tooke their fare, the salvadge Sagamo, with them, and went in search after those other salvages, whose howses, the Sagamo told Captain Gilbert, were not farr off; and after a good tedious march, they came indeed at length unto those salvages' howses wheere found neere fifty able men very strong and tall, such as their like before they had not seene; all newly painted and armed with their bowes and arrowes. Howbeyt, after that the Sagamo had talked with them, they delivered back again the man, and used all the rest very friendly, as did ours the like by them, who shewed them their comodities of beads, knives, and some copper, of which they seemed very fond; and by waye of trade, made shew that they would come downe to the boat and there bring such things as they had to exchange them for ours. Soe Captain Gilbert departed from them, and within half an howre after he had gotten to his boat, there came three canoas down unto them, and in them some sixteen salvages, and brought with them some tobacco and certayne small skynes, which where of no value; which Captain Gilbert perceaving, and that they had nothing ells wherewith to trade, he caused all his men to come abourd, and as he would have putt from the shore; the salvadges perceiving so much, subtilely devised how they might put out the fier in the shallop, by which meanes they sawe they should be free from the danger of our men's pieces, and to performe the same, one of the salvadges came into the shallop and taking the fier brand which one of our company held in his hand thereby to light the matches, as if he would light a pipe of tobacco, as sone as he had gotten yt into his hand he presently threw it into the water and leapt out of the shallop. Captain Gilbert seeing that, suddenly commanded his men to betake them to their musketts and the targettiers too, from the head of the boat, and bad one of the men before, with his targett on his arme, to stepp on the shore for more fier; the salvages resisted him and would not suffer him to take any, and some others holding fast the boat roap that the shallop could not pott off. Captain Gilbert caused the musquettiers to present their peeces, the which, the salvages seeing, presently let go the boatroap and betooke them to their bowes and arrowes, and ran into the bushes, nocking their arrowes, but did not shoot, neither did ours at them. So the shallop departed from them to the further side of the ryver, where one of the canoas came unto them, and would have excused the fault of the others. Captain Gilbert made shew as if he were still friends, and entertayned them kindlye and soe left them, returning to the place where he had lodged the night before, and there came to an anchor for that night. The head of the ryver standeth in 45 degrees and odd mynutts. Upon the continent they found aboundance of spruse trees such as are able to maast the greatest ship his majestie hath, and many other trees, oake, walnutt, pineaple; fish, aboundance; great store of grapes, hopps, chiballs, also they found certaine codds in which they supposed the cotton wooll to grow, and also upon the bancks many shells of pearle.

27. Here they sett up a crosse and then returned homeward, in the way seeking the by ryver of some note called Sasanoa. This daye and the next they sought yt, when the weather turned fowle and full of fog and raine, they made all hast to the fort before which, the 29th, they arrived.

30. and 1 and 2 of October, all busye about the fort.

- 3. There came a canoa unto some of the people of the fort as they were fishing on the sand, in which was Skidwares, who badd them tell their president that Nahanada, with the Bashabaes brother, and others, were on the further side of the ryver, and the next daie would come and visitt him.
- 4. There came two canoas to the fort, in which were Nahanada and his wife, and Skidwares, and the Basshabaes brother, and one other called Amenquin, a Sagamo; all whome the president feasted and entertayned with all kindnes, both that day and the next, which being Sondaye, the president carried them with him to the place of publike prayers, which they were at both morning and evening, attending yt with great reverence and silence.
- 6. The salvadges departed all except Amenquin the Sagamo, who would needes staye amongst our people a longer tyme.

Upon the departure of the others, the president gave unto everyone of them copper beades, or knives, which contented them not a little, as also delivered a present unto the Basshabae's brother, and another for his wife, giving him to understand that he would come unto his court in the ryver of Penobscot, and see him very shortly, bringing many such like of his country commodityes with him.

You maie please to understand how, whilst this business was thus followed here, soone after their first arrivall, that had dispatch't away Capt. Robert Davies, in the *Mary and John*, to advertise of their safe arrival and forwardness of their plantacion within this ryver of Sachadehoc, with letters to the Lord Chief Justice, importuninge a supply for the most necessary wants to the subsisting of a colony, to be sent unto them betymes the next yeare.

After Capt. Davies' departure they fully finished the fort, trencht and fortefied yt with twelve pieces of ordinaunce, and built fifty howses, therein, besides a church and a storehowse; and the carpenters framed a pretty Pynnace of about some thirty tonne, which they called *Virginia*; the chief ship wright beinge one Digby of London.

Many discoveries likewise had been made both to the mayne and unto the neghbour ryvers, and the frontier nations fully discovered by the diligence of Capt. Gilbert, had not the wynter proved soe extreame unseasonable and frosty; for yt being in the yeare 1607, when the extraordinary frost was felt in most parts of Europe, yt was here likewise as vehement, by which noe boat could stir upon any busines. Howbeyt, as tyme and occasyon gave leave, there was nothing omitted which could add unto the benefitt or knowledg of the planters, for which when Capt. Davies arrived there in the yeare following (sett out from Topsam, the port towne of Exciter, with a shipp laden full of vitualls, armes, instruments and tooles, etc.,) albeyt he found Mr. George Popham, the president, and some other dead, yet he found all things in good forwardness, and many kinds of funs obteyned from the Indians by way of trade; good store of sarsaparilla gathered, and the new pynnace all finished. But by reason that Capt. Gilbert received letters that his brother was newly dead, and a faire portion of land fallen unto his share, which required his repaier home, and noe mynes discovered, nor hope thereof, being the mayne intended benefit expected to uphold the charge of this plantacion, and the feare that all other winters would prove like the first, the company by no means would stay any longer in the country, especyally Capt. Gilbert being to leave them, and Mr. Popham, as aforesaid, dead; wherefore they all ymbarqued in this new arrived shipp, and in the new pynnace, the Virginia, and sett saile for England. And this was the end of that north erne colony uppon the ryver Sachadehoc.

Source: Henry S. Burrage, ed. *Early English and French Voyages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906).

28. Samuel de Champlain, Account of the Foundation of Quebec, 1608

Introduction

Giovanni da Verrazano's 1524 voyage formed the basis of France's claims to land in North America. Jacques Cartier sailed to North America 10 years later and explored the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. Cartier returned to the Saint Lawrence a year later and reached present-day Quebec and Montreal. His party spent a brutal winter at Quebec and many died. When spring came, Cartier abducted several Iroquois chiefs and returned to France. This second voyage established the first French presence in Canada and made lasting enemies of the Iroquois. The king ordered another expedition in 1541 to establish a more lasting colony in the face of Spanish claims. After another brutal winter, Cartier again abandoned Quebec. France lost interest in the region until Samuel de Champlain returned decades later. Champlain was the son of a ship captain and soldier in the French Army. He first commanded a transatlantic voyage in 1599, and first sailed to Canada in 1603. From 1604 to 1606, Champlain explored the coast and waterways of eastern Canada and New England with an eye to finding a site for a French colony. He again sailed to Canada in 1608 and founded a trading post and settlement at Quebec. While building the post, Champlain foiled a plot to kill him and sell the post to the Spanish.

Primary Source

From the Island of Orleans to Quebec the distance is a league. I arrived there on the 3d of July, when I searched for a place suitable for our settlement, but I could find none more convenient or better situated than the point of Quebec, so called by the savages, which was covered with nut-trees. I at once employed a portion of our workmen in cutting them down, that we might construct our habitation there: one I set to sawing boards, another to making a cellar and digging ditches, another I sent to Tadoussac with the barque to get supplies. The first thing we made was the storehouse for keeping under cover our supplies, which was promptly accomplished through the zeal of all, and my attention to the work.

Some days after my arrival at Quebec, a locksmith conspired against the service of the king. His plan was to put me to death, and, getting possession of our fort, to put it into the hands of the Basques or Spaniards, then at Tadoussac, beyond which vessels cannot go, from not having a knowledge of the route, nor of the banks and rocks on the way.

In order to execute his wretched plan, by which he hoped to make his fortune, he suborned four of the worst characters, as he supposed, telling them a thousand falsehoods, and presenting to them prospects of acquiring riches. These four men, having been won over, all promised to act in such a manner as to gain the rest over to their side; so that, for the time being, I had no one with me in whom I could put confidence, which gave them still more hope of making their plan succeed: for four or five of my companions, in whom they knew that I put confidence, were on board of the barques, for the purpose of protecting the provisions and supplies necessary for our settlement.

In a word, they were so skilful in carrying out their intrigues with those who remained, that they were on the point of gaining all over to their cause, even my lackey, promising them many things which they could not have fulfilled.

Being now all agreed, they made daily different plans as to how they should put me to death, so as not to be accused of it, which they found to be a difficult thing. But the devil blindfolding them all and taking away their reason and every possible difficulty, they determined to take me while unarmed and strangle me; or to give a false alarm at night, and shoot me as I went out, in which manner they judged that they would accomplish their work sooner than otherwise. They made a mutual promise not to betray each other, on penalty that the first one who opened his mouth should be poniarded. They were to execute their plan in four days, before the arrival of our barques, otherwise they would have been unable to carry out their scheme.

On this very day, one of our barques arrived, with our pilot, Captain Testu, a very discreet man. After the barque was unloaded, and ready to return to Tadoussac, there came to him a locksmith, named Natel, an associate of Jean du Val, the head of the conspiracy, who told him that he had promised the rest to do just as they did; but that he did not in fact desire the execution of the plot, yet did not dare to make a disclosure in regard to it, from fear of being poniarded.

Antoine Natel made the pilot promise that he would make no disclosure in regard to what he should say, since, if his companions should discover it, they would put him to death. The pilot gave him his assurance in all particulars, and asked him to state the character of the plot which they wished to carry out. This Natel did at length, when the pilot said to him: "My friend, you have done well to disclose such a malicious design, and you show that you are an upright man, and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But these things cannot be passed by without bringing them to the knowledge of Sieur de Champlain, that he may make provision against them; and I promise you that I will prevail upon him to pardon you and the rest. And I will at once," said the pilot, "go to him without exciting any suspicion; and do you go about your business, listening to all they may say, and not troubling yourself about the rest."

The pilot came at once to me, in a garden which I was having prepared, and said that he wished to speak to me in a private place, where we could be alone. I readily assented, and we went into the

wood, where he related to me the whole affair. I asked who had told it to him. He begged me to pardon him who had made the disclosure, which I consented to do, although he ought to have addressed himself to me. He was afraid, he replied, that you would become angry, and harm him. I told him that I was able to govern myself better than that, in such a matter; and desired him to have the man come to me, that I might hear his statement. He went, and brought him all trembling with fear lest I should do him some harm. I reassured him, telling him not to be afraid; that he was in a place of safety, and that I should pardon him for all that he had done, together with the others, provided he would tell me in full the truth in regard to the whole matter, and the motive which had impelled them to it. "Nothing," he said, "had impelled them, except that they had imagined that, by giving up the place into the hands of the Basques or Spaniards, they might all become rich, and that they did not want to go back to France." He also related to me the remaining particulars in regard to their conspiracy.

After having heard and questioned him, I directed him to go about his work. Meanwhile, I ordered the pilot to bring up his shallop, which he did. Then I gave two bottles of wine to a young man, directing him to say to these four worthies, the leaders of the conspiracy, that it was a present of wine, which his friends at Tadoussac had given him, and that he wished to share it with them. This they did not decline, and at evening were on board the barque where he was to give them the entertainment. I lost no time in going there shortly after; and caused them to be seized, and held until the next day.

Then were my worthies astonished indeed. I at once had all get up, for it was about ten o'clock in the evening, and pardoned them all, on condition that they would disclose to me the truth in regard to all that had occurred; which they did, when I had them retire.

The next day I took the depositions of all, one after the other, in the presence of the pilot and sailors of the vessel, which I had put down in writing; and they were well pleased, as they said, since they had lived only in fear of each other, especially of the four knaves who had ensnared them. But now they lived in peace, satisfied, as they declared, with the treatment which they had received.

The same day I had six pairs of handcuffs made for the authors of the conspiracy: one for our surgeon, named Bonnerme, one for another, named La Taille, whom the four conspirators had accused, which, however, proved false, and consequently they were given their liberty.

This being done, I took my worthies to Tadoussac, begging Pont Gravé to do me the favor of guarding them, since I had as yet no secure place for keeping them, and as we were occupied in constructing our places of abode. Another object was to consult with him, and others on the ship, as to what should be done in the premises. We suggested that, after he had finished his work at Tadoussac, he should come to

Quebec with the prisoners, where we should have them confronted with their witnesses, and, after giving them a hearing, order justice to be done according to the offence which they had committed.

I went back the next day to Quebec, to hasten the completion of our storehouse, so as to secure our provisions, which had been misused by all those scoundrels, who spared nothing, without reflecting how they could find more when these failed; for I could not obviate the difficulty until the storehouse should be completed and shut up.

Pont Gravé arrived some time after me, with the prisoners, which caused uneasiness to the workmen who remained, since they feared that I should pardon them, and that they would avenge themselves upon them for revealing their wicked design.

We had them brought face to face, and they affirmed before them all which they had stated in their depositions, the prisoners not denying it, but admitting that they had acted in a wicked manner, and should be punished, unless mercy might be exercised towards them; accusing, above all, Jean du Val, who had been trying to lead them into such a conspiracy from the time of their departure from France. Du Val knew not what to say, except that he deserved death, that all stated in the depositions was true, and that he begged for mercy upon himself and the others, who had given in their adherence to his pernicious purposes.

After Pont Gravé and I, the captain of the vessel, surgeon, mate, second mate, and other sailors, had heard their depositions and face to face statements, we adjudged that it would be enough to put to death Du Val, as the instigator of the conspiracy; and that he might serve as an example to those who remained, leading them to deport themselves correctly in future, in the discharge of their duty; and that the Spaniards and Basques, of whom there were large numbers in the country, might not glory in the event. We adjudged that the three others be condemned to be hung, but that they should be taken to France and put into the hands of Sieur de Monts, that such ample justice might be done them as he should recommend; that they should be sent with all the evidence and their sentence, as well as that of Jean du Val, who was strangled and hung at Quebec, and his head was put on the end of a pike, to be set up in the most conspicuous place on our fort.

Source: W.L. Grant, ed., *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907).

29. Johan de Laet, Account of Henry Hudson's Voyage, 1609

Introduction

The Dutch East India Company (formed in the Netherlands in 1602) hired the English navigator Henry Hudson to search for a

northeast passage to China. In 1609, Hudson set out in the Half-Moon, but failing to find a northeastern way through the Arctic ice, he defied his orders to return to port and sailed westward across the Atlantic Ocean. After exploring the American coast from Maine to the Chesapeake Bay, Hudson sailed up the river that would later bear his name. He followed it to the limit of navigation—about 150 miles—and turned back at the site of presentday Albany, New York. In preparing this account, the author, a director of the Dutch West India Company (formed in 1621) may have used and then destroyed Hudson's journal. On his return voyage, Hudson made landfall in England and was prevented by the authorities from going on to the Netherlands. He succeeded, however, in sending on the log of his voyage. Hudson's 1609 voyage resulted in the establishment of a trading post on the Hudson River in 1614 and of New Netherland in 1624. His next and final voyage, in the pay of England in 1610–1611, led to the discovery of Hudson's Bay. His crew mutinied and set him adrift, never to be seen again.

Primary Source

As to the first discovery, the Directors of the authorized East India Company, in the year 1609, dispatched the yacht, Half-Moon, under the command of Henry Hudson, captain and super-cargo, to seek a passage to China by the north-east. But he changed his course and stood over towards New France, and having passed the banks of New Foundland in latitude 43° 23', he made the land in latitude 44° 15', with a west-north-west and north-west course, and went on shore at a place where there were many of the natives with whom, as he understood, the French came every year to trade. Sailing hence, he bent his course to the south, until running south-southwest and south-west by south, he again made land in latitude 41° 43', which he supposed to be an island, and gave it the name of New Holland, but afterwards discovered that it was Cape Cod, and that according to his observation, it lay two hundred and twentyfive miles to the west of its place on all the charts. Pursuing his course to the south, he again saw land in latitude 37° 15'; the coast was low, running north and south, and opposite to it lay a bank or shoal, within which there was a depth of eight, nine, ten, eleven, seven, and six and a half fathoms, with a sandy bottom. Hudson called this place Dry Cape.

Changing his course to the northward, he again discovered land in lat. 38° 9', where there was a white sandy shore, and within appeared a thick grove of trees full of green foliage. The direction of the coast was north-north-east and south-south-west for about twenty-four miles; then north and south for twenty-one miles, and afterwards south-east and north-west for fifteen miles. They continued to run along the coast to the north, until they reached a point from which the land stretches to the west and north-west, where several rivers discharge into an open bay. Land was seen to the east-north-east, which Hudson at first took to be an island, but it proved to be the main land, and the second point of

the bay, in latitude 38° 54'. Standing in upon a course north-west by east, they soon found themselves embayed, and encountering many breakers, stood out again to the south-southeast. Hudson suspected that a large river discharged into the bay, from the strength of the current that set out and caused the accumulation of sands and shoals.

Continuing their course along the shore to the north, they observed a white sandy beach and drowned land within, beyond which there appeared a grove of wood; the coast running north-east by east and south-west by south. Afterwards the direction of the coast changed to north by east, and was higher land than they had yet seen. They at length reached a lofty promontory or head-land, behind which was situated a bay, which they entered and run up into a road-stead near a low sandy point, in lat. 40° 18'. There they were visited by two savages clothed in elk-skins, who showed them every sign of friendship. On the land they found an abundance of blue plums and magnificent oaks, of a height and thickness that one seldom beholds; together with poplars, linden trees, and various other kinds of wood useful in ship-building. Sailing hence in a northeasterly direction, they ascended a river to nearly 43° north latitude, where it became so narrow and of so little depth, that they found it necessary to return.

From all that they could learn, there had never been any ship or Christians in that quarter before, and they were the first to discover the river and ascend it so far. Henry Hudson returned to Amsterdam with this report; and in the following year, 1610, some merchants again sent a ship thither, that is to say, to the second river discovered, which was called Manhattes, from the savage nation that dwelt at its mouth. And subsequently their High Mightinesses the States General granted to these merchants the exclusive privilege of navigating this river and trading there; whereupon, in the year 1615, a redoubt or fort was erected on the river, and occupied by a small garrison, of wich we shall hereafter speak. Our countrymen have continued to make voyages thither from year to year for the purpose of trafficking with the natives, and on this account the country has very justly received the name of New-Netherlands.

Henry Hudson, who first discovered this river, and all that have since visited it, express their admiration of the noble trees growing upon its banks; and Hudson has himself described the manners and appearance of the people that he found dwelling within the bay, in the following terms:

"When I came on shore, the swarthy natives all stood around, and sung in their fashion; their clothing consisted of the skins of foxes and other animals, wich they dress and make the skins into garments of various sorts. Their food is Turkish wheat, (maize or Indian corn), which they cook by baking, and it is excellent eating. They all came on board one after another in their canoes, which

are made of a single hollowed tree; their weapons are bows and arrows, pointed with sharp stones, which they fasten with hard resin. They had no houses, but slept under the blue heavens, sometimes on mats of bulrushes interwoven, and sometimes on the leaves of trees. They always carry with them all their goods, such as their food and green tobacco, which is strong and good for use. They appear to be a friendly people, but have a great propensity to steal, and are exceedingly adroit in carrying away whatever they take a fancy to."

In latitude 40° 48', where the savages brought very fine oysters to the ship, Hudson describes the country in the following manner: "It is as pleasant a land as one need tread upon; very abundant in all kinds of timber suitable for shipbuilding, and for making large casks or vats. The people had copper tobacco pipes, from which I inferred that copper might naturally exist there; and iron likewise according to the testimony of the natives, who, however, do not understand preparing it for use.

Hudson also states that they caught in the river all kinds of freshwater fish with seines, and young salmon and sturgeon. In latitude 42° 18' he landed: "I sailed, to the shore," he says, "in one of their canoes, with an old man, who was the chief of a tribe, consisting of forty men and seventeen women; these I saw there in a house well constructed of oak-bark, and circular in shape, so that it had the appearance of being well built, with an arched roof. It contained a great quantity of maize or Indian corn, and beans of the last year's growth, and there lay near the house for the purpose of drying, enough to load three ships, besides what was growing in the fields. On our coming into the house, two mats were spread out to sit upon, and immediately some food was served in well made red wooden bowls; two men were also despatched at once with bows and arrows in quest of game, who soon after brought in a pair of pigeons which they had shot. They likewise killed a fat dog, and skinned it ill great haste with shells which they had got out of the water. They supposed that I would remain with them for the night, but I returned after a short time on board the ship. The land is the finest for cultivation that I ever in my life set foot upon, and it also abounds in trees of every description. The natives are a very good people, for when they saw that I would not remain, they supposed that I was afraid of their bows, and taking the arrows, they broke them in pieces, and threw them into the fire, etc."

He found there also vines and grapes, pumpkins, and other fruits; from all of which there is sufficient reason to conclude that it is a pleasant and fruitful country and that the natives are well disposed, if they are only well treated; although they are very changeable, and of the same general character as all the savages in the north.

Source: David B. Quinn, ed., *New American World: a documentary history of North America to 1612*, vol. 3 (New York: Arno Press, 1979).

30. Samuel de Champlain, Image of the 1609 Battle of Ticonderoga, 1613

Introduction

In 1534, Jacques Cartier sailed to North America and explored the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. He returned to the Saint Lawrence a year later and reached present-day Quebec and Montreal. His party spent a difficult, cold winter at Quebec and many died. When spring came, Cartier abducted several Iroquois chiefs and returned to France. This second voyage established the first French presence in Canada and earned the enmity of the Iroquois. The king ordered another expedition in 1541 to establish a more lasting colony in the face of Spanish claims. After yet another brutal winter, Cartier again abandoned Quebec. France lost interest in the region until Samuel de Champlain sailed to Canada in 1603. From 1604 to 1606, he explored the coast and waterways of eastern Canada and New England with an eye to finding a site for a French colony. He again sailed to Canada in 1608 and founded a trading post and settlement at Quebec. In 1609 Champlain joined the Montagnais Indians on an incursion into Iroquois territory, during which he entered and named Lake Champlain. This illustration of the resulting battle on the shore of the lake appeared in Champlain's 1613 book. Champlain shot two chiefs and helped defeat the Iroquois, who remained lasting enemies of the French.

31. Diego de Molina, Account of the English in Virginia, 1613 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Under the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas, Spain laid claim to much of the Americas. However, the other European powers did not recognize this claim. The English, French, and Dutch all explored the coast of North America and made plans to establish colonies. The Spanish dealt ruthlessly with a French colony in Florida in 1565, and planned to destroy the English colony on Roanoke Island in 1589. Although at peace with England since 1604, Spain jealously guarded its interests in North America. In 1611, the king of Spain sent a ship to investigate the English colony at Jamestown, Virginia. Three men went ashore to ask for a pilot, and the colonists seized them as spies and imprisoned them. One died in captivity. The two survivors, in response to Spanish protests, were sent back to Europe in 1616. But before he had any hope of repatriation, one survivor, Don Diego de Molina, wrote this letter to the Spanish ambassador to England in 1613 and contrived to have it smuggled across the Atlantic hidden in the shoe of a "Venetian gentleman" (perhaps a sailor). Molina warns that the English would continue to expand their colony if left unchecked, and describes the colony's location, resources, and vulnerability to a Spanish attack.

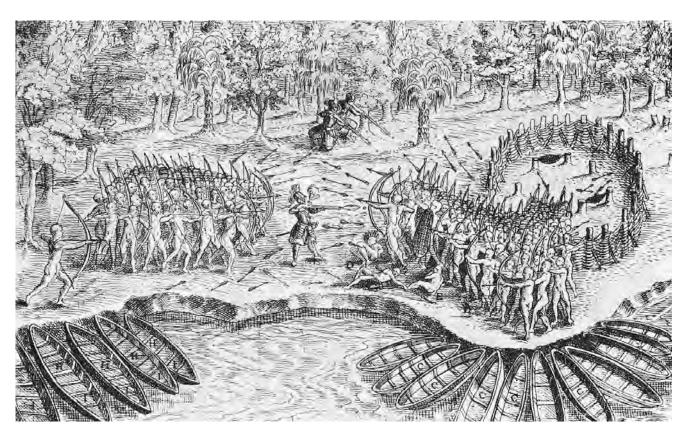


Image of the 1609 Battle of Ticonderoga. This illustration of the battle on the shore of the lake appeared in French explorer Samuel de Champlain's 1613 book. In the battle, Champlain shot two chiefs and helped defeat the Iroquois, who remained lasting enemies of the French. (Library of Congress)

Primary Source

THE person who will give this to Your Lordship is very trustworthy and Your Lordship can give credence to everything he will say, so I will not be prolix in this but will tell in it what is most important. Although with my capture and the extraordinary occurrences following it His Majesty will have opened his eyes and seen this new Algiers of America, which is coming into existence here, I do not wonder that in all this time he has not remedied it because to effect the release would require an expedition, particularly as he lacks full information for making a decision. However I believe that with the aid of Your Lordship's intelligence and with the coming of the caravel to Spain, His Majesty will have been able to determine what is most important and that that is to stop the progress of a hydra in its infancy, because it is clear that its intention is to grow and encompass the destruction of all the West, as well by sea as by land and that great results will follow I do not doubt, because the advantages of this place make it very suitable for a gathering-place of all the pirates of Europe, where they will be well received. For this nation has great thoughts of an alliance with them. And this nation by itself will be very powerful because as soon as an abundance of wheat shall have been planted and there shall be enough cattle, there will not be a man of any sort whatever who will not alone or in. company with others fit out a ship to come here and join the rest, because as Your Lordship knows this Kingdom abounds in poor people who abhor peace—and of necessity because in peace they perish—and the rich arc so greedy and selfish that they even cherish a desire for the Indies and the gold and silver there—notwithstanding that there will not be much lack of these here, for they have discovered some mines which are considered good, although they have not yet been able to derive profit from them. But when once the preliminary steps are taken there are many indications that they will find a large number in the mountains. So the Indians say and they offer to show the locations that they know and they say that near the sources of the rivers, as they come down from the mountain, there is a great quantity of grains of silver and gold, but, as they do not set any value on these but only on copper which they esteem highly, they do not gather them.

As yet these men have not been able to go to discover these although they greatly desire it, nor to pass over this range to New Mexico and from there to the South Sea where they expect to establish great colonies and fit out fleets with which to become lords of that sea as well as of this, by colonizing certain islands among those to the cast of the channel of Bahama and even to conquer others, as Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo and Cuba. And although this would be difficult at the least, we have already seen signs of these purposes in the colonizing of Bermuda where they are said to have strong fortifications, because the lay of the land is such that a few can defend themselves against a great number and prevent disembarking and landing. The depth as I have understood is not enough for ships of a hundred tons, but I believe that they make it out less than it is, for that island has already been described in the relation of Captain

Diego Ramirez who was stranded there, and it seems to me that larger vessels can enter. I do not recall it well but the description is in the house of Don Rodrigo de Aguiar of the Council of the Indies and the register is in Seville in the house of the licentiate Antonio Moreno, cosmographer of the Council. But above all this captain will give enough information of the island, and it is very important for the military actions which may have to take place in it. Its fertility is great, there is abundance of fish and game, and pork as much as they can want, and so they get along very well in that colony because they have little need of England, for they are likewise rich in amber and pearl of which in a very few months it is said they have sent to that kingdom more than fifty thousand ducats in value, reckoning the ounce at a moderate price. Four days ago a vessel arrived here that brought them men and provisions and they do not cease talking of the excellence of that island and its advantages.

The soil in this place is very fertile for all species, only not for those which require much heat, because it is cold. There is much game and fish, but as they have not begun to get profit from the mines, but only from timber, the merchants have not been able to maintain this colony with as much liberality as was needed and so the people have suffered much want, living on miserable rations of oats or maize and dressing poorly. For which reason, if today three hundred men should come, this same year would destroy more than one hundred and fifty, and there is not a year when half do not die. Last year there were seven hundred people and not three hundred and fifty remain, because little food and much labor on public works kills them and, more than all, the discontent in which they live seeing themselves treated as slaves with cruelty. Wherefore many have gone over to the Indians, at whose hands some have been killed, while others have gone out to sea, being sent to fish, and those who remain have become violent and are desirous that a fleet should come from Spain to take them out of their misery. Therefore they cry to God of the injury that they receive and they appeal to His Majesty in whom they have great confidence, and should a fleet come to give them passage to that kingdom, not a single person would take up arms. Sooner would they forfeit their respect and obedience to their rulers who think to maintain this place till death.

And although it is understood there that the merchants are deserting this colony, this is false for it is a strategem with which they think to render His Majesty careless, giving him to understand that this affair will settle itself, and that thus he will not need to go to the expense of any fleet whatever to come here. With eight hundred or one thousand soldiers he could reduce this place with great ease, or even with five hundred, because there is no expectation of aid from England for resistance and the forts which they have are of boards and so weak that a kick would break them down, and once arrived at the ramparts those without would have the advantage over those within because its beams and loopholes are common to both parts—a fortification without skill and made by unskilled men. Nor are they efficient soldiers, although the rulers and captains

make a great profession of this because of the time they have served in Flanders on the side of Holland, where some have companies and castles. The men are poorly drilled and not prepared for military action.

However they have placed their hope on one of two settlements, one which they have founded twenty leagues up the river in a bend on a rugged peninsula with a narrow entrance by land and they are persuaded that there they can defend themselves against the whole world. I have not seen it but I know that it is similar to the others and that one night the Indians entered it and ran all over the place without meeting any resistance, shooting their arrows through all the doors, so that I do not feel that there would be any difficulty in taking it or the one in Bermuda, particularly if my advice be taken in both matters as that of a man who has been here two years and has considered the case with care. I am awaiting His Majesty's decision and am desirous of being of some service and I do not make much of my imprisonment nor of the hardships which I have suffered in it, with hunger, want and illness, because one who does a labor of love holds lightly all his afflictions. The ensign Marco Antonio Perez died fifteen months ago, more from hunger than illness, but assuredly with the patience of a saint and the spirit of a good soldier. I have not fared very ill, but tolerably so, because since I arrived I have been in favor with these people and they have shown me friendship as far as their own wretchedness would allow, but with genuine good-will. The sailor who came with me is said to be English and a pilot. He declares that he is from Aragon and in truth no one would take him for a foreigner.

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Source: Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1907).

32. Pierre Biard, Account of the English Attack on the French in Maine, May 26, 1614

Introduction

Spain laid claim to much of the Americas. However, the other European powers did not recognize this claim. The major European powers—Spain, France, England, and the Netherlands—all explored the North American coast and vied for a toehold at the edge of the continent. Whether or not they were at war or nominally at peace in Europe, they dealt harshly with one another in America. The Spanish dealt ruthlessly with a French colony in Florida in 1565, and planned to destroy the English colony on Roanoke Island in 1589. The English at Jamestown feared that the Spanish would attack them and captured three spies in 1611. In 1613 the English colonists deployed their limited resources against the French, tar-

geting their small settlements at Maine and Nova Scotia. The governor of the Virginia colony placed Samuel Argall, the deputy governor, in command of the expedition against the French. Argall burned a French Jesuit mission on Mt. Desert Island off present-day Maine and took 15 prisoners back to Virginia. The governor again dispatched Argall to burn the French settlements at Sainte Croix and Port Royal, Nova Scotia. Father Pierre Biard was compelled to accompany the expedition and show the way to the settlements. He was eventually returned to France after nine months of captivity.

Primary Source

TO THE VERY REVEREND FATHER CLAUDE ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, AT ROME, MAY 26, 1614

Very Reverend Father in Christ: The peace of Christ be with you.

Both affection and duty urge me, fresh from such multiplied and mighty perils, from which I have been rescued by the surpassing favor of the Lord and by the prayers of your Paternity, to send you my greetings; and, in so far as it is possible, I throw myself at your knees and embrace you, assuredly with the utmost gratitude and devotion. And indeed I am bound, as it were, to contemplate myself, both to do penance, as I hope, and to express my gratitude; so great are the perils out of which I now marvel to see myself delivered. But, as it may at this time be wearisome to weave a long story of all these things, and as it is probable that Your Paternity has already learned many of them from Father Enemond Massé, I shall pass over all the rest, and confine myself for the present to this one matter: in what manner, after our violent capture by the English in New France, we were taken from place to place, and at last restored to this our native land.

There were, as Your Paternity knows, only four of our society in New France in the last year, 1613. Then, too, we first began to build in a convenient place a new settlement, a new colony, etc. But most unexpectedly, by some hazard or other (for a hazard it certainly was, and not a premeditated plan), some English from Virginia were driven upon our shores, who attacked our ships with the utmost fury, at a time when nearly all its defenders were occupied on land. Resistance was nevertheless made for a time, but we were soon obliged to surrender. In the struggle, two of the French were killed, four were wounded; and in addition our brother Gilbert Duthet received a mortal wound. He made a most Christian end, the following day, under my ministration.

Our ships having been captured and everything pillaged, it was a great concession to us, —that is, to us priests and Jesuits,—that we were not killed. And yet this sparing of our lives, if considered in itself only, would have been worse than any death. For what were we to do in an absolutely desert and barren region, despoiled and destitute of everything? The savages, indeed, used to come to us

stealthily and by night; and with great generosity and devotion commiserated our misfortune, and promised us whatever they could. Truly the condition of things was such that either death itself, or a more calamitous misfortune, everywhere threatened us. There were in all thirty of us in these distressing circumstances. One consideration rendered the English less severe, namely, that one of our boats had escaped, in spite of their watchfulness; and as they had no doubt that it would bear witness to the violence done us, they were obliged to spare our lives, for they feared reprisals and dreaded our king. Therefore they finally offered (a great favor, forsooth) to leave for our thirty survivors a single boat, in which we might coast along the seashore, on the chance of finding some French vessel to take us back to our own country. It was shown that this boat could not hold over fifteen men; but nothing further could be obtained, even from among our own boats. To be brief: in this perplexity each of us took counsel as he could. Father Enemond Massé embarked with fourteen companions in the boat I have mentioned, and the Lord favored him, as Your Paternity has already learned. I went to the English captain and obtained a promise from him that I and Father Jacques Quentin, my companion, and also John Dixon who had been admitted into the Society—and one servant, should be transported to the neighboring islands where the English usually fish, and that we should there be recommended to these English fishermen; so that, having been carried by them to England, we might easily return thence into France. I obtained, as I say, a promise to this effect, but there was no good faith in this promise. For they carried us off, together with the Frenchmen who remained, fifteen in all, straight to their own country, Virginia, distant from the place in which we had been captured at least two hundred and fifty leagues. In Virginia however a new peril arose; for the governor there I wished to hang us all, and especially the Jesuits. But the captain who had taken us resisted, alleging his promise to us. Finally this promise, or their fear of our king, prevailed.

After this episode the captain who had taken us was commissioned to return to that part of New France where he had plundered us, and to plunder any French ships he might find, and burn all the houses and settlements. There remained two French settlements there, that of Sainte Croix and that of Port Royal, where I had remained for two years. Three ships were equipped for this expedition,—two which they had taken from us, and a third and larger one, the man-of-war, as they call it, which had taken us. So eight of us Frenchmen were taken in this vessel, in view of any opportunity that might arise of sending us back to our own country. These vessels returned first to the place where we had been captured, and all the crosses that we had set up they overthrew. But not unavenged! On the same spot, before our departure, they hanged one of their number whom they had apprehended in some plot. Thus one cross took the place of many.

Here a new peril arose. The English, as I have previously stated, wished to go to the settlement of Sainte Croix, although it had at this time no inhabitants. Some salt, however, had been left there. No one

except myself knew the way; and the English knew that I had been there formerly. They accordingly demand that I lead them. I do all I can to evade and refuse this proposal; but it avails me nothing. They perceive clearly that I am unwilling to obey. At this the captain grows very angry, and my peril becomes imminent; when suddenly they find the place without my help, and plunder and burn it. They moreover on this occasion captured a savage, who guided them to Port Royal. Although this had delivered me from one great danger, it nevertheless involved me in another greater one. For after they had plundered and burnt Port Royal (which by some inexplicable chance they had found abandoned by its inhabitants), some Frenchman, one of those very men who had deserted Port Royal, brought an accusation against me, which was nothing less than this: that I was a genuine, native Spaniard; and that, on account of certain crimes committed in France, I dared not return there. Hereupon the captain, already incensed against me, having found a fine pretext for his wrath, asked his followers whether they did not think it would be just to cast me forth on the shore and abandon me there. The opinion of the majority prevailed, who thought it better to take me back to Virginia, and there to return me to that unlucky tree which, in accordance with law and justice, I had escaped. Thus I escaped death for the moment: and so we soon after started on our return voyage to Virginia. But two days later so fearful a tempest arose that the ships were separated, and none of us knew what became of the others. The captain of our ship, after he had endured the storm for three weeks, and had begun to run short of various necessaries, particularly of fresh water, concluding that there was no hope of getting back to Virginia for a long time, decided to run to the Portuguese islands called Terceras [Azores]. Through this decision I, who appeared to have escaped from the death by hanging that awaited me, again found myself in a greater peril; greater I may truly call it, since I had here companions in my danger. The sixteen Englishmen, on approaching these islands, began to reflect that they were lost if we priests and Jesuits appeared, for we would be set at liberty on the instant by these Portuguese Catholics, and they, on the contrary, would be punished as pirates and persecutors of priests. This anxiety troubled them. But what were they to do? Should they throw us overboard, or would it suffice to conceal us? In this embarrassment and uncertainty, the captain sent for me, and laid the matter before me. I said to him that death itself was not a greater evil, in my estimation, than to be the occasion of misfortune to others. I promised, in case he chose to conceal us, that I would lend myself to this scheme in good faith. With what idea did God inspire him, to make him believe me? I know not, truly; but this I know—that if he had foreseen the dangers into which he subsequently fell, he would not have trusted me. Accordingly he hid us in the hold of the vessel; during three weeks we did not behold the sun; but the captain encountered so many difficulties in the port of the island of Faal, and the vessel was visited so frequently during this space of three weeks, that it seems marvellous that we escaped detection. But this also God purposed for the greater glory of the Society; for the English clearly saw that if we had wished to show

ourselves, and to expose them, it would frequently have been in our power to do so. They themselves afterwards, when in England, often eulogized our good faith in the presence of their ministers, and to the admiration even of the enemies of truth. Escaping from these perils, our captors decided to return to England rather than to Virginia, which was so much farther distant, and which was to be reached only by a long voyage for which they lacked all the necessaries. Accordingly we set sail for England. Our voyage was a long one, and was marked by many vicissitudes: finally, losing our bearing in the fog and the cloudy weather, we deviated from the right course and were carried to Wales, not far from Ireland. In Wales our captain, having landed near the town of Pembroke to lay in provisions, was seized and detained as a pirate, because of certain appearances pointing that way. He, however, to recover his liberty, denied being a pirate; and, as a proof of his innocence, he adduced the fact that he had in his vessel two Jesuits from whose own lips they could learn the truth, if they pleased to summon them. Oh skillful hand of divine Providence! Winter was then fully upon us, and in the ship we were in want of everything. Thus, had we not been provided for, we should have died of cold and hardships. But what need of a long story? The Jesuits are at once summoned, and, gazed at by all, are led into the town. We are ordered to give our evidence. We, of course, attest what was perfectly true,—that our captain was a royal officer and not a pirate, and that what he had done to us had been done in obedience to orders, rather than from his own free will. Accordingly, our captain was set at liberty; and in company with him we were detained in the town, and very well used, while awaiting orders from London. These were long delayed; and in the interval we frequently engaged in arguments with the ministers, and more frequently still with others, for nearly everyone was permitted to have access to us, although we were not allowed to go out. In every other respect, as I have said, we were very kindly treated. Finally we received orders to sail from Pembroke to London. But the voyage proved a long one. Protracted delays intervened; to avoid a long enumeration of these, let it suffice to say that by order of the English king we were landed at Dover, and thence sent to Calais in France. At Calais we were hospitably received by the governor and the dean of the city, and rested three days; thence we came to Amiens, where we now are.

We remained in captivity during nine months and a half. We were in the ship all the time, except when we landed at Pembroke, as related. There were three months during which we daily received only about two ounces of bread, and a small quantity of salt fish, with water that was nearly always fetid; so that we marvel at not having fallen sick. Few of the English escaped illness, and some of them even died as the result. But God doubtless watched over us in answer to the prayer of Your Paternity and of all our Society; may He grant in his goodness that it result to his own greater glory and in my salvation and better life. This I hope for, through the prayers and the blessing of Your Paternity, which, with all possible humility and affection, I solicit on my knees. May the Lord Jesus ever

watch over Your Paternity and may our Father with utmost goodness and favor increasingly bestow upon you his Most Holy grace.

Your Paternity's Obedient son and unworthy servant, PIERRE BIARD. Amiens, May 26, 1614

Source: Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1907).

33. John Smith, Letter to Queen Anne about Pocahontas [Excerpt]

Introduction

John Smith was the only English witness to his legendary first encounter with Pocahontas, the 11-year-old daughter of Powhatan. Smith left Jamestown frequently to explore and trade with the Indians. On one such journey, a group of Indians captured him and killed his companions. According to Smith, his captors were about to execute him when Pocahontas threw herself down next to him and pleaded for his life. Powhatan spared his life, called him a friend and, a few days later, released him. Regardless of whether or not the events took place exactly as Smith described them, Pocahontas became a frequent visitor to Jamestown after Smith's release. At Jamestown, Pocahontas learned to speak English, converted to Christianity, and was renamed Rebecca. Her 1614 wedding to the Englishman John Rolfe brought about a period of peace between the colonists and Pocahontas's people. The couple and their infant son visited England in 1616, where Pocahontas met King James I. Before the Rolfes could return to Virginia, she fell ill and died in 1617, at the age of 21. Her young son, Thomas Rolfe, grew up to found a long line of Virginians. Smith wrote this letter to Queen Anne (wife of King James I) asking the royal family to treat her well in gratitude for all she had done for the Jamestown colonists. The letter also contains Smith's first account of his rescue by Pocahontas.

Primary Source

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the power of *Powhatan* their chiefe King, I received from this great Salvage exceeding great courtesie, especially from his sonne *Nantaquaus*, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit, I ever saw in a Salvage, and his sister Pocahontas, the Kings most deare and welbeloved daughter, being but a childe of twelve or thirteene yeeres of age, whose compassionate pitifull heart, of my desperate estate, gave me much cause to respect her: I being the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants ever saw: and thus inthralled in their

barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortall foes to prevent, notwithstanding all their threats. After some six weeks fatting amongst those Salvage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to save mine, and not onely that, but so prevailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to James towne, where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of Virginia, such was the weaknesse of this poore common-wealth, as had the Salvages not fed us, we directly had starved.

And this reliefe, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought us by this Lady Pocahontas, notwithstanding all these passages when inconstant Fortune turned our peace to warre, this tender Virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us, and by her our jarres have beene oft appeased, and our wants still supplied; were it the policie of her father thus to imploy her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinarie affection to our Nation, I know not: but of this I am sure; when her father with the utmost of his policie and power, sought to surprize mee, having but eighteen with mee, the darke night could not affright her from comming through the irksome woods, and with watered eies gave me intelligence, with her best advice to escape his furie; which had hee knowne, hee had surely slaine her. James towne with her wild traine she as freely frequented, as he fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres, she next under God, was still the instrument to preserve this Colonie from death, famine and utter confusion, which if in those times had once beene dissolved, Virginia might have line as it was at our first arrivall to this day. Since then, the businesse having beene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at: it is most certaine, after a long and troublesome warre after my departure, betwixt her father and our Colonie, all which time shee was not heard of, about two yeeres after she her selfe was taken prisoner, being so detained neere two yeeres longer, the Colonie by that meanes was relieved, peace concluded, and at last rejecting her barbarous condition, was married to an English Gentleman, with whom at this present she is in England; the first Christian ever of that Nation, the first Virginian ever spake English, or had a childe in marriage by an Englishman, a matter surely, if my meaning bee truly considered and well understood, worthy a Princes understanding.

Thus most gracious Lady, I have related to your Majestie, what at your best leasure our approved Histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Majesties life, and however this might bee presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot come from a more honest heart, as yet I never begged anything of the state, or any, and it is my want of abilitie and her exceeding desert, your birth, meanes and authoritie, her birth, virtue, want and simplicite, doth make mee thus bold, humbly to beseech your Majestie to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter, as my selfe, her husbands estate not being able to make

her fit to attend your Majestie: the most and least I can doe, is to tell you this, because none so oft hath tried it as my selfe, and the rather being of so great a spirit, how ever he stature: if she should not be well received, seeing this Kingdome may rightly have a Kingdome by her meanes; her present love to us and Christianitie, might turne to such scorne and furie, as to divert all this good to the worst of evill, where finding so great a Queene should doe her some honour more than she can imagine, for being so kinde to your servants and subjects, would so ravish her with content, as endeare her dearest bloud to effect that, your Majestie and all the Kings honest subjects more earnestly desire: And so I humbly kisse your gracious hands.

Being about this time preparing to set saile for New-England, I could not stay to doe her that service I desired, and she well deserved; but hearing she was at Branford with divers of my friends, I went to see her: After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with divers others, we all left her two or three houres, repenting my selfe to have writ she could speake English. But not long after, she began to talke, and remembred mee well what courtesies she had done: saying, You did promise Powhatan what was yours should bee his, and he the like to you; you called him father being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I doe you: which though I would have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a Kings daughter; with a well set countenance she said, Were you not afraid to come into my fathers Countrie, and caused feare in him and all his people (but mee) and feare you here I should call you father; I tell you then I will, and you shall call mee childe, and so I will bee for ever and ever your Countrieman. They did tell us alwaies you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plimoth; yet Powhatan did command Uttamatomakkin to seeke you, and know the truth, because your Countriemen will lie much.

This Salvage, one of Powhatans Councell, being amongst them held an understanding fellow; the King purposely sent him, as they say, to number the people here, and informe him well what wee were and our state. Arriving at Plimoth, according to his directions, he got a long sticke, whereon by notches hee did thinke to have kept the number of all the men hee could see, but he was quickly wearie of that taske: Comming to London, where by chance I met him, having renewed our acquaintance, where many were desirous to heare and see his behaviour, hee told me Powhatan did bid him to finde me out, to shew shim our God, the King, Queene, and Prince, I so much had told them of: Concerning God, I told him the best I could, the King I heard he had seene, and the rest hee should see when he would; he denied ever to have seene the King, till by circumstances he was satisfied he had: Then he replyed very sadly, You gave Powhatan a white Dog, which Powhatan fed as himselfe, but your King gave me nothing, and I am better than your white Dog.

The small time I staid in *London*, divers Courtiers and others, my acquaintances, hath gone with mee to see her, that generally

concluded, they did thinke God had a great hand in her conversion, and they have seene many *English* Ladies worse favoured, proportioned and behavioured, and as since I have heard, it pleased both the King and Queenes Majestie honourably to esteeme her, accompanied with the honourable Lady the Lady *De la Ware*, and that honourable Lord her husband, and divers other persons of good qualities, both publikely at the maskes and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and content, which doubtlesse she would have deserved, had she lived to arrive in *Virginia*.

Source: Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, vol. 2 (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1986).

34. Mayflower Compact, 1620

Introduction

Brief as it is, the Mayflower Compact of 1620 set an important precedent. It established the idea that a just government originates in the consent of those it is to govern. This idea influenced later governing documents written in the United States. Unlike the Puritans, who expected to reform the Anglican Church from within, the Pilgrims were separatists. In response to harassment in England, some separatists fled to the Netherlands. Among them was a group led by William Bradford. In 1620, Bradford and 34 other Pilgrims left the Netherlands aboard the Mayflower. The ship stopped at the English port of Plymouth and took on additional passengers. The Mayflower arrived at the coast of Massachusetts in late November. The Pilgrims had intended to settle much farther south, on land owned by the Virginia Company, but rough water and dangerous currents convinced them to go no further. The approval they had been issued in England had no legal effect in Massachusetts. Fearing that some in their group would use that circumstance as an excuse to ignore all authority, 41 men agreed among themselves to sign the Mayflower Compact onboard ship on the night of November 21, 1620. The agreement stated that the signers would unite to form a government, and that they would live by the laws that the future government would establish.

Primary Source

IN THE name of God, Amen. We whose names are under-writen, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, France and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc., haveing undertaken, for the glorie of God, and advancemente of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutualy in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine our selves together into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to

time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes wherof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd the 11 of November, in the year of the raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fiftie-fourth. Anno Domine 1620.

Source: Bradford, William. *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, 1606–1646. ed. William T. Davis. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908.

35. William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 1648 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Unlike the Puritans, who expected to reform the Anglican Church from within, the Pilgrims were separatists. In response to harassment in England, some separatists fled to the Netherlands. Among them was a group led by William Bradford. In 1620, Bradford and 34 other Pilgrims left the Netherlands aboard the Mayflower. The ship stopped at the English port of Plymouth and took on additional passengers. The Mayflower arrived at the coast of Massachusetts in late November. The Pilgrims had intended to settle much farther south, on land owned by the Virginia Company, but rough water and dangerous currents convinced them to go no further. Bradford published this detailed history of the Pilgrims' settlement at Plymouth Plantation in 1648. The work encouraged more settlers to journey to the New World and served as an invaluable source of information for historians of colonial Massachusetts. This excerpt recounts the earliest days of Plymouth, including the signing of the Mayflower Compact, the sickness and deaths of half the colonists during the first winter, the first peace treaty with the native people, and the assistance rendered by Squanto.

Primary Source

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I shall a litle returne backe and begine with a combination [the Mayflower Compact] made by them before they came a shore, being the first foundation of their governmente in this place; occasioned partly by the discontented & mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship—That when they came a shore they would use their owne libertie; for none had power to command them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for New-england, which belonged to an other Government, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to doe. And partly that shuch an acte by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firme as any patent, and in some respects more sure. . . .

After this they chose, or rather confirmed, Mr. John Carver (a man godly & well approved amongst them) their Governour for that year. And after they had provided a place for their goods, or comone store, (which were long in unlading for want of boats, foulnes of winter weather, and sicknes of diverce,) and begune some small cottages for their haitation, as time would admitte, they mette and consulted of lawes & orders, both for their civill & military Governmente, as the necessitie of their condition did require, still adding therunto as urgent occasion in severall times, and as cases did require.

In these hard & difficulte beginings they found some discontents & murmurings arise amongst some, and mutinous speeches & carriags in other; but they were soone quelled & overcome by the wisdome, patience, and just & equall carrage of things by the Governor and better part, which clave faithfully togeather in the maine. But that which was most sadd & lamentable was, that in 2. or 3. moneths time halfe of their company dyed, espetialy in Jan: & February, being the depth of winter, and wanting houses & other comforts; being infected with the scurvie & other diseases, which this long vioage & their inacomodate condition had brought upon them; so as ther dyed some times 2. or 3. of a day, in the foresaid time; that of 100. & odd persons, scarce 50. remained. And of these in the time of most distres, ther was but 6. or 7. sound persons, who, to their great comendations be it spoken, spared no pains, night nor day, but with abundance of toyle and hazard of their owne health, fetched them woode, made them fires, drest them meat, made their beads, washed their lothsome cloaths, cloathed & uncloathed them: in a word, did all the homly and necessarie offices for them which dainty and quesie stomacks cannot endure to hear named; and all this willingly and cherfully, without any grudging in the least, shewing herein their true love unto their friends and bretheren. A rare example and worthy to be remembred. Tow of these 7. were Mr. William Brewster, ther reverend Elder, & Myles Standish, ther Captein & military commander, unto whom my selfe, & many others, were much beholden in our low & sicke condition. And yet the Lord so upheld these persons, as in this generall calamity they were not at all infected either with sicknes, or lamnes. And what I have said of these, I may say of many others who dyed in this generall vissitation, & others yet living, that whilst they had health, yea, or any strength continuing, they were not wanting to any that had need of them. And I doute not but their recompence is with the Lord.

But I may not hear pass by an other remarkable passage not to be forgotten. As this calamitie fell among the passengers that were to be left here to plant, and were hasted a shore and made to drinke water, that the sea-men might have the more bear, and one (which was this author himselfe) in his sicknes desiring but a small cann of beere, it was answered, that if he were their owne father he should have none; the disease begane to fall amongst them also, so as allmost halfe of their company dyed before they went away, and many of their officers and lustyest men, as the boatson, gunner, 3. quartermaisters, the cooke, & others. At which the master was something strucken and sent to the sick a shore and tould the Governor he should send for beer

for them that had need of it, though he drunke water homward bound. But now amongst his company ther was farr another kind of carriage in this miserie then amongst the passengers; for they that before had been boone companions in drinking & joyllity in the time of their health & wellfare, begane now to deserte one another in this calamitie, saing they would not hasard ther lives for them, they should be infected by coming to help them in their cabins, and so, after they came to dye by it, would doe litle or nothing for them, but it they dyed let them dye. But shuch of the passengers as were yet abord shewed them what mercy they could, which made some of their harts relente, as the boatson (& some others), who was a prowd yonge man, and would often curse & scofe at the passengers; but when he grew weak, they had compassion on him and helped him; then he confessed he did not deserve it at their hands, he had abused them in word & deed. O! saith he, you, I now see, shew your love like Christians indeed one to another, but we let one another lye & dye like doggs. Another lay cursing his wife, saing if it had not ben for her he had never come this unlucky viage, and anone cursing his felows, saing he had done this & that, for some of them, he had spente so much, & so much, amongst them, and they were now weary of him, and did not help him, having need. Another gave his companion all he had, if he died, to help him in his weaknes; he went and got a litle spise & made him a mess of meat once or twise, and because he dyed not so soone as he expected, he went amongst his fellows, & swore the rogue would cousen him, he would see him choaked before he made him any more meate; and yet the pore fellow dyed before morning.

All this while the Indians came skulking about them, and would sometimes show them selves aloofe of, but when any aproached near them, they would rune away. And once they stoale away their tools wher they had been at worke, & were gone to diner. But about the 16. of March a certaine Indian came bouldly amongst them, and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand, but marvelled at it. At length they understood by discourse with him, that he was not of these parts, but belonged to the eastrene parts, wher some English-ships came to fhish, with whom he was aquainted, & could name sundrie of them by their names, amongst whom he had gott his language. He became profitable to them in aquainting them with many things concerning the state of the cuntry in the east-parts wher he live, which was afterwards profitable unto them; as also of the people hear, of their names, number, & strength; of their situation & distance from this place, and who was cheefe amongst them. His name was Samaset; he tould them also of another Indian whos name was *Squanto*, a native of this place, who had been in England & could speake better English then him selfe. Being, after some time of entertainmente & gifts, dismist, a while after he came againe, & 5. more with him, & they brought againe all the tooles that were stolen away before, and made way for the coming of their great Sachem, called Massasoyt; who, about 4. or 5. days after, came with the cheefe of his freinds & other attendance, with the aforesaid Squanto. With whom, after frendly entertainment, & some gifts given him, they made a peace with him (which hath now continued this 24. years) in these terms.

- 1. That neither he nor any of his, should injurie or doe hurte to any of their peopl.
- 2. That if any of his did any hurte to any of theirs, he should send the offender, that they might punish him.
- 3. That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should doe the like to his.
- 4. If any did unjustly warr against him, they would aide him; if any did warr against them, he should aide them.
- 5. He should send to his neighbours confederats, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.
- That when ther men came to them, they should leave their bows & arrows behind them.

After these things he returned to his place caled *Sowams*, some 40. mile from this place, but *Squanto* continued with them, and was their interpreter, and was a spetiall instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation. He directed them how to set their corne, wher to take fish, and to procure other comodities, and was also their pilott to bring them to unknowne places for their profitt, and never left them till he dyed. . . .

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Source: Bradford, William. *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, 1606–1646.* ed. William T. Davis. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908, 106–111.

36. Dutch West India Company Charter, 1621 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Traders from the Netherlands had formed the Dutch East India Company in 1602, to conduct trade with Asia and the South Pacific. In 1609 the company hired English navigator Henry Hudson to explore for a northeast passage to China. When, in defiance of orders, Hudson sailed to America, he explored the river that later bore his name. In 1621, Dutch traders formed the Dutch West India Company to coordinate the Netherlands' ventures in the New World, including its holdings in the West Indies. At this time, the Netherlands was at war, fighting for independence from Spain. This conflict was part of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). The Dutch hoped to use their new American outpost as a base for raiding Spain's American colonies. The Dutch West India Company established New Netherland in 1624 and eventually controlled territory extending from the Connecticut River to the Delaware River. The Dutch surrendered New Netherland to the English in 1664 during the Anglo-Dutch Wars, briefly recaptured it in 1673, and surrendered it again the following year. The Dutch West India Company dissolved in 1674.

Primary Source

The States-General of the United Netherlands, to all who shall see these Presents, or hear them read, Greeting.

Be it known, that we knowing the prosperity of these countries, and the welfare of their inhabitants depends principally on navigation and trade, which in all former times by the said Countries were carried on happily, and with a great blessing to all countries and kingdoms; and desiring that the aforesaid inhabitants should not only be preserved in their former navigation, traffic, and trade, but also that their trade may be encreased as much as possible in special conformity to the treaties, alliances, leagues and covenants for traffic and navigation formerly made with other princes, republics and people, which we give them to understand must be in all parts punctually kept and adhered to: And we find by experience, that without the common help, assistance, and interposition of a General Company, the people designed from hence for those parts cannot be profitably protected and mantained in their great risque from pirates, extortion and otherwise, which will happen in so very long a voyage. We have, therefore, and for several other important reasons and considerations as thereunto moving, with mature deliberation of counsel, and for highly necessary causes, found it good, that the navigation, trade, and commerce, in the parts of the West-Indies, and Africa, and other places hereafter described, should not henceforth be carried on any otherwise than by the common united strength of the merchants and inhabitants of these countries; and for that end there shall be erected one General Company, which we out of special regard to their common well-being, and to keep and preserve the inhabitants of those places in good trade and welfare, will maintain and strengthen with our Help, Favour and assistance as far as the present state and condition of this Country will admit: and moreover furnish them with a proper Charter, and with the following Priveleges and Exemptions, to wit, That for the Term of four and twenty Years, none of the Natives or Inhabitants of these countries shall be permitted to sail to or from the said lands, or to traffic on the coast and countries of Africa from the *Tropic of Cancer* to the *Cape of Good Hope*, nor in the countries of America, or the West-Indies, beginning at the fourth end of Terra Nova, by the streights of Magellan, La Maire, or any other streights and passages situated thereabouts to the straights of Anian, as well on the north sea as the south sea, nor on any islands situated on the one side or the other, or between both; nor in the western or southern countries reaching, lying, and between both the meridians, from the Cape of Good Hope, in the East, to the east end of New Guinea, in the West, inclusive, but in the Name of this United Company of these United Netherlands. And whoever shall presume without the consent of this Company, to sail or to traffic in any of the Places within the aforesaid Limits granted to this Company, he shall forfeit the ships and the goods which shall be found for sale upon the aforesaid coasts and lands; the which being actually seized by the aforesaid Company, shall be by them kept for their own Benefit and Behoof. And in case such ships or goods shall be sold either in other countries or havens they may touch at, the owners and partners must be fined for the value of those ships and goods: Except only, that they who before the date of this charter, shall have sailed or been sent out of these or any other countries, to any of the aforesaid coasts, shall be able to continue their trade for the sale of their goods, and cosine back again, or otherwise, until the expiration of this charter, if they have had any before, and not longer: Provided, that after the first of July sixteen hundred and twenty one, the day and time of this charters commencing, no person shall be able to send any ships or goods to the places comprehended in this charter, although that before the date hereof, this Company was not finally incorporated: But shall provide therein as is becoming, against those who knowingly by fraud endeavour to frustrate our intention herein for the public good: Provided that the salt trade at Ponte del Re may be continued according to the conditions and instructions by us already given, or that may be given respecting it, any thing in this charter to the contrary notwithstanding.

II. That, moreover, the aforesaid Company may, in our name and authority, within the limits herein before prescribed, make contracts, engagements and alliances with the limits herein before prescribed, make contracts, engagements and alliances with the princes and natives of the countries comprehended therein, and also build any forts and fortifications there, to appoint and discharge Governors, people for war, and officers of justice, and other public officers, for the preservation of the places, keeping good order, police and justice, and in like manner for the promoting of trade; and again, others in their place to put, as they from the situation of their affairs shall see fit: Moreover, they must advance the peopling of those fruitful and unsettled parts, and do all that the service of those countries, and the profit and increase of trade shall require: and the Company shall successively communicate and transmit to us such contracts and alliances as they shall have made with the aforesaid princes and nations; and likewise the situation of the fortresses, fortifications, and settlements by them taken.

III. Saving, that they having chosen a governor in chief, and prepared instructions for him, they shall be approved, and a commission given by us, And that further, such governor in chief, as well as other deputy governors, commanders, and officers, shall be held to take an oath of allegiance to us and also to the Company.

IV. And if the aforesaid Company in and of the aforesaid places shall be cheated under the appearance of friendship, or badly treated, or shall suffer loss in trusting their money or Goods, without having restitution, or receiving payment for them, they may use the best methods in their power, according to the situation of their affairs, to obtain satisfaction.

V. And if it should be necessary for the establishment, security and defence of this trade, to take any troops with them, we will, according to the constitution of this country, and the situation of affairs furnish the said Company with such troops, provided they be paid and supported by the Company.

VI. Which troops, besides the oath already taken to us and to his excellency, shall swear to obey the commands of the said Company,

and to endeavour to promote their interest to the utmost of their ability.

VII. That the provosts of the Company on shore may apprehend any of the military, that have inlisted in the service of the aforesaid company, and may confine them on board the ships in whatever city, place, or jurisdiction they may be found; provided, the provosts first inform the officers and magistrates of the cities and places where this happens.

VIII. That we will not take any ships, ordnance, or ammunition belonging to the company, for the use of this country, without the consent of the said company.

IX. We have moreover incorporated this company, and favoured them with privileges, and we give them a charter besides this, that they may pass freely with all their ships and goods without paying any toll to the United Provinces; and that they themselves may use their liberty in the same manner as the free inhabitants of the cities of this country enjoy their freedom, notwithstanding any person who is not free may be a member of this company.

X. That all the goods of this company during the eight next ensuing years, be carried out of this country to the parts of the West Indies and Africa, and other places comprehended within the aforesaid limits, and those which they shall bring into this country, shall be from outward and home convoys; provided, that if at the expiration of the aforesaid eight years, the state and situation of these Countries will not admit of this Freedom's continuing for a longer time, the said goods, and the merchandises coming from the places mentioned in this Charter, and exported again out of these countries, and the outward convoys and licenses, during the whole time of this Charter, shall not be rated higher by us than they have formerly been rated, unless we should be again engaged in a war, in which case, all the aforesaid goods and merchandises will not be rated higher by us than they were in the last list in time of war.

XI. And that this company may be strengthened by a good government, to the greatest profit and satisfaction of all concerned, we have ordained, that the said government shall be vested in five chambers of managers; one at Amsterdam,—this shall have the management of four-ninths parts; one chamber in Zealand, for two-ninth parts; one chamber at the Maeze, for one-ninth part; one chamber in North Holland, for one-ninth-part; and the fifth chamber in Friesland, with the city and country, for one-ninth part; upon the condition entered in the record of our resolutions, and the Act past respecting it. And the Provinces in which there are no chambers shall be accommodated with so many managers, divided among the respective chambers, as their hundred thousand guilders in this company shall entitle them to.

XII. That the chamber of Amsterdam shall consist of twenty managers; the chamber of Zealand of twelve; the chambers of Maeze and of the North Part, each of fourteen, and the chamber of Friesland, with the city and country, also of fourteen managers; if it shall hereafter appear, that this work cannot be carried on without a greater number of persons; in that case, more may be added,

with the knowledge of nineteen, and our approbation, but not otherwise.

 $[\ldots]$

XLII. We have moreover ordained, that in case of a war, all the prizes which shall be taken from enemies and pirates within the aforesaid limits, by the Company or their assistants; also the goods which shall be seized by virtue of our proclamation, after deducting all expenses and the damage which the Company shall suffer in taking each prize, together with the just part of his excellency the admiral, agreeable to our resolution of the first of April sixteen hundred and two; and the tenth part for the officers, sailors and soldiers, who have taken the prize, shall await the disposal of the managers of the aforesaid Company; Provided that the account of them shall be kept separate and apart from the account of trade and commerce; and that the nett proceeds of the said prizes shall be employed in fitting our ships, paying the troops, fortifications, garrisons, and like matters of war and defence by sea and land; but there shall be no distribution unless the said nett proceeds shall amount to so much that a notable share may be distributed without weakening the said defence, and after paying the expenses of the war, which shall be done separate and apart from the distributions on account of Trade: And the distribution shall be made one-tenth part for the use of the United Netherlands, and the remainder for the members of this Company, in exact proportion to the capital they have advanced.

XLIII. Provided nevertheless, that all the prizes and goods, taken by virtue of our proclamation, shall be brought in, and the right laid before the judicature of the counsellors of the admirality for the part to which they are brought, that they may take cognizance of them, and determine the legality or illegality of the said prizes: the process of the administration of the goods brought in by the Company remaining nevertheless pending, and that under a proper inventory; and saving a revision of what may be done by the sentence of the admirality, agreeable to the instruction given the admiralty in that behalf. Provided that the vendue-masters and other officers of the Admiralty shall not have or pretend to any right to the prizes taken by this Company, and shall not be employed respecting them.

XLIV. The managers of this Company shall solemnly promise and swear, that they will act well and faithfully in their administration, and make good and just accounts of their trade: That they in all things will consult the greatest profit of the Company, and as much as possible prevent their meeting with losses: That they will not give the principal members any greater advantage in the payments or distribution of money than the least: That they, in getting in and receiving outstanding debts, will not favour one more than another: that they for their own account will take, and, during the continuance of their administration, will continue to take such sum of money as by their charter is allotted to them; and moreover, that they will, as far as concerns them, to the utmost of their power, observe and keep, and cause to be observed and kept, all and every the particulars and articles herein contained.

[…]

Given under our Great Seal, and the Signature and Seal of our Recorder, at the Hague, on the third day of the month of June, in the year sixteen hundred and twenty one.

Was countersigned

J. MAGNUS, Secr.

Underneath was written,

The ordinance of the High and Mighty Lords the States General. It was subscribed,

C. AERSSEN.

And has a Seal pendant, of red Wax, and a string of white silk.

Source: Thorpe, Francis Newton. *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America.* Vol. I. Washington: GPO, 1909.

37. John Smith, *The General History* of Virginia, 1624 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Captain John Smith (1580-1631) was part of the first expedition to colonize Virginia in 1607. The son of a tenant farmer, he became a professional soldier. Smith spent much of his time in Virginia exploring the countryside, forging a relationship with the native peoples, and mapping the coastal waterways. The native peoples consisted of the Algonquian inhabitants of some 30 villages who accepted the leadership of their chieftain, Powhatan. After a period as president of the struggling colony, Smith left Virginia in 1609 and returned home to recuperate from an injury. He returned to North America in 1614 and mapped the coast of New England. After his final return to England, Smith wrote an account of his adventures as well as a general history of the colony in Virginia. Here he recounts the coordinated surprise attacks of March 22, 1622, and the resulting massacre of 347 men, women, and children, more than one third of Virginia's English population. The deaths of Pocahontas in 1617 and of Powhatan the following year doomed the fragile peace between their people and the colonists. Powhatan's half-brother Opechancanough planned the operation to drive the English from his land. The colony survived and launched a brutal, all-out war of extermination.

Primary Source

The massacre upon the two and twentieth of March.

The Prologue to this Tragedy, is supposed was occasioned by Nemattanow, otherwise called Jack of the Feather, because hee commonly was most strangely adorned with them; and for his courage and policy, was accounted amongst the Salvages their chiefe Captaine, and immortall from any hurt could bee done him by the English. This Captaine comming to one Morgans house, knowing he had many commodities that hee desired, perswaded Morgan to goe with him to Pamaunke to trucke, but the Salvage murdered him by the way; and after two or three daies returned againe to Morgans house, where he found two youths his Servants, who asked for their Master: Jack replied directly he was dead; the Boyes suspecting as it was, by seeing him weare his Cap, would have had him to Master Thorp: But Jack so moved their patience, they shot him, so he fell to the ground, put him in a Boat to have him before the Governor, then seven or eight miles from them. But by the way Jack finding the pangs of death upon him, desired of the Boyes two things; the one was, that they would not make it knowne hee was slaine with a bullet; the other, to bury him amongst the English. At the losse of this Salvage Opechankanough much grieved and repined, with great threats of revenge; but the English returned him such terrible answers, that he cunningly dissembled his intent, with the greatest signes he could of love and peace, yet within foureteene daies after he acted what followeth.

Sir Francis Wyat at his arrivall was advertised, he found the Countrey setled in such a firme peace, as most men there thought sure and unviolable, not onely in regard of their promises, but of a necessitie. The poore weake Salvages being every way bettered by us, and safely sheltred and defended, whereby wee might freely follow our businesse: and such was the conceit of this conceited peace, as that there was seldome or never a sword, and seldomer a peece, except for a Deere or Fowle, by which assurances the most plantations were placed straglingly and scatteringly, as a choice veine of rich ground invited them, and further from neighbours the better. Their houses generally open to the Salvages, who were alwaies friendly fed at their tables, and lodged in their bed-chambers, which made the way plaine to effect their intents, and the conversion of the Salvages as they supposed.

Having occasion to send to Opechankanough about the middle of March, hee used the Messenger well, and told him he held the peace so firme, the sky should fall or he dissolved it; yet such was the treachery of those people, when they had contrived our destruction, even but two daies before the massacre, they guided our men with much kindnesse thorow the woods, and one Browne that lived among them to learne the language, they sent home to his Master; yea, they borrowed our Boats to transport themselves over the River, to consult on the devillish murder that insued, and of our utter extirpation, which God of his mercy (by the meanes of one of themselves converted to Christianitie) prevented, and as well on the Friday morning that fatall day, being the two and twentieth of March, as also in the evening before as at other times they came unarmed into our houses, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Fruits, and other provisions to sell us, yea in some places sat downe at breakfast with our people, whom immediatly with their owne tooles they slew most barbarously, not sparing either age or sex, man woman or childe, so sudden in their execution, that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction: In which

manner also they slew many of our people at severall works in the fields, well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their familiaritie with us, for the effecting that great master-peece of worke their conversion; and by this meanes fell that fatall morning under the bloudy and barbarous hands of that perfidious and inhumane people, three hundred forty seven men, women and children, most by their owne weapons, and not being content with their lives, they fell againe upon the dead bodies, making as well as they could a fresh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling their dead carkases into many peeces, and carying some parts away in derision, with base and brutish triumph.

Neither yet did these beasts spare those amongst the rest well knowne unto them, from whom they had daily received many benefits, but spightfully also massacred them without any remorse or pitie; being in this more fell then Lions and Dragons, as Histories record, which have preserved their Benefactors; such is the force of good deeds, though done to cruell beasts, to take humanitie upon them, but these miscreants put on a more unnaturall brutishnesse then beasts, as by those instances may appeare.

[…]

Thus have you heard the particulars of this massacre, which in those respects some say will be good for the Plantation, because now we have just cause to destroy them by all meanes possible: but I thinke it had beene much better it had never happened, for they have given us an hundred times as just occasions long agoe to subject them, (and I wonder I can heare of none but Master Stockam and Master Whitaker of my opinion). Moreover, where before we were troubled in cleering the ground of great Timber, which was to them of small use: now we may take their owne plaine fields and Habitations, which are the pleasantest places in the Countrey. Besides, the Deere, Turkies, and other Beasts and Fowles will exceedingly increase if we beat the Salvages out of the Countrey, for at all times of the yeare they never spare Male nor Female, old nor young, egges nor birds, fat nor leane, in season or out of season with them, all is one. The like they did in our Swine and Goats, for they have used to kill eight in tenne more then we, or else the wood would most plentifully abound with victuall; besides it is more easie to civilize them by conquest then faire meanes; for the one may be made at once, but their civilizing will require a long time and much industry. The manner how to suppresse them is so often related and approved, I omit it here: And you have twenty examples of the Spaniards how they got the West-Indies, and forced the treacherous and rebellious Infidel's to doe all manner of drudgery worke and slavery for them, themselves living like Souldiers upon the fruits of their labours. This will make us more circumspect, and be an example to posteritie: (But I say, this might as well have beene put in practise sixteene, yeares agoe as now).

[…]

The numbers that were slaine in those severall Plantations.

At Captaine Berkleys Plantation, himselfe and 21.	
others, seated at the Falling-Crick, 66. miles from James City.	22
2 Master Thomas Sheffelds Plantation, some three miles from	
the Falling-Crick, himselfe and 12. others.	13
3 At Henrico Iland, about two miles from Sheffelds Plantation.	6
4 Slaine of the College people, two miles from Henrico.	17
5 At Charles City, and of Captaine Smiths men.	5
6 At the next adjoyning Plantation.	8
7 At William Farrars house.	10
8 At Berkley hundred, five miles from Charles City, Master	
Thorp and	10
9 At Westover, a mile from Berkley.	2
10 At Master John Wests Plantation.	2
11 At Captaine Nathaniel Wests Plantation.	2
12 At Lieutenant Gibs his Plantation.	12
13 At Richard Owens house, himselfe and	6
14 At Master Owen Macars house, himselfe and	3
15. At Martins hundred, seven miles from James City.	73
16 At another place.	7
17 At Edward Bennets Plantation.	50
18 At Master Waters his house, himselfe and	4
19 At Apamatucks River, at Master Peirce his Plantation,	
five miles from the College.	4
20 At Master Macocks Divident, Captaine Samuel	
Macock, and	4
21 At Flowerdieu hundred, Sir George Yearleys Plantation.	6
22 On the other side opposite to it.	7
23 At Master Swinhows house, himselfe and	7
24 At Master William Bickars house, himselfe and	4
25 At Weanock, of Sir George Yearleys people.	21
26 At Powel Brooke, Captaine Nathaniel Powel, and	12
27 At Southhampton hundred.	5
28 At Martin Brandons hundred.	7
29 At Captaine Henry Spilmans house.	2
30 At Ensigne Spences house.	5
31 At Master Thomas Peirce his house by Mulbery Ile,	
himselfe and	4
The whole number	347

Source: Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, vol. 2 (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1986).E12

38. John Martin, *The Manner Howe to Bringe the Indians into Subjection*, December 15, 1622

Introduction

On March 22, 1622, coordinated surprise Indian attacks on the English settlements of Virginia resulted in the massacre of 347

men, women, and children, more than one third of Virginia's English population. The deaths of Pocahontas in 1617 and of Powhatan the following year had doomed the fragile peace between their people and the colonists. Powhatan's half-brother Opechancanough began planning the operation to drive the English from his land. The colony survived and launched a brutal all-out war of extermination. They burned the Indians' villages and crops, and even went so far as to poison Indian peace negotiators. Some nine months after the opening of the war, a colonist wrote this proposal suggesting how to subdue and conquer the Indians without exterminating them. Among his suggestions: burn their villages, destroy their stored food, patrol the rivers to prevent them from fishing and trading, and seize their trade goods, thus making them dependent on the colonists for their survival. He also argues that the Indians should not be exterminated because they are needed as laborers and their presence provides a buffer between the colonists and wild animals.

Primary Source

The manner howe to bringe in the Indians into subjection without makinge an utter exterpation of them together with the reasons.

First By disablinge the mayne bodie of the Enemye from haveinge the Sinnewes of all expedicons. As namely by Corne and all manner of victualls of anye worth.

This is to be acted two manner of wayes.

First by keepeinge them from settinge Corne at home and fishinge. Secondly by keepeinge them from their accustomed tradinge for Corne.

This first course I assure myselfe if they take it wthout the other, will make a tedious Warr.

For The first it is p'formed by haveinge some 200 Souldiers on foote, Contynuallie harrowinge and burneinge all their Townes in wynter, and spoileinge their weares. By this meanes o' people seacurely may followe their worke. And yet not to be negligent in keepeinge watch.

For The seacond there must provided some 10 Shallopps, that in May, June, Julye and August may scoure the Baye and keepe the Rivers yt are belonginge to Opichankanoe.

By this ariseth two happie ende

First the assured takeinge of great purchases in skynnes and Prisoners.

Seacondly in keepinge them from tradinge for Corne on the Easterne shore and from ye Southward from whence they have five tymes more then they sett them selves. This Course being taken they have noe meanes, but must yield to obedience, or flye to borderinge Neighbors who neither will receive them Nor indeede are able, for they have but groune Cleared for their owne use.

At the North west end of his dominions the Monecans are their enymies, On the Norther most side the Patomecks and other nations are their enemies.

The keepinge of them from tradeinge with the Easterne shore p'duceth two worthie effecte to or exceedinge profit First or assurance of Corne att all, tymes.

Seacondly the ventinge of much, Cloth.

My Aunchiant & servante have seene in trade at one tyme 40 greate Canowes laden wth these commodities.

For the Certentye of Corne it is best knowne to my selfe for yt by sendinge, & discoueringe those places, First I have not onely reaped the benefitt, but all the whole Collonye since; whoe had perished had it not bene discouered before Sr George Yardley came in by my Aunchient Thomas Savage & servantt, besides necessitie hath made those Savages more industrious then any other Indians in or Baye, wch followeth to appeare in this seacond p'fitt.

For the assured ventinge of Cloth it followeth Consequently two wayes. First by Varringe them of trade for skinns they haveinge none them selves.

Seacondly by the necessite of haveinge clothinge wch by us shall & may be tendered att all Convenyent tymes.

Reasons why it is not fittinge utterlye to make an exterpation of the Savages yett.

My reasons are grounded two foulde.

First uppon holy writt and my owne experience.

Seacondly other necessarie uses and p'fitte that maye retorne by the same.

Holy writt sayeth That god would not yt the Children of Israell though they were of farr greater numbrs., then wee are yet in many ages like to be, and came into a Countrie where weare walled townes, not to utterly distroy the heathen, least the woode and wilde beaste should over runn them

My owne observacon hath bene such as assureth me yt if the Indians inhabitt not amongst us under obedience And as they have ever kept downe ye woode and slayne the wolves, beares, and other beaste, (wch are in greate numbr.) we shalbe more opressed in short tyme by their absence, then in their hveing by us both for or owne securitie as allso for or Cattle.

They by experience willing and able are to worke in the heate of ye day wch or sexe are not.

Seacondly when as by ye meanes before spoken of, they shalbe brought into subjection and shalbe made to deliver hostriges for theire obediance, there is no doubt by gods grace but of the saveinge of many of their soules And then beinge natives are apter for worke then yet or English are, knowinge howe to attayne greate quantitie of silke, hempe, and flax, and most exquisite in the dressinge thereof For or uses fitt for guides uppon discou'ye into other Countries adiacent to ours, fitt to rowe in Gallies & friggetts and many other pregnant uses too tedious to sett downe.

Nowe for avoydinge future daynger in or Collonye that may growe Two especiall er vocable lawes are to be made uppon seaveare penallties.

First ye none of what ranke soeuer doe ever trinke or trade wth in the late prcinct of Opichankanoe nor any borderinge neighbors that ayded him in this last disaster.

Seacondly for or owne people to sett & sowe a sufficient proporcon of corne for their owne uses, and yearely to lay upp into a granary a p:porcon for wch if they have noe use for them selves the next yeare then to be sould and every man to have his dewe payd him.

My reason for the first is yt by this meanes the Savages shalbe frustrated of all meanes of buyinge any manner of victualls, and clothinge, but what they shall have from us for their labor and industrie As alsoe beinge disabled from hireinge anye Auxiliaries if at any tyme they would rebell.

The infinate trade they have had in this 4 years of securitie enabled Opichankanoe to hyer many auxiliaries wch in former tymes I knowe for want hereof Pohatan was never able to act the like.

For the seacond howe benifitiall the settinge and sowinge of Come and layinge upp thereof for store, will luculently appeare by their nowe endureinge want being disturbed by theis Savages at this tyme, And likewise other unexpected accedente may happen both by forrayne and domesticke enymies hereafter.

Two Storehowses or Granaries to be erected and placed for this purpose fittest for salftie, and then for Convenience wch I Will leave to demonstrate to yor [honor] untill you Come to the Mapp of the Countrie As alsoe a neare passage to the Southward River and where the most necessarie places are for fortificadon against a forren Enemye.

Jho. Martin.

Source: Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed. *The Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1933).

39. Massachusetts Bay Company Charter, 1629 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In England during the early 1600s, a group of Christians called Puritans sought to purify the Church of England (Anglican Church). The Puritans also believed that individual churches should have the power to control their own membership, and that the members, in turn, should control their local leaders. In this way the Puritan church could dominate local government and society as a whole. After the separatist Pilgrims founded a colony at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, a mix of Puritans and non-Puritans from England founded settlements along the New England coast. King Charles I granted the Massachusetts Bay Company a charter for a New England colony in 1629. The following year, John Winthrop and about 1,000 English Puritans came to Massachusetts to settle around Boston Bay. Winthrop believed he could better create a truly Puritan society in America than in England. The new settlement was called the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The colony grew rapidly. By 1635, about 2,000 immigrants were coming to the colony each year, most of them Puritans. The newcomers settled all along the coast from Maine to Long Island. Under Governor Winthrop's leadership, the Puritans organized an efficient government that controlled many aspects of society. Initially, only church members had the right to vote.

Primary Source

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AND FURTHER, That the said Governour and Companye, and their Successors, maie have forever one comon Seale, to be vsed in all Causes and Occasions of the said Company, and the same Seale may alter, chaunge, breake, and newe make, from tyme to tyme, at their pleasures. And our Will and Pleasure is, and Wee doe hereby for Vs, our Heires and Successors, ordeyne and graunte, That from henceforth for ever, there shalbe one Governor, one Deputy Governor, and eighteene Assistants of the same Company, to be from tyme to tyme constituted, elected and chosen out of the Freemen of the saide Company, for the tyme being, in such Manner and Forme as hereafter in theis Presents is expressed, which said Officers shall applie themselves to take Care for the best disposeing and ordering of the generall buysines and Affaires of, for, and concerning the said Landes and Premisses hereby mencoed, to be graunted, and the Plantacion thereof, and the Government of the People there. AND FOR the better Execucon of our Royall Pleasure and Graunte in this Behalf, WEE doe, by theis presents, for Vs, our Heires and Successors, nominate, ordevne, make, & constitute; our welbeloved the saide Mathewe Cradocke, to be the first and present Governor of the said Company, and the saide Thomas Goffe, to be Deputy Governor of the saide Company, and the saide Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Increase Nowell, Richard Pery, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Adams, Thomas Hutchins, John Browne, George Foxcrofte, William Vassall, and William Pinchion, to be the present Assistants of the saide Company, to continue in the saide several Offices respectivelie for such tyme, and in such manner, as in and by theis Presents is hereafter declared and appointed.

AND FURTHER, Wee will, and by theis Presents, for Vs, our Heires and Successors, doe ordoyne and graunte, That the Governor of the saide Company for the tyme being, or in his Absence by Occasion of Sicknes or otherwise, the Deputie Governor for the tyme being, shall have Authoritie from tyme to tyme vpon all Occasions, to give order for the assembling of the saide Company, and calling them together to consult and advise of the Bussinesses and Affaires of the saide Company, and that the said Governor, Deputie Governor, and Assistants of the saide Company, for the tyme being, shall or maie once every Moneth, or oftener at their Pleasures, assemble and houlde and keepe a Courte or Assemblie of themselves, for the better ordering and directing of their Affaires, and that any seaven or more persons of the Assistants, togither with the Governor, or Deputie Governor soe assembled, shalbe saide, taken, held, and reputed to be, and shalbe a full and sufficient Courte or Assemblie of the said Company, for the handling, ordering, and dispatching of all such Buysinesses and Occurrents as shall from tyme to tyme happen, touching or concerning the said Company or Plantacon; and that there shall or maie be held and kept by the Governor, or Deputie Governor of the said Company, and seaven or more of the said Assistants for the tyme being, vpon every last Wednesday in Hillary, Easter, Trinity, and Michas Termes respectivelie forever, one grease generall and solempe assemblie, which foure generall assemblies shalbe stiled and called the foure grease and generall Courts of the saide Company; IN all and every, or any of which saide grease and generall Courts soe assembled, WEE DOE for Vs, our Heires and Successors, give and graunte to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, That the Governor, or in his absence, the Deputie Governor of the saide Company for the tyme being, and such of the Assistants and Freeman of the saide Company as shalbe present, or the greater nomber of them so assembled, whereof the Governor or Deputie Governor and six of the Assistants at the least to be seaven shall have full Power and authoritie to choose, nominate, and appointe, such and soe many others as they shall thinke fitt, and that shall be willing to accept the same, to be free of the said Company and Body, and them into the same to admits; and to elect and constitute such Officers as they shall thinke fitt and requisite, for the ordering, mannaging, and dispatching of the Affaires of the saide Govenor and Company, and their Successors; And to make Lawes and Ordinnces for the Good and Welfare of the saide Company, and for the Government and ordering of the saide Landes and Plantacon, and the People inhabiting and to inhabite the same, as to them from tyme to tyme shalbe thought meete, soe as such Lawes and Ordinances be not contrarie or repugnant to the Lawes and Statuts of this our Reaime of England. AND, our Will and Pleasure is, and Wee doe hereby for Vs, our Heires and Successors, establish and ordeyne, That yearely once in the yeare, for ever hereafter, namely, the last Wednesdav in Easter Tearme, yearely, the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants of the saide Company and all other officers of the saide Company shalbe in the Generall Court or Assembly to be held for that Day or Tyme, newly chosen for the Yeare ensueing by such greater parse of the said Company, for the Tyme being, then and there present, as is aforesaide. AND, yf it shall happen the present governor, Deputy Governor, and assistants, by theis presents appointed, or such as shall hereafter be newly chosen into their Roomes, or any of them, or any other of the officers to be appointed for the said Company, to dye, or to be removed from his or their severall Offices or Places before the saide generall Day of Eleccon (whome Wee doe hereby declare for any Misdemeanor or Defect to be removeable by the Governor, Deputie Governor, Assistants, and Company, or such greater Parte of them in any of the publique Courts to be assembled as is aforesaid) That then, and in every such Case, it shall and maie be lawfull, to and for the Governor, Deputie Governor, Assistants, and Company aforesaide, or such greater Parte of them soe to be assembled as is aforesaide, in any of their Assemblies, to proceade to a new Eleccon of one or more others of their Company in the Roome or Place, Roomes or Places of such Officer or Officers soe dyeing or removed according to their Discrecons, And, Mediately vpon and after such Eleccon and Eleccons made of such Governor, Deputie Governor, Assistant or Assistants, or any other officer of the saide Company, in Manner and Forme aforesaid, the Authoritie, Office, and Power, before given to the former Governor, Deputie Governor, or other Officer and Officers soe removed, in whose Steade and Place newe shabe soe chosen, shall as to him and them, and everie of them, cease and determine.

PROVIDED alsoe, and our Will and Pleasure is, That aswell such as are by theis Presents appointed to be the present Governor, Deputie Governor, and Assistants of the said Company, as those that shall Succeed them, and all other Officers to be appointed and chosen as aforesaid, shall, before they undertake the Execucon of their saide Offices and Places respectivelie, take their Corporal Oathes for the due and faithfull Performance of their Duties in their severall Offices and Places, before such Person or Persons as are by theis Presents hereunder appointed to take and receive the same; That is to saie, the saide Mathewe Cradock, whoe is hereby nominated and appointed the present Governor of the saide Company, shall take the saide Oathes before one or more of the Masters of our Courte of Chauncery for the Tyme being, vnto which Master or Masters of the Chauncery, Wee doe by theis Presents give full Power and Authoritie to take and administer the said Oathe to the said Governor accordinglie: And after the saide Governor shalbe soe sworne, then the said Deputy Governor and Assistants, before by theis Presents nominated and appointed, shall take the said severall Oathes to their Offices and Places respectivelie belonging, before the said

Mathew Cradock, the present Governor, soe formerlie sworne as aforesaide. And every such person as shall be at the Tyme of the annuall Eleccon, or otherwise, vpon Death or Removeall, be appointed to be the newe Governor of the said Company, shall take the Oathes to that Place belonging, before the Deputy Governor, or two of the Assistants of the said Company at the least, for the Tyme being: And the newe elected Deputie Governor and Assistants, and all other officers to be hereafter chosen as aforesaide from Tyme to Tyme, to take the Oathes to their places respectivelie belonging, before the Governor of the said Company for the Tyme being, vnto which said Governor, Deputie Governor, and assistants, Wee doe by theis Presents Give full Power and Authoritie to give and administer the said Oathes respectively, according to our true Meaning herein before declared, without any Comission or further Warrant to be had and obteyned of our Vs, our Heires or Successors, in that Behalf. AND, Wee doe further, of our especial Grace, certen Knowledge, and meere mocon, for Vs, our Heires and Successors, give and graunte to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors for ever by theis Presents, That it shalbe lawfull and free for them and their Assignes, at all and every Tyme and Tymes hereafter, out of any our Realmes or Domynions whatsoever, to take, leade, carry, and transport, for in and into their Voyages, and for and towardes the said Plantacon in Newe England, all such and soe many of our loving Subjects, or any other strangers that will become our loving Subjects, and live under our Allegiance, as shall willinglie accompany them in the same Voyages and Plantacon; and also Shippmg, Armour, Weapons, Ordinance, Municon, Powder, Shott, Come, Victualls, and all Manner of clothing, Implements, Furniture, Beastes, Cattle, Horses, Mares, Merchandizes, and all other Thinges necessarie for the saide Plantacon, and for their Vse and Defence, and for Trade with the People there, and in passing and returning to and fro, any Lawe or Statute to the contrarie hereof in any wise notwithstanding; and without payeing or yeilding any Custome or Subsidie, either inward or outward, to Vs, our Heires or Successors, for the same, by the Space of seaven Yeares from the Day of the Date of theis Presents. PROVIDED, that none of the saide Persons be such as shalbe hereafter by especiall Name restrayned by Vs, our Heires or Successors. AND, for their further Encouragement, of our especiall Grace and Favor, Wee doe by theis Presents, for Vs, our Heires and Successors, yeild and graunt to the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors, and every of them, their Factors and Assignes, That they and every of them shalbe free and quits from all Taxes, Subsidies, and Customes, in Newe England, for the like Space of seaven Yeares, and from all Taxes and Imposicons for the Space of twenty and one Yeares, vpon all Goodes and Merchandizes at any Tyme or Tymes hereafter, either vpon Importacon thither, or Exportacon from thence into our Realme of England, or into any other our Domynions by the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, their Deputies, Factors, and Assignes, or any of them; EXCEPT onlie the five Pounds per Centum due for Custome vpon all such Goodes and Merchandizes as after the saide seaven Yeares shalbe expired, shalbe brought or imported into our

Realme of England, or any other of our Dominions, according to the auncient Trade of Merchants, which five Poundes per Centum onlie being paide, it shall be thenceforth lawfull and free for the said Adventurers, the same Goodes and Merchandizes to export and carry out of our said Domynions into forraine Partes, without any Custome, Tax or other Dutie to be paid to Vs, our Heires or Successors, or to any other Officers or Ministers of Vs, our Heires and Successors. PROVIDED, that the said Goodes and Merchandizes be shipped out within thirteene Monethes, after their first Landing within any Parte of the saide Domynions.

AND, Wee doe for Vs, our Heires and Successors, give and graunte vnto the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors, That whensoever, or soe often as any Custome or Subsedie shall growe due or payeable vnto Vs our Heires, or Successors, according to the Lymittacon and Appointment aforesaide, by Reason of any Goodes, Wares, or Merchandizes to be shipped out, or any Retorne to be made of any Goodes, Wares, or Merchandize vnto or from the said Partes of Newe England hereby moncoed to be graunted as aforesaid, or any the Landes or Territories aforesaide, That then, and soe often, and in such Case, the Farmors, Customers, and Officers of our Customes of England and Ireland, and everie of them for the Tyme being, vpon Request made to them by the saide Governor and Company, or their Successors, Factors or Assignes, and vpon convenient Security to be given in that Behalf, shall give and allowe vnto the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, and to all and everie Person and Persons free of that Company, as aforesaide, six Monethes Tyme for the Payement of the one halfe of all such Custome and Subsidy as shalbe due and payeable unto Vs, our Heires and Successors, for the same; for which their our Letters patent, or the Duplicate, or the inrollemt thereof, shalbe vnto our saide Officers a sufficient Warrant and Discharge. NEVERTHE-LESS, our Will and Pleasure is, That yf any of the saide Goodes, Wares, and Merchandize, which be, or shalbe at any Tyme hereafter landed or exported out of any of our Realmes aforesaide, and shalbe shipped with a Purpose not to be carried to the Partes of Newe England aforesaide, but to some other place, That then such Payment, Dutie, Custome, Imposicon, or Forfeyfure, shalbe paid, or belonge to Vs, our Heires and Successors, for the said Goodes, Wares, and Merchandize, soe fraudulently sought to be transported, as yf this our Graunte had not been made nor graunted. AND, Wee doe further will, and by theis Presents, for Vs, our Heires and Successors, firmlie enioine and comaunde, as well the Treasorer, Chauncellor and Barons of the Exchequer, of Vs, our Heires and Successors, as also all and singuler the Customers, Farmors, and Collectors of the Customes, Subsidies, and Imposts and other the Officers and Ministers of Vs our Heires and Successors whatsoever, for the Tyme Being, That they and every of them, vpon the strewing forth vnto them of theis Letters patents, or the Duplicate or exemplificacon of the same, without any other Writt or Warrant whatsoever from Vs, our Heires or Successors, to be obteyned or sued forth, doe and shall

make full, whole, entire, and due Allowance, and cleare Discharge vnto the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors, of all Customes, Subsidies, Imposicons, Taxes and Duties whatsoever, that shall or maie be claymed by Vs, our Heires and Successors, of or from the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, for or by Reason of the said Goodes, Chattels, Wares, Merchandizes, and Premises to be exported out of our saide Domynions, or any of them, into any Parte of the saide Landes or Premises hereby mencoed, to be given, graunted, and confirmed, or for, or by Reason of any of the saide Goodes, Chattells, Wares, or Merchandizes to be imported from the said Landes and Premises hereby mencoed, to be given, graunted, and confirmed into any of our saide Dominions, or any Parte thereof as aforesaide, excepting onlie the saide five Poundes per Centum hereby reserved and payeable after the Expiracon of the saide Terme of seaven Yeares as aforesaid, and not before: And theis our Letters-patents, or the Inrollment, Duplicate, or Exemplificacon of the same shalbe for ever hereafter, from time to tyme, as well to the Treasorer, Chauncellor and Barons of the Exchequer of Vs, our Heires and Successors, as to all and singuler the Customers, Farmors, and Collectors of the Customes, Subsidies, and Imposts of Vs, our Heires and Successors, and all Searchers, and other the Officers and Ministers whatsoever of Vs, our Heires and Successors, for the Time being, a sufficient Warrant and Discharge in this Behalf.

AND, further our Will and Pleasure is, and Wee doe hereby for Vs, our Heires and Successors, ordeyne and declare, and graunte to the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors, That all and every the Subiects of Vs, our Heires or Successors, which shall goe to and inhabite within the saide Landes and Premisses hereby mencoed to be graunted, and every of their Children which shall happen to be borne there, or on the Seas in goeing thither, or returning from thence, shall have and enjoy all liberties and Immunities of free and naturall Subjects within any of the Domynions of Vs, our Heires or Successors, to all Intents, Construccons, and Purposes whatsoever, as yf they and everie of them were borne within the Realme of England. And that the Governor and Deputie Governor of the said Company for the Tyme being, or either of them, and any two or more of such of the saide Assistants as shalbe therevnto appointed by the saide Governor and Company at any of their Courts or Assemblies to be held as aforesaide, shall and maie at all Tymes, and from tyme to tyme hereafter, have full Power and Authoritie to minister and give the Oathe and Oathes of Supremacie and Allegiance, or either of them, to all and everie Person and Persons, which shall at any Tyme or Tymes hereafter goe or passe to the Landes and Premisses hereby mencoed to be graunted to inhabite in the same. AND, Wee doe of our further Grace, certen Knowledg and meere Mocon, give and graunte to the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors, That it shall and male be lawfull, to and for the Governor or Deputie Governor, and such of the Assistants and Freemen of the said Company for the Tyme being as shalbe assembled in any of their generall Courts aforesaide, or in any other Courtes to be specially sumoned and assembled for that Purpose, or the greater Parte of them (whereof the Governor or Deputie Governor, and six of the Assistants to be alwaies seaven) from tyme to tyme, to make, ordeine, and establishe all Manner of wholesome and reasonable Orders, Lawes, Statutes, and Ordilmces, Direccons, and Instruccons, not contrairie to the Lawes of this our Realme of England, aswell for selling of the Formes and Ceremonies of Governmt and Magistracy fitt and necessary for the said Plantacon, and the Inhabitants there, and for nameing and setting of all sorts of Officers, both superior and inferior, which they shall finde needefull for that Governement and Plantacon, and the distinguishing and setting forth of the severall duties, Powers, and Lymytts of every such Office and Place, and the Formes of such Oathes warrantable by the Lawes and Statutes of this our Realme of England, as shalbe respectivelie ministred vnto them for the Execucon of the said severall Offices and Places; as also, for the disposing and ordering of the Eleccons of such of the said Officers as shalbe annuall, and of such others as shalbe to succeede in Case of Death or Remove all and ministering the said Oathes to the newe elected Officers, and for Imposicons of lawfull Fynes, Mulcts, Imprisonment, or other lawfull Correccon, according to the Course of other Corporacons in this our Realme of England, and for the directing, ruling, and disposeing of all other Matters and Thinges, whereby our said People, Inhabitants there, may be soe religiously, peaceablie, and civilly governed, as their good Life and orderlie Conversacon, maie wynn and incite the Natives of Country, to the Knowledg and Obedience of the onlie true God and Saulor of Mankinde, and the Christian Fayth, which in our Royall Intencon, and the Adventurers free Profession, is the principall Ende of this Plantacion. WILLING, comaunding, and requiring, and by theis Presents for Vs, our Heiress Successors, ordoyning and appointing, that all such Orders, Lawes, Statuts and Ordinnees, Instruccons and Direccons, as shalbe soe made by the Governor, or Deputie Governor of the said Company, and such of the Assistants and Freemen as aforesaide, and published in Writing, under their comon Seale, shalbe carefullie and duly observed, kept, performed, and putt in Execucon, according to the true Intent and Meaning of the same; and theis our Letters-patents, or the Duplicate or exemplificacon thereof, shalbe to all and everie such Officers,-superior and inferior, from Tyme to Tyme, for the putting of the same Orders, Lawes, Statutes, and Ordinuces, Instruccons, and Direccons, in due Execucon against Vs, our Heires and Successors, a sufficient Warrant and Discharge.

AND WEE DOE further, for Vs, our Heires and Successors, give and graunt to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors by theis Presents, that all and everie such Chiefe Comaunders, Captaines, Governors, and other Officers and Ministers, as by the said Orders, Lawes, Statuts, Ordinnces, Instruccons, or Direccons of the said Governor and Company for the Tyme being, shalbe from Tyme to Tyme hereafter vmploied either in the Government of the saide

Inhabitants and Plantacon, or in the Waye by Sea thither, or from thence, according to the Natures and Lymitts of their Offices and Places respectively, shall from Tyme to Tyme hereafter for ever, within the Precincts and Partes of Newe England hereby mencoed to be graunted and confirmed, or in the Waye by Sea thither, or from thence, have full and Absolute Power and Authoritie to correct, punishe, pardon, governe, and rule all such the Subiects of Vs, our Heires and Successors, as shall from Tyme to Tyme adventure themselves in any Voyadge thither or from thence, or that shall at any Tyme hereafter, inhabite within the Precincts and Partes of Newe England aforesaid, according to the Orders, Lawes, Ordinnces, Instruccons, and Direccons aforesaid, not being repugnant to the Lawes and Statutes of our Realme of England as aforesaid. AND WEE DOE further, for Vs, our Heires and Successors, give and graunte to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, by theis Presents, that it shall and maie be lawfull, to and for the Chiefe Comaunders, Governors, and officers of the said Company for the Time being, who shalbe resident in the said Parte of Newe England in America, by theis presents graunted, and others there inhabiting by their Appointment and Direccon, from Tyme to Tyme, and at all Tymes hereafter for their special Defence and Safety, to incounter, expulse, repell, and resist by Force of Armes, aswell by Sea as by Lande, and by all fitting Waies and Meanes whatsoever, all such Person and Persons, as shall at any Tyme hereafter, attempt or enterprise the Destruccon, Invasion, Detriment, or Annoyaunce to the said Plantation or Inhabitants, and to take and surprise by all Waies and Meanes whatsoever, all and every such Person and Persons, with their Shippes, Armour, Municons and other Goodes, as shall in hostile manner invade or attempt the defeating of the said Plantacon, or the Hurt of the said Company and Inhabitants: NEVERTHELESS, our Will and Pleasure is, and Wee doe hereby declare to all Christian Kinges, Princes and States, that yf any Person or Persons which shall hereafter be of the said Company or Plantacon or any other by Lycense or Appointment of the said Governor and Company for the Tyme being, shall at any Tyme or Tymes hereafter, robb or spoyle, by Sea or by Land, or doe any Hurt, Violence, or vnlawful Hostilitie to any of the Subjects of Vs, our Heires or Successors, or any of the Subjects of any Prince or State, being then in League and Amytie with Vs, our Heires and Successors, and that upon such injury don and vpon iust Complaint of such Prince or State or their Subjects, WEE, our Heires and Successors shall make open Proclamacon within any of the Partes within our Realme of England, comodious for that purpose, that the Person or Persons haveing comitted any such Roberie or Spoyle, shall within the Terme lymytted by such a Proclamacon, make full Restitucon or Satisfaccon of all such Iniureis don, soe as the said Princes or others so complayning, maie hould themselves fullie satisfied and contented; and that yf the said Person or Persons, haveing comitted such Robbery or Spoile, shall not make, or cause to be made Satisfaccon accordinglie, within such Tyme soe to be lymytted, that then it shalbe lawfull for Vs, our Heires and Successors, to

putt the said Person or Persons out of our Allegiance and Proteccon, and that it shalbe lawfull and free for all Princes to prosecute with Hostilitie, the said Offendors, and every of them, their and every of their Procurers, Ayders, Abettors, and Comforters in that Behalf: PROVIDED also, and our expresse Will and Pleasure is, And Wee doe by theis Presents for Vs, our Heires and Successors ordeyne and appoint That theis Presents shall not in any manner envre, or be taken to abridge, barr, or hinder any of our loving subjects whatsoever, to vse and exercise the Trade of Fishing vpon that Coast of New England in America, by theis Presents mencoed to be graunted. But that they, and every, or any of them shall have full and free Power and Liberty to continue and vse their said Trade of Fishing vpon the said Coast, in any the Seas therevnto adioyning, or any Armes of the Seas or Saltwater Rivers where they have byn wont to fishe, and to build and sett vp vpon the Landes by theis Presents graunted, such Wharfes, Stages, and Workehouses as shalbe necessarie for the salting, drying, keeping, and packing vp of their Fish, to be taken or gotten vpon that Coast; and to cutt down, and take such Trees and other Materialls there groweing, or being, or shalbe needefull for that Purpose, and for all other necessarie Easements, Helpes, and Advantage concerning their said Trade of Fishing there, in such Manner and Forme as they have byn heretofore at any tyme accustomed to doe, without making any wilfull Waste or Spoyle, any Thing in theis Presents conteyned to the contrarie notwithstanding. AND WEE DOE further, for Vs, our Heires and Successors, ordeyne and graunte to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors by theis Presents that theis our Letters-patents shalbe firme, good, effectuall, and availeable in all Thinges, and to all Intents and Construccons of Lawe, according to our true Meaning herein before declared, and shalbe construed, reputed, and adjudged in all Cases most favourablie on the Behalf, and for the Benefist and Behoofe of the saide Governor and Company and their Successors: ALTHOUGH expresse mencon of the true yearely Value or certenty of the Premisses or any of them; or of any other Guiftes or Grauntes, by Vs, or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors to the foresaid Governor or Company before this tyme made, in theis-Presents is not made; or any Statute, Acte, Ordinnce, Provision, Proclamacon, or Restrainte to the contrarie thereof, heretofore had, made, published, ordeyned, or provided, or any other Matter, Cause, or Thinge whatsoever to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

IN WITNES whereof, Wee have caused their our Letters to be made Patents.

WITNES ourself, at Westminster, the fourth day of March, in the fourth Yeare of our Raigne.

Per Breve de Privato Sigillo,

Wolseley.

Source: Francis Newton Thorpe, ed., *The Federal and State Constitutions*, vol. 3 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909).

40. John Cotton, *God's Promise* to *His Plantation*, 1630 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In England during the early 1600s, a group of Christians called Puritans sought to purify the Church of England (Anglican Church). The Puritans also believed that individual churches should have the power to control their own membership, and that the members, in turn, should control their local leaders. In this way the Puritan church could dominate local government and society as a whole. After the separatist Pilgrims founded a colony at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, a mix of Puritans and non-Puritans from England founded settlements along the New England coast. King Charles I granted the Massachusetts Bay Company a charter for a New England colony in 1629. The following year, John Winthrop and a group of Puritans prepared to depart for Massachusetts. Before their departure, John Cotton preached a sermon, excerpted here, in which he asserted that it was God's will that the Puritans spread their way of life throughout the world. Cotton argued that they had a right to occupy land by casting out the previous occupants, living peacefully among them, or by finding the land vacant. The Massachusetts Bay colonists could find justification in this sermon for any action they might take regarding the native peoples of America. Facing prosecution in England for his religious practices, Cotton immigrated to Massachusetts in 1633.

Primary Source

Moreover I will appoint a place for my People Israel, and I will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their Own, and Move No More [II Sam. 7:10]

The placing of a people in this or that Countrey is from the Appointment of the Lord

Quest. Wherein doth this work of God stand in appointing a place for a people.

- 1. When God espies or discovers a Land for a people, as in Ezek 20:6. He brought them into a land that He had espied for them: And, that is, when either he gives them to discover it themselves, or hears of it discovered by others, and fitting them.
- 2. After he hath espied it, when he carries them along to it, so that they plainly see a providence of God leading them from one Countrey to another, as in Exod. 19:4: *You have seen how I have borne you as on Eagles wings, and brought you unto myself.* So that though they met with many difficulties, yet he carried them high above them all, like an Eagle, flying over Seas and Rocks, and all hindrances.
- 3. When he makes room for a People to dwell there, as in Psal. 80.9: *Thou preparest room for them.*

[…]

Now, God makes room for a People three wayes.

- 1. When he casts out the Enemies of a people before them by lawful War with the Inhabitants, which God calls them unto, as in Psal. 44:2: *Thou didst drive out the Heathen before them.* But this course of Warring against others and driving them out without provocation depends upon special Commission from God; or else it is not imitable.
- 2. When he gives a *foreign* People favour in the eyes of any *native* People to come and sit down with them; either by way of purchase, as Abraham did obtain the field of Machpelah; or else when they give it in courtesy, as Pharaoh did the land of Goshen unto the sons of Jacob.
- 3. When he makes a Countrey, though not altogether void of Inhabitants, yet void in that place where they reside. Where there is a vacant place, there is liberty for the sons of Adam or Noah to come and inhabit, though they neither buy it nor ask their leaves. . . . So that it is free from that common Grant for any to take possession of vacant Countries. Indeed, no Nation is to drive out another without special Commission from Heaven, such as the Israelites had; unless the Natives do unjustly wrong them, and will not recompence the wrongs done in a peaceable fort, and then they may right themselves by lawful War and subdue the country unto themselves.

[...]

This may teach us all where we now dwell, or where after we may dwell. Be sure you look at every place appointed to you from the hand of God. We may not rush into any place and never say to God, By Your leave; but we must discern how God appoints us this place. There is poor comfort in sitting down in any place that you cannot say, This place is appointed me of God. Canst thou say, that God spied out this place for thee, and there hath settled thee above all hindrances? Didst thou find that God made room for thee, either by lawful Descent, or Purchase, or gift, or other warrantable Right? Why, then this is the place God hath appointed thee; here He hath made room for thee. He hath placed thee in Rehoboth, in a peaceable place. This we must discern or else we are but intruders upon God. And when we do withal discern, that God give the us these outward Blessings from his Love in Christ; and maketh comfortable provision as well for our Souls as for our Bodies by the means of Grace; then do we enjoy our present possessions as well by gracious promise as by the common, and just, and bountiful providence of the Lord. Or, if a man do remove, he must see that God hath espied out such a Countrey for him.

Though there be many difficulties, yet he hath given us hearts to overlook them all, as if we were carried upon Eagles wings.

See God making room for us by some lawful means.

Quest. But how shall I know whether God hath appointed me such a place? If I be well where I am, what may warrant my removal?

Answ. There be four or five good things, for procurement of any of which, I may remove. Secondly, There be some evil things, for avoiding of any of which we may transplant ourselves. Thirdly, if withal we find some special providence of God concurring in either of both concerning our selves, and applying general grounds of removal to personal estate.

- 1. We may remove for the gaining knowledge. . . .
- 2. Some remove and travil for Merchandise and Gainsake: *Daily bread may be sought from far*: Prov. 31:14)....

[...]

- 4. God alloweth a man to remove *When he may employ his Talents and Gifts better elsewhere*, especially when where he is, he is not bound by any special engagement. . . .
- 5. For the liberty of the ordinances.... This case was of seasonable use to our fathers in the day of Queen Mary, who removed to France and Germany as the beginning of her reign, upon proclamation of alteration of religion, before any persecution began.

Secondly, There be Evils to be avoided, that may warrant Removal.

- 1. When some grievous sins overspread a country that threaten desolation. . . .
- 2. If men be overburdened with Debts and Miseries. . . .
- 3. In case of persecution. . . .

Thirdly, As these general cases, where any of them do fall out, do warrant removal in general; so there be come special Providences or particular Cases which may give warrant unto such or such a person to transplant himself, and which apply the former general grounds to particular persons.

- 1. If sovereign authority command and encourage such plantations, by giving way to subjects to transplant themselves and set up a new Commonwealth. This is a lawful and expedient case for such particular persons as He designed and sent; Mat. 8:9: and for such as they who are sent have power to command.
- 2. When some special providence of God leads a man unto such a course. . . .

Source: *Annals of America*, vol. 1 (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1976)

41. John Winthrop, *A Modell* of Christian Charity, 1630

Introduction

In England during the early 1600s, a group of Christians called Puritans sought to purify the Church of England (Anglican Church). The Puritans also believed that individual churches should have the power to control their own membership, and that the members, in turn, should control their local leaders. In this way the Puritan church could dominate local government and society as a whole. King Charles I granted the Massachusetts Bay Company a charter for a New England colony in 1629. The following year, John Winthrop—governor of the new Massachusetts Bay Colony—and a group of some 400 Puritan colonists prepared to depart for Massachusetts. Leaving England on four ships in March 1630, they arrived at Salem, Massachusetts, in June. Before disembarking, Winthrop delivered his sermon, A Modell of Christian Charity aboard the ship Arabella. In it he set forth his expectations for a Puritan society in America. Winthrop stressed the importance of social bonds over individualism. In proclaiming that the colony would be like "a City upon a Hill," Winthrop indicated that it would be the focus of attention in England and elsewhere. He hoped that awareness of that scrutiny would encourage his fellow passengers to build an exemplary society.

Primary Source

CHRISTIAN CHARITIE.

A Modell hereof.

GOD ALMIGHTY in his most holy and wise providence, hath soe disposed of the condition of mankind, as in all times some must be rich, some poore, some high and eminent in power and dignitie; others mean and in submission.

The Reason hereof.

1 Reas. First to hold conformity with the rest of his world, being delighted to show forth the glory of his wisdom in the variety and difference of the creatures, and the glory of his power in ordering all these differences for the preservation and good of the whole; and the glory of his greatness, that as it is the glory of princes to have many officers, soe this great king will have many stewards, Counting himself more honoured in dispensing his gifts to man by man, than if he did it by his owne immediate hands.

2 Reas. Secondly that he might have the more occasion to manifest the work of his Spirit: first upon the wicked in moderating and restraining them: soe that the riche and mighty should not eate upp the poore nor the poore and dispised rise upp against and shake off theire yoake. 2ly In the regenerate, in exerciseing his graces in them, as in the grate ones, theire love, mercy, gentleness, temperance &c., in the poore and inferior sorte, theire faithe, patience, obedience &c.

3 *Reas*. Thirdly, that every man might have need of others, and from hence they might be all knitt more nearly together in the Bonds of brotherly affection. From hence it appears plainly that noe man

is made more honourable than another or more wealthy &c., out of any particular and singular respect to himselfe, but for the glory of his creator and the common good of the creature, man. Therefore God still reserves the propperty of these gifts to himself as Ezek. 16. 17. he there calls wealthe, his gold and his silver, and Prov. 3. 9. he claims theire service as his due, honor the Lord with thy riches &c.— All men being thus (by divine providence) ranked into two sorts, riche and poore; under the first are comprehended all such as are able to live comfortably by their own meanes duely improved; and all others are poore according to the former distribution. There are two rules whereby we are to walk one towards another: Justice and Mercy. These are always distinguished in their act and in their object, yet may they both concurre in the same subject in eache respect; as sometimes there may be an occasion of showing mercy to a rich man in some sudden danger or distresse, and alsoe doeing of meere justice to a poor man in regard of some perticular contract &c. There is likewise a double Lawe by which wee are regulated in our conversation towardes another; in both the former respects, the lawe of nature and the lawe of grace, or the morrall lawe or the lawe of the gospell, to omitt the rule of justice as not propperly belonging to this purpose otherwise than it may fall into consideration in some perticular cases. By the first of these lawes man as he was enabled soe withall is commanded to love his neighbour as himself. Upon this ground stands all the precepts of the morrall lawe, which concernes our dealings with men. To apply this to the works of mercy; this lawe requires two things. First that every man afford his help to another in every want or distresse. Secondly, that hee performe this out of the same affection which makes him carefull of his owne goods, according to that of our Savior, (Math.) Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you. This was practised by Abraham and Lot in entertaining the angells and the old man of Gibea. The lawe of Grace or of the Gospell hath some difference from the former; as in these respects, First the lawe of nature was given to man in the estate of innocency; this of the Gospell in the estate of regeneracy. 2ly, the former propounds one man to another, as the same flesh and image of God; this as a brother in Christ allsoe, and in the communion of the same Spirit, and soe teacheth to put a difference between christians and others. Doe good to all, especially to the household of faith; upon this ground the Israelites were to putt a difference betweene the brethren of such as were strangers though not of the Canaanites. 3ly. The Lawe of nature would give no rules for dealing with enemies, for all are to be considered as friends in the state of innocency, but the Gospell commands love to an enemy. Proofe. If thine Enemy hunger, feed him; Love your Enemies, doe good to them that hate you. Math. 5. 44.

This lawe of the Gospell propounds likewise a difference of seasons and occasions. There is a time when a christian must sell all and give to the poor, as they did in the Apostles times. There is a time allsoe when christians (though they give not all yet) must give beyond their abillity, as they of Macedonia, Cor. 2, 6. Likewise community of perills calls for extraordinary liberality, and soe doth community in some speciall service for the churche. Lastly, when there is no other means whereby our christian brother may be

relieved in his distress, we must help him beyond our ability rather than tempt God in putting him upon help by miraculous or extraordinary meanes.

This duty of mercy is exercised in the kinds, Giueving, lending and forgiving.—

Quest. What rule shall a man observe in giueving in respect of the measure?

Ans. If the time and occasion be ordinary he is to give out of his abundance. Let him lay aside as God hath blessed him. If the time and occasion be extraordinary, he must be ruled by them; taking this withall, that then a man cannot likely doe too much, especially if he may leave himselfe and his family under probable means of comfortable subsistence.

Object. A man must lay upp for posterity, the fathers lay upp for posterity and children, and *he is worse than an infidell that provideth not for his owne.*

Ans. For the first, it is plaine that it being spoken by way of comparison, it must be meant of the ordinary and usuall course of fathers, and cannot extend to times and occasions extraordinary. For the other place the Apostle speaks against such as walked inordinately, and it is without question, that he is worse than an infidell who through his owne sloathe and voluptuousness shall neglect to provide for his family.—

Object. The wise man's Eies are in his head, saith Solomon, and foreseeth the plague; therefore he must forecast and lay upp against evill times when hee or his may stand in need of all he can gather.

Ans. This very Argument Solomon useth to persuade to liberallity, Eccle.: Cast thy bread upon the waters, and for thou knowest not what evill may come upon the land. Luke 26. Make you friends of the riches of iniquity; you will ask how this shall be? very well. For first he that gives to the poore, lends to the lord and he will repay him even in this life an hundredfold to him or his. — The righteous is ever mercifull and lendeth and his seed enjoyeth the blessing; and besides wee know what advantage it will be to us in the day of account when many such witnesses shall stand forth for us to witnesse the improvement of our tallent. And I would know of those whoe pleade soe much for laying up for time to come, whether they holde that to be Gospell, Math. 16. 19. Lay not upp for yourselves Treasures upon Earth &c. If they acknowledge it, what extent will they allowe it? if only to those primitive times, let them consider the reason whereopon our Saviour groundes it. The first is that they are subject to the moathe, the rust, the theife. Secondly, They will steale away the hearte; where the treasure is there will ye heart be allsoe. The reasons are of like force at all times. Therefore the exhortation must be generall and perpetuall, withallwayes in respect of the love and affection to riches and in regard of the things themselves when any speciall service for the churche or perticular Distresse of our brother doe call for the use of them; otherwise it is not only lawfull but necessary to lay upp as Joseph did to have ready uppon such occasions, as the Lord (whose stewards wee are of them) shall call for them from us; Christ gives us an Instance of the first, when hee sent his disciples for the Ass, and bidds them answer the owner thus, the Lord hath need of him: soe when the Tabernacle was to be built, he sends to his people to call for their silver and gold, &c; and yeildes noe other reason but that it was for his worke. When Elisha comes to the widow of Sareptah and findes her preparing to make ready her pittance for herselfe and family, he bids her first provide for him, he challengeth first God's parte which she must first give before shee must serve her owne family. All these teache us that the Lord lookes that when hee is pleased to call for his right in any thing wee have, our owne interest wee have, must stand aside till his turne be served. For the other, wee need looke noe further then to that of John 1. he whoe hath this world's goodes and seeth his brother to neede and shutts upp his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him, which comes punctually to this conclusion; if thy brother be in want and thou canst help him, thou needst not make doubt, what thou shouldst doe; if thou lovest God thou must help him.

Quest. What rule must wee observe in lending?

Ans. Thou must observe whether thy brother hath present or probable or possible means of repaying thee, if there be none of those, thou must give him according to his necessity, rather then lend him as he requires; if he hath present means of repaying thee, thou art to look at him not as an act of mercy, but by way of Commerce, wherein thou arte to walk by the rule of justice; but if his means of repaying thee be only probable or possible, then is hee an object of thy mercy, thou must lend him, though there be danger of losing it, Deut. 15. 7. If any of thy brethren be poore &c., thou shalt lend him sufficient. That men might not shift off this duty by the apparent hazzard, he tells them that though the yeare of Jubile were at hand (when he must remitt it, if hee were not able to repay it before) yet he must lend him and that chearefully. It may not greive thee to give him (saith hee) and because some might object, why soe I should soone impoverishe myself and my family, he adds with all thy worke &c; for our Saviour, Math. 5. 42. From him that would borrow of thee turne not away.

Quest. What rule must we observe in forgiving?

Ans. Whether thou didst lend by way of commerce or in mercy, if he hath nothing to pay thee, must forgive, (except in cause where thou hast a surety or a lawfull pleadge) Deut. 15. 2. Every seaventh yeare the Creditor was to quitt that which he lent to his brother if he were poore as appears ver. 8. Save when there shall be no poore with thee. In all these and like cases, Christ was a generall rule, Math. 7. 22. Whatsoever ye would that men should doe to you, doe yee the same to them allsoe.

Quest. What rule must wee observe and walke by in cause of community of perill?

Ans. The same as before, but with more enlargement towards others and lesse respect towards ourselves and our owne right. Hence it was that in the primitive Churche they sold all, had all things in common, neither did any man say that which he possessed was his owne. Likewise in theire returne out of the captivity, because the worke was greate for the restoring of the church and the danger of enemies was common to all, Nehemiah directs the Jews to liberallity and readiness in remitting theire debts to theire brethren, and disposing liberally to such as wanted, and stand not upon their owne dues which they might have demanded of them. Thus did some of

our Forefathers in times of persecution in England, and soe did many of the faithful of other churches, whereof wee keepe an honorable remembrance of them; and it is to be observed that both in Scriptures and latter stories of the churches that such as have beene most bountiful to the poore saintes, especially in those extraordinary times and occasions, God hath left them highly commended to posterity, as Zacheus, Cornelius, Dorcas, Bishop Hooper, the Cuttler of Brussells and divers others. Observe againe that the Scripture gives noe caussion to restraine any from being over liberall this way; but all men to the liberall and cherefull practise hereof by the sweeter promises; as to instance one for many, Isaiah 58. 6. Is not this the fast I have chosen to loose the bonds of wickedness, to take off the heavy burdens, to lett the oppressed go free and to breake every yoake, to deale thy bread to the hungry and to bring the poore that wander into thy house, when thou seest the naked to cover them; and then shall thy light brake forth as the morning and thy healthe shall growe speedily, thy righteousness shall goe before God, and the glory of the Lord shalt embrace thee; then thou shall call and the Lord shall answer thee &c., Ch. 2. 10. If thou power out thy soule to the hungry, then shall thy light spring out in darkness, and the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfie thy soule in draught, and make falt thy bones, thou shalt be like a watered garden, and they shalt be of thee that shall build the old wast places &c. On the contrary most heavy cursses are layed upon such as are straightened towards the Lord and his people, Judg. 5. Cursse the Meroshe because he came not to help the Lord. Hee whoe shutteth his eares from hearing the cry of the poore, he shall cry and shall not be heard; Math. 25. Goe ye curssed into everlasting fire &c. I was hungry and ye fedd mee not, Cor. 2. 9. 16. He that soweth sparingly shall reape sparingly. Haveing already sett forth the practice of mercy according to the rule of God's lawe, it will be useful to lay open the groundes of it allsoe, being the other parte of the Commandment and that is the affection from which this exercise of mercy must arise, the Apostle tells us that this *love is the fullfilling of the lawe*, not that it is enough to love our brother and soe noe further; but in regard of the excellency of his partes giveing any motion to the other as the soule to the body and the power it hath to sett all the faculties on worke in the outward exercise of this duty; as when wee bid one make the clocke strike, he doth not lay hand on the hammer, which is the immediate instrument of the sound, but setts on worke the first mover or maine wheele; knoweing that will certainely produce the sound which he intends. Soe the way to drawe men to the workes of mercy, is not by force of Argument from the goodness or necessity of the worke; for though this cause may enforce, a rationall minde to some present act of mercy, as is frequent in experience, yet it cannot worke such a habit in a soule, as shall make it prompt upon all occasions to produce the same effect, but by frameing these affections of love in the hearte which will as naturally bring forthe the other, as any cause doth produce the effect.

The deffinition which the Scripture gives us of love is this. *Love is the bond of perfection*, first it is a bond or ligament. 2ly it makes the worke perfect. There is noe body but consists of partes and that which knitts these partes together, gives the body its perfection, because it

makes eache parte soe contiguous to others as thereby they doe mutually participate with each other, both in strengthe and infirmity, in pleasure and paine. To instance in the most perfect of all bodies; Christ and his Church make one body; the severall partes of this body considered a parte before they were united, were as disproportionate and as much disordering as soe many contrary quallities or elements, but when Christ comes, and by his spirit and love knitts all these partes to himselfe and each to other, it is become the most perfect and best proportioned body in the world, Eph. 4. 16. Christ, by whome all the body being knitt together by every joint for the furniture thereof, according to the effectuall power which is in the measure of every perfection of partes, a glorious body without spott or wrinkle; the ligaments hereof being Christ, or his love, for Christ is love, 1 John 4. 8. Soe this definition is right. Love is the bond of perfection.

From hence we may frame these conclusions. 1. First of all, true Christians are of one body in Christ, 1 Cor. 12. 12. 13. 17. Ye are the body of Christ and members of their parte. All the partes of this body being thus united are made soe contiguous in a speciall relation as they must needes partake of each other's strength and infirmity; joy and sorrowe, weale and woe. 1 Cor. 12. 26. If one member suffers, all suffer with it, if one be in honor, all rejoyce with it. 2ly. The ligaments of this body which knitt together are love. 3ly. Noe body can be perfect which wants its proper ligament. 5ly. This sensibleness and sympathy of each other's conditions will necessarily infuse into each parte a native desire and endeavour, to strengthen, defend, preserve and comfort the other. To insist a little on this conclusion being the product of all the former, the truthe hereof will appeare both by precept and patterne. 1 John 3. 10. Yee ought to lay doune your lives for the brethren. Gal. 6. 2. beare ye one another's burthen's and soe fulfill the lawe of Christ. For patterns wee have that first of our Saviour whoe out of his good will in obedience to his father, becomeing a parte of this body and being knitt with it in the bond of love, found such a native sensibleness of our infirmities and sorrowes as he willingly yielded himselfe to deathe to ease the infirmities of the rest of his body, and soe healed theire sorrowes. From the like sympathy of partes did the Apostles and many thousands of the Saintes lay doune theire lives for Christ. Againe the like wee may see in the members of this body among themselves. 1 Rom. 9. Paule could have been contented to have been separated from Christ, that the Jewes might not be cutt off from the body. It is very observable what hee professeth of his affectionate partaking with every member; whoe is weake (saith hee) and I am not weake? whoe is offended and I burne not; and againe, 2 Cor. 7. 13. therefore wee are comforted because yee were comforted. Of Epaphroditus he speaketh, Phil. 2. 30. that he regarded not his owne life to do him service. Soe Phebe and others are called *the servants of the churche*. Now it is apparent that they served not for wages, or by constrainte, but out of love. The like we shall finde in the histories of the churche, in all ages; the sweete sympathie of affections which was in the members of this body one towards another; theire chearfullness in serveing and suffering together; how liberall they were without repineing, harbourers without grudgeing, and helpfull without reproaching; and all from hence, because they had fervent love amongst them; which onely makes the practise of mercy constant and easie.

The next consideration is how this love comes to be wrought. Adam in his first estate was a perfect modell of mankinde in all their generations, and in him this love was perfected in regard of the habit. But Adam, rent himselfe from his Creator, rent all his posterity allsoe one from another; whence it comes that every man is borne with this principle in him to love and seeke himselfe onely, and thus a man continueth till Christ comes and takes possession of the soule and infuseth another principle, love to God and our brother, and this latter haveing continuall supply from Christ, as the head and roote by which he is united, gets the predomining in the soule, soe by little and little expells the former. 1 John 4. 7. love cometh of God and every one that loveth is borne of God, soe that this love is the fruite of the new birthe, and none can have it but the new creature. Now when this quallity is thus formed in the soules of men, it workes like the Spirit upon the drie bones. Ezek. 39. bone came to bone. It gathers together the scattered bones, or perfect old man Adam, and knitts them into one body againe in Christ, whereby a man is become againe a living soule.

The third consideration is concerning the exercise of this love, which is twofold, inward or outward. The outward hath beene handled in the former preface of this discourse. From unfolding the other wee must take in our way that maxime of philosophy. Simile simili gaudet, or like will to like; for as of things which are turned with disaffection to eache other, the ground of it is from a dissimilitude or ariseing from the contrary or different nature of the things themselves; for the ground of love is an apprehension of some resemblance in the things loved to that which affects it. This is the cause why the Lord loves the creature, soe farre as it hathe any of his Image in it; he loves his elect because they are like himselfe, he beholds them in his beloved sonne. So a mother loves her childe, because shee throughly conceives a resemblance of herselfe in it. Thus it is betweene the members of Christ; eache discernes, by the worke of the Spirit, his oune Image and resemblance in another, and therefore cannot but love him as he loves himself. Now when the soule, which is of a sociable nature, findes anything like to itselfe, it is like Adam when Eve was brought to him. She must be one with himselfe. This is flesh of my flesh (saith he) and bone of my bone. Soe the soule conceives a greate delighte in it; therefore shee desires nearness and familiarity with it. Shee hath a greate propensity to doe it good and receives such content in it, as fearing the miscarriage of her beloved, shee bestowes it in the inmost closett of her heart. Shee will not endure that it shall want any good which shee can give it. If by occasion shee be withdrawne from the company of it, shee is still looking towardes the place where shee left her beloved. If shee heard it groane, shee is with it presently. If shee finde it sadd and disconsolate, shee sighes and moanes with it. Shee hath noe such joy as to see her beloved merry and thriving. If shee see it wronged, shee cannot hear it without passion. Shee setts noe boundes to her affections, nor hath any thought of reward. Shee findes recompense enough in the exercise of her love towardes it.

Wee may see this acted to life in Jonathan and David. Jonathan a valiant man endued with the spirit of love, soe soone as he discovered the same spirit in David had presently his hearte knitt to him by this ligament of love; soe that it is said he loved him as his owne soule, he takes soe great pleasure in him, that hee stripps himselfe to adorne his beloved. His father's kingdome was not soe precious to him as his beloved David, David shall have it with all his hearte. Himself desires noe more but that hee may be neare to him to rejoyce in his good. Hee chooseth to converse with him in the wildernesse even to the hazzard of his oune life, rather than with the greate Courtiers in his father's Pallace. When hee sees danger towards him, hee spares neither rare paines nor perill to direct it. When injury was offered his beloved David, hee would not beare it, though from his oune father. And when they must parte for a season onely, they thought theire heartes would have broake for sorrowe, had not theire affections found vent by abundance of teares. Other instances might be brought to showe the nature of this affection; as of Ruthe and Naomi, and many others; but this truthe is cleared enough. If any shall object that it is not possible that love shall he bred or upheld without hope of requitall, it is graunted; but that is not our cause; for this love is alluayes under reward. It never giues, but it alluayes receives with advantage; First in regard that among the members of the same body, love and affection are reciprocall in a most equal and sweete kinde of commerce.

2nly. In regard of the pleasure and content that the exercise of love carries with it, as wee may see in the naturall body. The mouth is at all the paines to receive and mince the foode which serves for the nourishment of all the other partes of the body; yet it hath noe cause to complaine; for first the other partes send backe, by severall passages, a due proportion of the same nourishment, in a better forme for the strengthening and comforting the mouthe. 2ly the laboure of the mouthe is accompanied with such pleasure and content as farre exceedes the paines it takes. Soe is it in all the labour of love among Christians. The partieloving, reapes love again, as was showed before, which the soule covetts more then all the wealthe in the world. 3ly. Nothing yeildes more pleasure and content to the soule then when it findes that which it may love fervently; for to love and live beloved is the soule's paradise both here and in heaven. In the State of wedlock there be many comforts to learne out of the troubles of that Condition; but let such as have tryed the most, say if there be any sweetness in that Condition comparable to the exercise of mutual love.

From the former Considerations arise these Conclusions.—1. First, This love among Christians is a reall thing, not imaginarie. 2ly. This love is as absolutely necessary to the being of the body of Christ, as the sinews and other ligaments of a naturall body are to the being of that body. 3ly. This love is a divine, spirituall, nature; free, active, strong, couragious, permanent; undervaluing all things beneathe its propper object and of all the graces, this makes us nearer to resemble the virtues of our heavenly father. 4thly It rests in the love and wellfare of its beloved. For the full certain knowledge of those truthes concerning the nature, use, and excellency of this grace, that which the holy ghost hath left recorded, 1 Cor. 13, may

give full satisfaction, which is needful for every true member of this lovely body of the Lord Jesus, to worke upon theire heartes by prayer, meditation continuall exercise at least of the speciall of this grace, till Christ be formed in them and they in him, all in eache other, knitt together by this bond of love.

It rests now to make some application of this discourse, by the present designe, which gave the occasion of writing of it. Herein are 4 things to he propounded; first the persons, 2ly the worke, 3ly the end, 4thly the meanes. 1. For the persons. Wee are a company professing ourselves fellow members of Christ, in which respect onely though wee were absent from each other many miles, and had our imployments as farre distant, yet wee ought to account ourselves knitt together by this bond of love, and, live in the exercise of it, if wee would have comforte of our being in Christ. This was notorious in the practise of the Christians in former times; as is testified of the Waldenses, from the mouth of one of the adversaries Aeneas Sylvius "mutuo ament pere antequam norunt," they use to love any of theire owne religion even before they were acquainted with them. 2nly for the worke wee have in hand. It is by a mutuall consent, through a speciall overvaluing providence and a more than an ordinary approbation of the Churches of Christ, to seeke out a place of cohabitation and Consorteshipp under a due forme of Government both civill and ecclesiasticall. In such cases as this, the care of the publique must oversway all private respects, by which, not only conscience, but meare civill pollicy, dothe binde us. For it is a true rule that particular Estates cannot subsist in the ruin of the publique. 3ly The end is to improve our lives to doe more service to the Lord; the comforte and encrease of the body of Christe, whereof we are members; that ourselves and posterity may be the better preserved from the common corruptions of this evill world, to serve the Lord and worke out our Salvation under the power and purity of his holy ordinances. 4thly for the *meanes* whereby this must be effected. They are twofold, a conformity with the worke and end wee aime at. These wee see are extraordinary, therefore wee must not content ourselves with usuall ordinary meanes. Whatsoever wee did, or ought to have, done, when wee lived in England, the same must wee doe, and more allsoe, where wee goe. That which the most in theire churches mainetaine as truthe in profession onely, wee must bring into familiar and constant practise; as in this duty of love, wee must love brotherly without dissimulation, wee must love one another with a pure hearte fervently. Wee must beare one anothers burthens. We must not looke onely on our owne things, but allsoe on the things of our brethren. Neither must wee thinke that the Lord will beare with such faileings at our hands as he dothe from those among whome wee have lived; and that for these 3 Reasons; 1. In regard of the more neare bond of mariage between him and us, wherein hee hath taken us to be his, after a most strickt and peculiar manner, which will make them the more jealous of our love and obedience. Soe he tells the people of Israell, you onely have I knowne of all the families of the Earthe, therefore will I punishe you for your Transgressions. 2ly, because the Lord will be sanctified in them that come neare him. We know that there were many that corrupted the service of the Lord;

some setting upp altars before his owne; others offering both strange fire and strange sacrifices allsoe; yet there came noe fire from heaven, or other sudden judgement upon them, as did upon Nadab and Abihu, whoe yet wee may think did not sinne presumptuously. 31y When God gives a speciall commission he lookes to have it strictly observed in every article; When he gave Saule a commission to destroy Amaleck, Hee indented with him upon certain articles, and because hee failed in one of the least, and that upon a faire pretense, it lost him the kingdom, which should have beene his reward, if hee had observed his commission. Thus stands the cause betweene God and us. We are entered into Covenant with Him for this worke. Wee haue taken out a commission. The Lord hath given us leave to drawe our own articles. Wee haue professed to enterprise these and those accounts, upon these and those ends. Wee have hereupon besought Him of favour and blessing. Now if the Lord shall please to heare us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath hee ratified this covenant and sealed our Commission, and will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it; but if wee shall neglect the observation of these articles which are the ends wee have propounded, and, dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnall intentions, seeking greate things for ourselves and our posterity, the Lord will surely breake out in wrathe against us; be revenged of such a people and make us knowe the price of the breache of such a covenant.

Now the onely way to avoyde this shipwracke, and to provide for our posterity, is to followe the counsell of Micah, to doe justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God. For this end, wee must be knitt together, in this worke, as one man. Wee must entertaine each other in brotherly affection. Wee must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of other's necessities. Wee must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekeness, gentlenes, patience and liberality. Wee must delight in eache other; make other's conditions our oune; rejoice together, mourne together, labour and suffer together, allwayes haueving before our eyes our commission and community in the worke, as members of the same body. Soe shall wee keepe the unitie of the spirit in the bond of peace. The Lord will be our God, and delight to dwell among us, as his oune people, and will command a blessing upon us in all our wayes. Soe that wee shall see much more of his wisdome, power, goodness and truthe, than formerly wee haue been acquainted with. Wee shall finde that the God of Israell is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when hee shall make us a prayse and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, "the Lord make it likely that of New England." For wee must consider that wee shall be as a citty upon a hill. The eies of all people are uppon us. Soe that if wee shall deale falsely with our God in this worke wee haue undertaken, and soe cause him to withdrawe his present help from us, wee shall be made a story and a by-word through the world. Wee shall open the mouthes of enemies to speake evill of the wayes of God, and all professors for God's sake. Wee shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause theire prayers to be turned into curses upon us till wee be consumed out of the good land whither wee are a goeing.

I shall shutt upp this discourse with that exhortation of Moses, that faithfull servant of the Lord, in his last farewell to Israell, Deut. 30. Beloved there is now sett before us life and good, Death and evill, in that wee are commanded this day to love the Lord our God, and to love one another, to walke in his wayes and to keepe his Commandements and his Ordinance and his lawes, and the articles of our Covenant with him, that wee may live and be multiplied, and that the Lord our God may blesse us in the land whither wee goe to possesse it. But if our heartes shall turne away, soe that wee will not obey, but shall be seduced, and worshipp and serve other Gods, our pleasure and proffitts, and serue them; it is propounded unto us this day, wee shall surely perishe out of the good land whither wee passe over this vast sea to possesse it;

Therefore lett us choose life that wee, and our seede may liue, by obeyeing His voyce and cleaveing to Him, for Hee is our life and our prosperity.

Source: Winthrop, John. "A Modell of Christian Charity" In *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* 3rd ser., vol. 7. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1838.

42. David Pietersz De Vries, Account of the Swanendael Massacre, 1632 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In 1629 a group of Dutch investors bought land from the Lenni Lenape Indians and built a trading post called Swanendael on the coast of Delaware. In 1631, David Pietersz De Vries sailed from Amsterdam and set down a number of men and their supplies. The following year, a Lenni Lenape man removed the metal coat of arms from its stake outside the Dutch trading post. The Dutch, seeing this as the theft of an important symbol of authority, vigorously protested. The resulting series of misunderstandings culminated in the slaughter of the traders by Indians. News of the massacre made its way via New Netherland to the Netherlands before the next planned expedition sailed. The investors abandoned their plan to send more settlers and recast the voyage as a whaling expedition. When the vessels arrived in December 1632, De Vries found the house burned down and the skeletons of 32 men and their animals. De Vries saw no point in trying to find the perpetrators and take revenge, so he made peace with the Indians and reestablished trade. The investors lost interest in Swanendael and sold the land to the Dutch West India Company by 1635. The existence of Swanendael and its episodic occupation by the Dutch during the period 1631 to 1633 permitted the Dutch to retain title to the area when challenged by the English of Maryland.

Primary Source

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The 6th, we went with the boat into the river, well armed, in order to see if we could speak with any Indians, but coming by our house, which was destroyed, found it well beset with palisades in place of breastworks, but it was almost burnt up. Found lying here and there the skulls and bones of our people whom they had killed, and the heads of the horses and cows which they had brought with them, but perceived no Indians and, without having accomplished anything, returned on board, and let the gunner fire a shot in order to see if we could find any trace of them the next day.

The 7th, in the morning, we thought we saw some smoke near our destroyed house; we landed opposite the house, on the other side of the river, where there is a beach with some dunes. Coming to the beach, looked across the river towards the house where we had been the day before, and where we thought in the morning we had seen signs of smoke, but saw nothing. I had a cousin of mine with me from Rotterdam, named Heyndrick de Liefde, and as a flock of gulls was flying over our heads, I told him to shoot at it, as he had a fowling-piece with him, and he shot one on the wing, and brought it down. With it came a shout from two or three Indians, who were lying in the brush on the other side of the river by the destroyed house. We called to them to come over to us. They answered that we must come into the river with our boat. We promised to do so in the morning, as the water was then low, and that we would then talk with them, and we went back to the ship. Going aboard, we resolved to sail in the river with the yacht, as otherwise in an open boat we might be in danger of their arrows.

The 8th of December, we sailed into the river before our destroyed house, well on our guard. The Indians came to the edge of the shore, near the yacht, but dared not come in. At length, one ventured to come aboard the yacht, whom we presented with a cloth dress, and told him we desired to make peace. Then immediately more came running aboard, expecting to obtain a dress also, whom we presented with some trinkets, and told the one to whom we had given the cloth garment, that we had given it to him because he had most confidence in us—that he was the first one who came in the yacht, and should they come the next day with their chief called Sakimas, we would then make a firm peace, which they call rancontyn marenit. An Indian remained on board of the yacht at night, whom we asked why they had slain our people, and how it happened. He then showed us the place where our people had set up a column, to which was fastened a piece of tin, whereon the arms of Holland were painted. One of their chiefs took this off for the purpose of making tobacco-pipes, not knowing that he was doing amiss. Those in command at the house made such an ado about it, that the Indians, not knowing how it was, went away and slew the chief who had done it, and brought a token of the dead to the house to those in command, who told them that they wished they had not done it, that they should have brought him to them, as they wished to have forbidden him to do the like again. They then went away, and the friends of the murdered chief incited their friends—as they are a people like the Italians, who are very revengeful—to set about the work of vengeance. Observing our people out of the house, each one at his work, that there was not more than one inside, who was lying sick, and a large mastiff, who was chained—had he been loose they would not have dared to approach the house—and the man who had command, standing near the house, three of the bravest Indians, who were to do the deed, bringing a lot of beaver-skins with them to exchange, asked to enter the house. The man in charge went in with them to make the barter; which being done, he went down from the loft where the stores lay, and in descending the stairs, one of the Indians seized an axe, and cleft the head of our agent who was in charge so that he fell down dead. They also relieved the sick man of life; and shot into the dog, who was chained fast, and whom they most feared, twenty-five arrows before they could despatch him. They then proceeded towards the rest of the men, who were at their work, and going among them with pretensions of friendship, struck them down. Thus was our young colony destroyed, causing us serious loss.

The 9th, the Indians came to us with their chiefs, and sitting in a ring, made peace. Gave them some presents of duffels, bullets, hatchets, and various Nuremberg trinkets. They promised to make a present to us, as they had been out a-hunting. They then departed again with great joy of us, that we had not remembered what they had done to us...

Source: Albert Cook Myers, ed., *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, *West New Jersey, and Delaware* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912).

43. Charter of Maryland, 1632 [Excerpt]

Introduction

George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore, was a prominent Catholic. He was on good terms with King Charles I at a time when England persecuted Catholics. Wishing to acquire land in America, Calvert invested in the Virginia Company, the New England Company, and the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland. Calvert first settled in Avalon, but found the winter too harsh. He and his wife then sailed to Virginia in 1628, but because the Virginia colonists were loyal Anglicans they would not let the Calverts leave their ship unless they took an oath renouncing Catholicism. The Calverts refused, returned to England, and asked the king for land on which to found a colony as a haven for Catholics. In 1632, the king granted Calvert about 12 million acres of land around the Chesapeake Bay, land which had once belonged to the now disbanded Virginia Company. George Calvert died in April 1632, and his 26-year-old son, Cecilius, inherited the grant. Two months later, Cecilius received a charter to settle the land. The land was called Maryland, after the king's Catholic wife, Henrietta Maria. The charter gave Calvert an unusual amount of power over his colony. As the colony's proprietor, he had absolute power over its government, defense, and land distribution.

Primary Source

Charles, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, king, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these Presents come, Greeting.

II. Whereas our Well beloved and Right trusty Subject Caecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, in our Kingdom of Ireland, Son and Heir of George Calvert, Knight, late Baron of Baltimore, in our said Kingdom of Ireland, treading in the steps of his Father, being animated with a laudable, and pious Zeal for extending the Christian Religion, and also the Territories of our Empire, hath humbly besought Leave of Us, that he may transport, by his own Industry, and Expense, a numerous Colony of the English nation, to a certain Region, herein after described, in a Country hitherto uncultivated, in the Parts of America, and partly occupied by Savages, heaving no Knowledge of the Divine Being, and that all that Region, with some certain Privileges, and Jurisdiction, appertaining unto the wholesome Government, and State of his Colony and Region aforesaid, may by our Royal Highness be Given, Granted and confirmed unto Him, and his Heirs.

III. Know Ye therefore, that We, encouraging with our royal Favour, the pious and noble purpose of the aforesaid Barons of Baltimore, of our special Grace, certain knowledge, and mere Motion, have Given, Granted and confirmed, and by this our present Charter, for Us our Heirs, and Successors do Give, Grant and Confirm, unto the aforesaid Caecilius, now Baron of Baltimore, his Heirs, and Assigns, all that Part of the Peninsula, or Chersonese, lying in the Parts of America, between the Ocean on the East and the Bay of Chesapeake on the West, divided from the Residue thereof by a Right Line drawn from the Promontory, or Head-Land, called Watkin's Point, situate upon the Bay aforesaid, near the river Wigloo, on the West, unto the Ocean on the East; and between that boundary on the South, unto that Part of the Bay of Delaware on the North, which lieth under the Fortieth Degree of North Latitude from the Equinoctial, where New England is terminated; And all that Tract of Land within the Metes underwritten (that is to say) passing from the said Bay, called Delaware Bay, in a Right Line, by the Degree aforesaid, unto the true meridian of the first Fountain of the River of Pattowmack, thence verging toward the South, unto the further Bank of the said River, and following the same on the West and South, unto a certain Place, called Cinquack, situate near the mouth of the said River, where it disembogues into the aforesaid Bay of Chesapeake, and thence by the shortest Line unto the afore said Promontory of Place, called Watkin's Point; so that the whole tract of land, divided by the Line aforesaid, between the main Ocean and Watkin's Point, unto the Promontory called Cape Charles, and every the Appendages thereof, may entirely remain excepted for ever to Us, our Heirs and Successors.

V. And We do my these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, Make, Create, and constitute Him, the now Baron of Baltimore, and his Heirs, the true and absolute Lords and Proprietaries of the Region aforesaid, and of all other Premises (except the before excepted) saving always the Faith and Allegiance and Sovereign Dominion due to Us, our Heirs, and Successors; to have, hold, possess, and enjoy the aforesaid Region, Islands, Islets, and other the Premises, unto the aforesaid now Baron of Baltimore, and to his Heirs and Assigns, to the sole and proper Behoof and Use of Him, the now Baron of Baltimore, his Heirs and Assigns, forever. To Hold of Us, our Heirs and Successors, Kings of England, as of our Castle of Windsor, in our County of Berks, in free and common Soccage, by Fealty only for all Services, and not in Capite, nor by Knight's Service, Yielding therefore unto Us, our Heirs and Successors Two Indian Arrows of these Parts, to be delivered at the said Castle of Windsor, every Year, on Tuesday in Easter Week: And also the fifth Part of all Gold and Silver Ore, which shall happen from Time to Time, to be found within the aforesaid Limits.

VI. Now, That the aforesaid Region, thus by us Granted and described, may be eminently distinguished above all other Regions of that Territory, and decorated with more ample Titles, Know Ye, that We, of our more special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, have thought fit that the said Region and Islands be erected into a Province, as out of the plenitude of our royal Power and Prerogative, We do, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, erect and incorporate the same into a Province, and nominate the same Maryland, by which Name We will that it shall from henceforth be called.

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VIII. And forasmuch as, in the Government of so great a Province, sudden accidents may frequently happen, to which it will be necessary to apply a Remedy, before the Freeholders of the said Province, their Delegates, or Deputies, can be called together of the framing of Laws; neither will it be fit that so great a Number of People should immediately, on such emergent Occasion, be called together, We therefore, for the better Government of so great a Province, do Will and Ordain, and by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, do Grant unto the said now Baron of Baltimore, and to his Heirs, that the aforesaid now Baron of Baltimore, and his Heirs, by themselves, or by their Magistrates and Officers, thereunto duly to be constituted as aforesaid, may, and can make and constitute fit and Wholesome Ordinances from Time to Time, to be Kept and observed within the Province aforesaid, as Well for the Conservation of the Peace, as for the better Government of the People inhabiting therin, and publicly to notify the same to all Persons whom the same in any wise do or may affect. Which Ordinances We will to be inviolably observed within the said Province, under the pans to be expressed in the same. So that the said Ordinances be consonant to Reason and be not, repugnant nor contrary, but (so far as conveniently may be done) agreeable to the Laws, Statutes, or Rights of our Kingdom of England: And so that the same Ordinances do not, in any Sort, extend to

oblige, bind, charge, or take away the Right or Interest of any Person or Persons, of, or in Member, Life, Freehold, Goods or Chattels.

IX. Furthermore, that the New Colony may more happily increase by a Multitude of People resorting thither, and at the same Time may be more firmly secured from the Incursions of Savages, or of other Enemies, Pirates, and Ravagers: We therefore, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, do by these Presents Give and Grant Power, License and Liberty, to all the Liege-Men and Subjects, present and future, of Us, our Heirs and Successors, except such to whom it shall be expressly forbidden, to transport themselves and their Families to the said Province with fitting Vessels, and suitable Provisions, and therin to settle, dwell and in habit; and to build and fortify Castles, Forts, and other Places of Strength, at the Appointment of the aforesaid now Baron of Baltimore, and his Heirs, for the Public and their own Defence; the Statute of Fugitives, or any other whatsoever to the contrary of the Premises in any wise notwithstanding.

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XI. Furthermore, That our Subjects may be incited to undertake this Expedition with a ready and cheerful mind; Know Ye, that We of our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, do, by the Tenor of these Presents, Give and Grant, as Well as to the aforesaid Baron of Baltimore, and to his Heirs, as to all other Persons who shall from Time to Time repair to the said Province, either for the Sake of Inhabiting, or of Trading with the In Inhabitants of the Province aforesaid, full License to Ship and Lade in any the Ports of Us, our Heirs and Successors, all and singular their goods, as Well movable, as immovable, Wares and merchandizes, likewise Grain of what Sort soever, and other Things whatsoever necessary for Food and Clothing, by the Laws and Statutes of our Kingdoms and Dominions, not prohibited to be transported out of the said Kingdoms; and the same to transport, by themselves, or their Servants or Assigns, into the said Province, without the Impediment or Molestation of Us, our Heirs or Successors, or any Officers of Us, our Heirs or Successors, (Saving unto Us, our Heirs and Successors, the Impositions, Subsidies, Customs, and other Dues payable for the same goods and Merchandizes) any Statute, Act, Ordinance, or other Things whatsoever to be contrary notwithstanding.

XII. But because, that in so remote a Region, placed among so many barbarous Nations, the Incursions as Well of the Barbarians themselves, as of other Enemies, Pirates and Ravagers, probably will be feared. Therefore We have Given, and for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, do Give by these Presents, as full and unrestrained Power, as any Captain-General of an Army ever hath had, unto the aforesaid now Baron of Baltimore, and to his Heirs and Assigns, by themselves, or by their Captains, or other Officers to summon to their Standards, and to array all men, of whatsoever Condition, or wheresoever born, for the Time being, in the said Province of Maryland, to wage War, and to pursue, even beyond the Limits of their Province, the Enemies and Ravagers aforesaid, infesting those Parts by Land

and by Sea, and (if God shall Grant it) to vanquish and captivate them, and the Captives to put to Death, or, according to their Discretion, to save, and to do all other and singular the Things which appertain, or have been accustomed to appertain unto the Authority and Office of a Captain-General of an Army.

XIII. We also will, and by this our Charter, do Give unto the aforesaid now Baron of Baltimore, and to his Heirs and Assigns, Power, Liberty, and Authority, that, in Case of Rebellion, sudden Tumult, or Sedition, if any (which God forbid) should happen to arise, whether upon Land within the Province aforesaid, or upon the High Sea in making a voyage to the said Province of Maryland, or in returning thence, they may, by themselves, or by their Captain, or other Officers, thereunto deputed under their Seals (to whom We, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, by these Presents, do Give and Grant the fullest Power and Authority) exercise martial Law as freely, and in as ample Manner and Form, as any Captain-General of an Army, by virtue of his Office may, or hath accustomed to Use the same, drawing themselves from the Government of Him or them, refusing to serve in War, flying over to the enemy, exceeding their Leave of Absence, Deserters, or otherwise howsoever offending against the Rule, Law, or Discipline of War.

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XVII. Moreover, We will, appoint, and Ordain, and by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, do Grant unto the aforesaid now Baron of Baltimore, his Heirs and Assigns, that the same Baron of Baltimore, his Heir and Assigns, from Time to Time, forever, shall have, and enjoy the Taxes and Subsidies payable, or arising within the Ports, Harbors, and other Creeks and Places aforesaid., within the Province aforesaid, for Wares bought and sold, and Things there to be laden, or unladen, to be reasonably assessed by them, and the People there as aforesaid, on emergent Occasion; to whom We Grant Power by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, to assess and impose the said Taxes and Subsidies there, upon just Cause and in due proportion.

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XIX. We also, by these Presents, do Give and Grant License to the same Baron of Baltimore, and to his Heirs, to erect any Parcels of Land within the Province aforesaid, into Manors, and in every of those manors, to have and to hold a Court-Baron, and all Things which to a Court Baron do belong; and to have and to Keep View of Frank-Pledge, for the Conservation of the Peace and better Government of those Parts, by themselves and their Stewards, or by the Lords, for the Time being to be deputed, of other of those Manors when they shall be constituted, and in the same to exercise all Things to the View of Frank Pledge belong.

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XXII. And if, peradventure, hereafter it may happen, that any Doubts or Questions should arise concerning the true Sense and Meaning of any Word, Cause, or Sentence, contained in this our present Charter, We will charge and command, That Interpretation to be applied always, and in all Things, and in all Courts and Judicatories whatsoever, to obtain which shall be judged to be the more beneficial, profitable, and favorable to the aforesaid now Baron of Baltimore, his Heirs and Assigns: Provided always, that no Interpretation thereof be made, whereby God's holy and true Christian Religion, or the Allegiance due to Us, our Heirs and Successors, may in any wise suffer by Change, Prejudice, or Diminution; although express Mention be not made in these Presents of the true Yearly Value or Certainty of the Premises, or of any Part thereof; or of other Gifts and Grants made by Us, our Heirs and Successors, unto the said now Lord Baltimore, or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Provision, Proclamation or Restraint, heretofore had, made, published, Ordained or provided, or any other thing, Cause, or Matter whatsoever, to the Contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

XXIII. In witness Whereof We have Caused these our Letters to be made Patent. Witness Ourself at Westminster, the Twentieth Day of June, in the Eighth Year of our Reign.

Source: Francis Newton Thorpe, ed., *The Federal and State Constitutions*, vol. 3 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909).

44. Eyewitness Accounts of the Pequot War, 1638 [Excerpts]

Introduction

A series of violent confrontations between New England colonists and the Pequots led to the colonists' decision to make war on the Pequots, who stood in the way of their expansion. An English war party from Massachusetts raided and looted Pequot villages, and the Pequots attacked the English fort at Saybrook and settlers at Wethersfield. In May 1637, Connecticut—joined by the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colonies, along with the Narragansetts and the Mohegans—planned its revenge for the attack on Saybrook. Captain John Mason and Captain John Underhill led English troops in a surprise pre-dawn attack against the main Pequot village. They surrounded the sleeping village, set it on fire, and then killed everyone who tried to flee from the flames. No one knows for certain, but probably more than 400 Pequot men, women, and children died in just 30 minutes. So brutal was the wholesale slaughter that even the Pequots' enemies, English and Indian alike, expressed their horror. However, the New England Puritans believed that they had God on their side, and these accounts articulate this view. These two eyewitness accounts, taken together, illustrate how history can be distorted. Mason's account of the attack minimizes Underhill's role. Underhill protests that "the other Booke" did not do him justice.

Primary Source

A Brief History of the Pequot War John Mason

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Whereupon Captain Mason seeing no Indians, entered a Wigwam; where he was beset with many Indians, waiting all opportunities to lay Hands on him, but could not prevail. At length William Heydon espying the Breach in the Wigwam, supposing some English might be there, entred but in his Entrance fell over a dead Indian; but speedily recovered himself, the Indians some fled, others crept under their Beds: The Captain going out of the Wigwam saw many Indians in the Lane or Street; he making toward them, they fled, were pursued to the End of the Lane, where they were met by Edward Pattison, Thomas Barber, with some others; where seven of them were Slain, as they said. The Captain facing about, marched a slow Pace up the Lane he came down, perceiving himself very much out of Breath; and coming to the other End near the Place where he first entred, saw two Soldiers standing close to the Pallizado with their Swords pointed to the Ground: The Captain told them that We should never kill them after that manner: The Captain also said, WE MUST BURN THEM; and immediately stepping into the Wigwam where he had been before, bought out a Fire Brand, and putting it in to the matts with which they were covered, set the Wigwams on Fire. Leiutenant Thomas Bull and Nicholas Omsted beholding, camp up; and when it was thoroughly kindled, the Indians ran as Men most dreadfully Amazed.

And indeed such a dreadful Terror did the ALMIGHTY let fall upon their Spirits, that they would fly from us and run into the very Flames, where many of them perished. And when the *Fort* was thoroughly Fired, Command was given, that all should fall off and surround the *Fort*; which was readily attended by all; only one *Arthur Smith* being so wounded that he could not move out of the Place, who was happily espied by Lieutenant *Bull*, and by him rescued.

The Fire was kindled on the *North East Side* to windward; which did swiftly over run the Fort, to the extream Amazement of the Enemy, and great Rejoycing of ourselves. Some of them climbing to the Top of the Palizado; others of them running into the very Flames; many of them gathering to winward, lay pelting at us with their Arrows, and we repayed them with our small Shot: Others of the Stoutest issued forth, as we did guess to the Number of *Forty*, who perished by the Sword.

What I have formerly said, is according to my own Knowledge, there being sufficient living Testimony to every Particular.

But in reference to Captain *Underhill* and his Parties acting in this Assault, I can only intimate as we were informed by some of themselves immediately after the Fight, Thus *They* marching up to the *Entrance* on the *South West Side*, there made some Pause; a valiant,

resolute Gentleman, one Mr HEDGE, stepping towards the *Gate, saying, If we may not Enter, wherefore case we hear:* and immediately endeavoured to Enter; but was opposed by a sturdy Indian which did impede his Entrance: but the Indian being slain by himself and Serjrant *Davis*, Mr. *Hodge* Entered the *Fort* with some others; but the *Fort* being on Fire, the Smoak and Flames were so violent that they were constrained to desert the *Fort*.

Thus were they not at their Wits End, who no many Hours before exalted themselves in their great Pride, threatening and resolving the utter Ruin and Destruction of all the *English*, Exulting and Rejoycing with Songs and Dances: But GOD was above them, who laughed his Enemies and the Enemies of his People to Scorn, making them as a fiery Oven: Thus were the Stout Hearted spoiled, having slept their last Sleep, and none of their Men could find their Hands: Thus did the LORD judge among the Heathen, filling the Place with dead Bodies!

And here we may see the just Judgment of GOD, in sending even the very *Night before* this Assault, *One Hundred and fifty Men* from their other *Fort*, to join with them of that Place, who were designed as some of themselves reported to go forth against the *English*, at that very Instant when this heavy Stroak came upon them, where they perished with their Fellows. So that the Mischief they intended to us, came upon their own Pate: They were taking in their own Snare, and we through Mercy escaped. And thus in *a little more than one Hour's space* was their impregnable *Fort* with themselves utterly Destroyed, to the Number of *six or seven Hundred*, as some of themselves confessed. There were only *seven* taken *Captive* & about *seven escaped*.

Of the English, there were two Slain outright, and about twenty Wounded: Some Fainted by reason of the sharpness of the Weather, it being a cool Morning & the want of such Comforts & Necessaries as were needful in such a Case; especially our Chyrurgeon was much wanting, whom we left with our Barks in Narragansett Bay, who had Order there to remain until the Night before out intended Assault.

And thereupon grew many *Difficulties*: Our provision and Munition near spent; we in the Enemies Country, who did far exceed us in Number, being much inraged; all our *Indians*, except ONKOS, deserting us; our *Pinnaces* at a great distance from us, and when they would come we were uncertain.

But as were consulting what Course to take, it pleased God to discover our *Vessels* to us before a fair Gale of Wind failing into *Pequot Harbour*, to our great Rejoicing.

We had no sooner discovered our *Vessels*, but immediately came up the *Enemy* from the OTHER FORT; *Three Hundred or more* as we conceived. The *Captain* lead out a *File* or two of Men to Skirmish with them, chiefly to try what Temper they were of, who put them

to a stand: we being much encouraged thereat, presently prepared to march towards our Vessels: Four or Five of our Men were so wounded that they must be carried with the Arms of twenty more. We also being faint, were constrained to put four to one Man, with the Arms of the rest that were wounded to others; so that we had not above forty Men free: at length we hired several Indians, who eased us that Burthen in carrying of our wounded Men. And marching about *one quarter of a Mile*; the Enemy coming up to the Place where the Fort was, and beholding what was done, stamped and tore the Hair from their Heads: And after a little space, came mounting down the Hill upon us, in a full career, as if they would over run us: But when they came within Shot, the Rear faced about, giving Fire upon them: Some of them being Shot, made the rest more wary: Yet they held on running to and fro, and shooting their Arrows at Random. There was at the Foot of the Hill a small Brook, where we rested and refreshed our selves, having by that time taught them a little more Manners than to disturb us.

[...]

A New and Experimentall Discoverie of New England John Underhill

Worthy Reader, let mee intreate you to have a more charitable opinion of me (though unworthy to be better thought of) then is reported in the other Booke: you may remember there is a passage unjustly laid upon mee, that when wee should come to the entrance, I should put forth this question: shall wee enter? others should answer againe; What came we hither for else? It is well knowne to many, it was never my practise in time of my command, when we are in garrison, much to consult with a private souldier, or to aske his advise in point of Warre, much lesse in a matter of so great a moment as that was, which experience had often taught mee, was not a time to put forth such a question, and therefore pardon him that hath given the wrong information: having our swords in our right hand, our Carbins or Muskets in our left hand, we approched the Fort. Master Hedge being shot thorow both armes, and more wounded; though it bee not commendable for a man to make mention of any thing that might tend to his owne honour; yet because I would have the providence of God observed, and his Name magnified, as well for my selfe as others, I dare not omit, but let the world know, that deliverance was given to us that command, as well as to private souldiers. Captaine Mason and my selfe entring into the Wigwams, hee was shot, and received many Arrowes against his headpeece, God preserved him from any wounds; my selfe received a shone in the left hippe, through a sufficient Buffe coate, that if I had not beene supplyed with such a garment, the Arrow would have pierced through me; another I received betweene necke and shoulders, hanging in the linnen of my Head-peece, others of our souldiers were shot some through the shoulders, some in the face, some in the head, some in the legs: Captaine Mason and my selfe losing each of us a man, and had neere twentie wounded: most couragiously

these Pequeats behaved themselves: but seeing the Fort was to hotte for us, wee devised a way how wee might save our selves and prejudice them, Captaine Mason entring into a Wigwam, brought out a fire-brand, after hee had wounded many in the house, then hee set fire on the West-side where he entred, my selfe set fire on the South end with a traine of Powder, the fires of both meeting in the center of the Fort blazed most terribly, and burnt all in the space of halfe an houre; many couragious fellowes were unwilling to come out, and fought most desperately through the Palisadoes, so as they were scorched and burnt with the very flame, and were deprived of their armes, in regard the fire burnt their very bowstrings, and so perished valiantly: mercy they did deserve for their valour, could we have had opportunitie to have bestowed it; many were burnt in the Fort, both men, women, and children, others forced out, and came in troopes to the Indians, twentie, and thirtie at a time, which our souldiers received and entertained with the point of the sword; downe fell men, women, and children, those that scaped us, fell into the hands of the Indians, that were in the reere of us; it is reported by themselves, that there were about foure hundred soules in this Fort, and not above five of them escaped out of our hands. Great and dolefull was the bloudy sight to the view of young souldiers that never had beene in Warre, to see so many soules lie gasping on the ground so thicke in some places, that you could hardly passe along. It may bee demanded, Why should you be so furious (as some have said) should not Christians have more mercy and compassion? But I would referre you to Davids warre, when a people is growne to such a height of bloud, and sinne against God and man, and all confederates in the action, there hee hath no respect to persons, but harrowes them, and sawes them, and puts them to the sword, and the most terriblest death that may bee: sometimes the Scripture declareth women and children must perish with their parents; some-time the case alters: but we will not dispute it now. We had sufficient light from the word of God for our proceedings.

Having ended this service, wee drew our forces together to battallia, being ordered, the Perueats came upon us with their prime men, and let flye at us, my selfe fell on scarce with twelve or fourteene men to encounter with them; but they finding our bullets to outreach their arrowes, forced themselves often to retreate: when we saw wee could have no advantage against them in the open field, wee requested our Indians for to entertaine fight with them, our end was that we might see the nature of the Indian warre: which they granted us and fell out; the Pequeats, Narragansets, and Mohigeners changing a few arrowes together after such a manner, as I dare boldly affirme, they might fight seven yeares and not kill seven men: they came not neere one another, but shot remote, and not point blanke, as wee often doe with our bullets, but at rovers, and then they gaze up in the skie to see where the Arrow falls, and not untill it is fallen doe they shoot againe, this fight is more for pastime, then to conquer and subdue enemies. But spending a little time this way, wee were forced to cast our eyes upon our poore maimed souldiers, many of them lying upon the ground, wanting food and such nourishable things as might refresh them in this faint estate: but we were not supplyed with any such things whereby wee might relieve them, but only were constrained to looke up to God, and to intreate him for mercy towards them: most were thirsty but could find no water; the provision wee had for food was very little; many distractions seized upon us at the present, a Chirurgion wee wanted, our Chirurgion not accustomed to warre, durst not hazard himselfe where we ventured our lives, but like a fresh-water souldier kept aboord, and by this meanes our poore maimed souldiers were brought to a great straite and faintnesse, some of them swounding away for want of speedy helpe, but yet God was pleased to preserve the lives of them, though not without great miserie, and paine to themselves for the present. Distractions multiplying, strength and courage began to faile with many. Our Indians that had stood close to us hitherto, were fallen into consultation, and were resolved for to leave us in a land wee knew not which way to get out: suddenly after their resolution, fiftie of the Narraganset Indians fell off from the rest returning home. The Pequeats spying them pursued after them: then

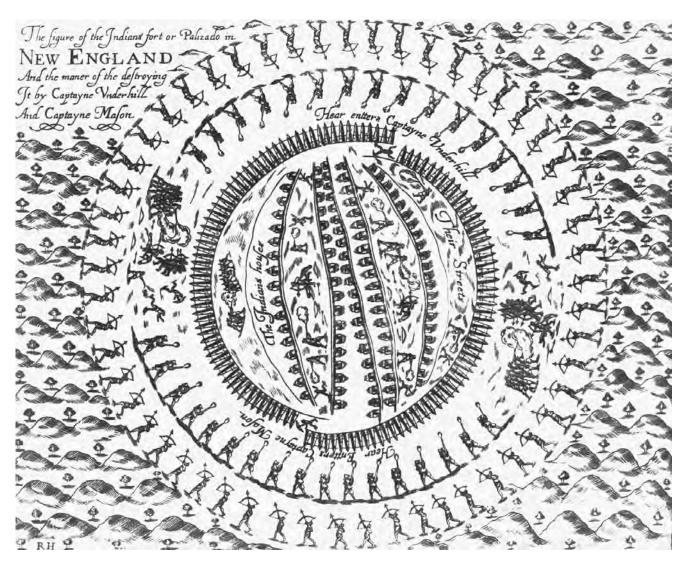
came the Narragansets to Captaine Mason, and my selfe, crying, oh helpe us now, or our men will bee all slaine. . . .

Source: John Underhill, *Newes From America . . . containing a true relation of their war-like proceedings . . . (*London, 1638). (Mason: Reprint, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966.)

45. Engraving of the Attack on the Pequot Fort, 1638

Introduction

A series of violent confrontations between New England colonists and the Pequots led to the colonists' decision to make war on the Pequots, who stood in the way of their expansion. An English war party from Massachusetts raided and looted Pequot villages, and the Pequots attacked the English fort at Saybrook and settlers at



Contemporary engraving of the colonial attack on the Pequot village of Mystic Fort in May 1637. Of approximately 400–700 Pequot inhabitants of the village, only 7 were taken alive. Reportedly another 7 escaped. (Library of Congress)

Wethersfield. In May 1637, Connecticut—joined by the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colonies, along with the Narragansetts and the Mohegans—planned its revenge for the attack on Saybrook. Captain John Mason of Connecticut and Captain John Underhill of Massachusetts led English troops in a surprise pre-dawn attack against the main Pequot village. They surrounded the sleeping village set it on fire, and then killed everyone who tried to flee from the flames. No one knows for certain, but probably more than 400 Pequot men, women, and children died in just 30 minutes. Underhill's eyewitness account, published in 1638, included this stylized diagram of the action, showing English soldiers and Indian warriors surrounding the fort. So brutal was the episode that even the Pequots' enemies, English and Indian alike, protested in horror. However, the New England Puritans believed that they had God on their side, and Underhill's account articulates this view. Underhill later fell afoul of Puritan authority and moved to New Netherland, where he also led attacks on the Indians.

46. Lion Gardiner, Relation of the Pequot Wars, 1660

Introduction

The Pequots were the most powerful Indians in Connecticut and were feared by the other native peoples. They had moved into the area during the late 1500s, occupying land that had belonged to rival Indians. By the year 1600, at least 2,000 Pequots lived along the Connecticut coast and the border with Rhode Island. The other major tribe in Connecticut was the Mohegan, whose sachem, Uncas, remained loyal to the English for more than four decades. A group of English businessmen received a patent to occupy Connecticut. In 1635 they hired an English military engineer, Lion Gardiner, to supervise construction of settlements and defenses in Connecticut. Gardiner sailed to New England, where he designed and built a fort at Saybrook and laid out a town. From 1636, he lived there as commander of the fort for the duration of his four-year contract. Fearing for his family and the other settlers under his protection, Gardiner tried to dissuade New England authorities from their plan to go to war against the Pequots. When the New Englanders launched their attack from his fort, the settlers could no longer venture safely outside its walls. Gardiner later recounted what his men suffered at the hands of the Pequots, as well as his initial unwillingness to trust Uncas.

Primary Source

In the year 1635, I, Lion Gardiner, engineer and master of works of fortification in the legers of the Prince of Orange, in the Low Countries, through the persuasion of Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Hugh Peters with some other well-affected Englishmen of Rotterdam, I made an agreement with the forenamed Mr. Peters for £100 per annum, for four years, to serve the company of patentees, namely,

the Lord Say, the Lord Brooks [Brooke], Sir Arthur Hazilrig [Haslerigge], Sir Mathew Bonnington [Boynton], Sir-Richard Saltingstone [Saltonstall], Esquire [George] Fenwick, and the rest of their company. I was to serve them only in the drawing, ordering and making of a city, towns or forts of defence.

And so I came from Holland to London, and from thence to New England, where I was appointed to attend such orders as Mr. John Winthrop, Esquire, at the present Governor of Conectecott, was to appoint, whether at Pequit [Pequot] river, or Conectecott, and that we should choose a place both for the convenience of a good harbour, and also for capableness and fitness for fortification.

But I landing at Boston the latter end of November, the afore said Mr. Winthrop had sent before one Lieut. Gibbons, Sergeant Willard, with some carpenters, to take possession of the river's mouth, where they began to build houses against the spring; we expecting, according to promise, that there would have come from England to us 300 able men, whereof 200 should attend fortification, 50 to till the ground, and 50 to build houses.

But our great expectation at the river's mouth came only to two men, viz. Mr. Fenwick, and his man, who came with Mr. Hugh Peters, and Mr. Oldham and Thomas Stanton, bringing with them some otter-skin coats, and beaver, and skeins of wampum, which the Pequits [Pequots] had sent for a present, because the English had required those Pequits that had killed a Virginean [Virginian], one Capt. Stone, with his barks' crew, in Conectecott river, for they said they would have their lives and not their presents; then I answered, "seeing you will take Mr. Winthrop to the Bay to see his wife, newly brought to bed of her first child, and though you say he shall return, yet I know if you make war with these Pequits, he will not come hither again, for I know you will keep yourselves safe, as you think, in the Bay, but myself, with these few, you will leave at the stake to be roasted, or for hunger to be starved, for Indian corn is now 12s. per bushel, and we have but three acres planted, and if they will not make war for a Virginian and expose us to the Indians, whose mercies are cruelties, they, I say, love the Virginians better than us: for, have they stayed these four or five years, and will they begin now, we being so few in the river, and have scarce holes to put our heads in?"

—I pray ask the magistrates in the Bay if they have forgot what I said to them when they returned from Salem? For Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Haines, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Humfry, Mr. Belingam [Bellingham], Mr. Coddington, and Mr. Nowell;—these entreated me to go with Mr. Humfry and Mr. Peters to view the country, to see how fit it was for fortification. And I told them that nature had done more than half the work already, and I thought no foreign potent enemy would do them any hurt, but one that was near. They asked me who that was, and I said it was Capt. Hunger that threatened them most, for, said I, "war is like a three-footed stool, want

one foot and down comes all; and these feet are men, victuals, and munition, therefore, seeing in peace you are like to be famished, what will or can be done if war? Therefore I think," said I, "it will be best only to fight against Capt. Hunger, and let fortification alone awhile; and if need hereafter require it, I can come to do you any service:" and they all liked my saying well.—

Entreat them to rest awhile, till we get more strength here about us, and that we hear where the seat of war will be, may approve of it, and provide for it, for I had but twenty-four in all, men, women, and boys and girls, and not food for them for two months, unless we saved our corn-field, which could not possibly be if they came to war, for it is two miles from our home.

Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Fenwick, and Mr. Peters promised me that they would do their utmost endeavour to persuade the Bay-men to desist from war a year or two, till we could be better provided for it; and then the Pequit Sachem was sent for, and the present returned, but full sore against my will.

So they three returned to Boston, and two or three days after came an Indian from Pequit, whose name was Cocommithus, who had lived at Plimoth, and could speak good English; he desired that Mr. Steven [Stephen] Winthrop go to Pequit with an £100 worth of trucking cloth and all other trading ware, for they knew that we had a great cargo of goods of Mr. Pincheon's, and Mr. Steven Winthrop had the disposing of it. And he said that if he would come he might put off all his goods, and the Pequit Sachem would give him two horses that had been there a great while. So I sent the shallop with Mr. Steven Winthrop, Sergeant Tille [Tilly], whom we called afterward Sergeant Kettle, because he put the kettle on his head and Thomas Hurlbut and three men more, charging them that they should ride in the middle of the river, and not go ashore until they had done all their trade, and that Mr. Steven Winthrop should stand in the hold of the boat, having their guns by them, and swords by their sides, the other four to be, two in the fore cuddie, and two in aft, being armed in like manner, that so they out of the loop-holes might clear the boat, if they were by the Pequits assaulted; and that they should let but one canoe come aboard at once, with no more but four Indians in her, and when she had traded then another; and that they should lie no longer there than one day, and at night to go out of the river; and if they brought the two horses, to take them in a clear piece of land at the mouth of the river, two of them to go ashore to help the horses in, and the rest to stand ready with their guns in their hands, if need were, to defend them from the Pequits, for I durst not trust them. So they went and found but little trade, and they having forgotten what I charged them, Thomas Hurlbut and one more went ashore to boil the kettle, and Thomas Hurlbut stepping into the Sachem's wigwam, not far from the shore, enquiring for the horses, the Indians went out of the wigwam, and Wincumbone, his mother's sister, was then the great Pequit Sachem's wife, who made signs to him that he should be gone, for they would

cut off his head; which, when he perceived, he drew his sword and ran to the others, and got aboard, and immediately came abundance of Indians to the waterside and called them to come ashore, but they immediately set sail and came home, and this caused me to keep watch and ward, for I saw they plotted our destruction.

And suddenly after came Capt. Endecott, Capt. Turner, and Capt. Undrill [Underhill], with a company of soldiers, well fitted, to Seabrook, and made that place their rendezvous or seat of war, and that to my great grief, for, said I, "you come hither to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wing and flee away;" but when I had seen their commission I wondered, and made many allegations against the manner of it, but go they did to Pequit, and as they came without acquainting any of us in the river with it, so they went against our will, for I knew that I should loose our corn-field; then I entreated them to hear what I would say to them, which was this: "sirs, seeing you will go, I pray you, if you don't load your barks with Pequits, load them with corn, for that is now gathered with them, and dry, ready to put into their barns, and both you and we have need of it, and I will send my shallop and hire this Dutchman's boat, there present, to go with you, and if you cannot attain your end of the Pequits, yet you may load your barks with corn, which will be welcome to Boston and to me:" But they said they had no bags to load them with, then said I, "here is three dozen of new bags, you shall have thirty of them, and my shallop to carry them, and six of them my men shall use themselves, for I will with the Dutchmen send twelve men well provided;" and I desired them to divide the men into three parts, viz. two parts to stand without the corn, and to defend the other one-third part, that carried the corn to the water-side, till they have loaded what they can. And the men there in arms, when the rest are aboard, shall in order go aboard, the rest that are aboard shall with their arms clear the shore, if the Pequits do assault them in the rear, and then, when the General shall display his colours, all to set sail together. To this motion they all agreed, and I put the three dozen of bags aboard my shallop, and away they went, and demanded the Pequit Sachem to come into parley. But it was returned for answer, that he was from home, but within three hours he would come; and so from three to six, and thence to nine, there came none. But the Indians came without arms to our men, in great numbers, and they talked with my men, whom they knew; but in the end, at a word given, they all on a sudden ran away from our men, as they stood in rank and file, and not an Indian more was to be seen: and all this while before, they carried all their stuff away, and thus was that great parley ended. Then they displayed their colorus, and beat their drums, burnt some wigwams and some heaps of corn, and my men carried as much aboard as they could, but the army went aboard, leaving my men ashore, which ought to have marched aboard first. But they all set sail, and my men were pursued by the Indians, and they hurt some of the Indians, two of them came home wounded. The Bay-men killed not a man, save that one Kichomiquim, and Indian Sachem of the Bay, killed a Pequit; and thus began the war between the Indians and us in these parts.

So my men being come home, and having brought a pretty quantity of corn with them, they informed me, both Dutch and English, of all passages. I was glad of the corn.

After this I immediately took men and went to our corn-field, to gather our corn, appointing others to come about with the shallop and fetch it, and left five lusty men in the strong-house, with long guns, which house I had built for the defence of the corn. Now these men not regarding the charge I had given them, three of them went a mile from the house a fowling; and having loaded themselves with fowl they returned. But the Pequits let them pass first, till they had loaded themselves, but at their return they arose out of their ambush, and shot them all three; one of them escaped through the corn, shot through the leg, the other two they tormented. Then the next day I sent the shallop to fetch the five men, and the rest of the corn that was broken down, and they found but three, as is above said, and when they had gotten that they left the rest; and as soon as they had gone a little way from shore they saw the house on fire.

Now so soon as the boat came home, and brought us this bad news, old Mr. Mitchell was very urgent with me to lend him the boat to fetch hay home from the Six-mile Island, but I told him they were too few men, for his four men could but carry the hay aboard, and one must stand in the boat to defend them, and they must have two more at the foot of the rock, with their guns, to keep the Indians from running down upon them. And in the first place, before they carry any of the cocks of hay, to scour the meadow with their three dogs,—to march all abreast from the lower end up to the rock, and if they found the meadow clear, then to load their hay; but his was also neglected, for they all went ashore and fell to carrying off their hay, and the Indians presently rose out of the long grass, and killed three, and took the brother of Mr. Mitchell, who is the minister of Cambridge, and roasted him alive; and so they served a shallop of his, coming down the river in the Spring, having two men, one whereof they killed at Six-mile island, the other came down drowned to us ashore at our doors, with an arrow shot into his eye through his head.

In the 22d of February [1636–37], I went out with ten men and three dogs, half a mile from the house, to burn the weeds, leaves and reeds, upon the neck of land, because we had felled twenty timbertrees, which we were to roll to the water-side to bring home, every man carrying a length of match with brimstone-matches with him to kindle the fire withal, but when we came to the small of the Neck, the weeds burning, I having before this set two sentinels on the small of the Neck, I called to the men that were burning the reeds to come away, but they would not until they had burnt up the rest of their matches. Presently there starts up four Indians out of the fiery reeds, but ran away, I calling to the rest of our men to come away out of the marsh. Then Robert Chapman and Thomas Hurlbut, being sentinels, called to me, saying there came a number of Indians out of the other side of the marsh. Then I went to stop them,

that they should not get the wood-land; but Thomas Hurlbut cried out to me that some of the men did not follow me, for Thomas Rumble and Arthur Branch, threw down their two guns and ran away; then the Indians shot two of them that were in the reeds, and sought to get between us and home, but durst not come before us, but kept us in a half-moon, we retreating and exchanging many a shot, so that Thomas Hurlbut was shot almost through the thigh, John Spencer in the back, into his kidneys, myself into the thigh, two more were shot dead. But in our retreat I keep Hurlbut and Spencer still before us, we defending ourselves with our naked swords, or else they had taken us all alive. So that the two sore wounded men, by our slow retreat, got home with their guns, when our two sound men ray away and left their guns behind them. But when I saw the cowards that left us, I resolved to let them draw lots which of them should be hanged, for the articles did hang up in the hall for them to read, and they knew they had been published long before. But at the intercession of old Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Higgisson [John Higginson, chaplain], and Mr. [Thomas] Pell [surgeon], I did forbear.

Within a few days after, when I had cured myself of my wound, I went out with eight men to get some fowl for our relief, and found that guns that were thrown away, and the body of one man shot through, the arrow going in at the right side, the head sticking fast, half through a rib on the left side, which I took out and cleansed it, and presumed to send to the Bay, because they had said that the arrows of the Indians were of no force.

Anthony Dike, master of a bark, having his bark at Rhode Island in the winter, was sent by Mr. [Henry] Vane, then Governor. Anthony came to Rhode Island by land, and from thence he came with his bark to me with a letter, wherein was desired that I should consider and prescribe the best way I could to quell these Pequits, which I also did, and with my letter sent the man's rib as a token.

A few days after came Thomas Stanton down the river, and staying for a wind, while he was there came a troop of Indians within musket shot, laying themselves and their arms down behind a little rising hill and two great trees; which I perceiving, called the carpenter whom I had shewed how to charge and level a gun, and that he should put two cartridges of musket bullets into two sackers guns that lay about; and we leveled them against the place, and I told him that he must look towards me, and when he saw me wave my hat above my head he should give fire to both the guns; then presently came three Indians, creeping out and calling to us to speak with us: and I was glad that Thomas Stanton was there, and I sent six men down by the Garden Pales to look that none should come under the hill behind us; and having placed the rest in places convenient closely, Thomas and I with my sword, pistol and carbine, went ten or twelve poles without the gate to parley with them. And when the six men came to the Garden Pales, at the corner, they found a great number of Indians creeping behind the fort, or betwixt us and home, but they ran away. Now I had said to Thomas Stanton, whatsoever they say to you, tell me first, for we will not answer them directly to anything, for I know not the mind of the rest of the English. So they came forth, calling us nearer to them, and we them nearer to us. But I would not let Thomas go any further than the great stump of a tree, and I stood by him; then they asked who we were, and he answered, "Thomas and Lieutenant." But they said he lied, for I was shot with many arrows; and so I was, but my buff coat preserved me, only one hurt me. But when I spake to them they knew my voice, for one of them had dwelt three months with us, but ran away when the Bay-men came first. Then they asked us if we would fight with Niantecut Indians, for they were our friends and came to trade with us. We said we knew not the Indians one from another, and therefore would trade with none. Then they said, have you fought enough? We said we knew not yet. Then they asked if we did use to kill women and children? We said that they should see that hereafter. So they were silent a small space, and then they said, We are Pequits, and have killed Englishmen, and can kill them as mosquetoes, and we will go to Conectecott and kill men, women, and children, and we will take away the horses, cows and hogs. When Thomas Stanton had told me this, he prayed me to shoot that rogue, for, said he, he hath and Englishman's coat on, and saith that he hath killed three, and these other four have their cloathes on their backs. I said, "no, it is not the manner of a parley, but have patience and I shall fit them ere they go." "Nay, now or never," said he; so when he could get no other answer but this last, I bid him tell them that they should not go to Conectecott, for if they did kill all the men, and take all the rest as they said, it would do them no good, but hurt, for Englishwomen are lazy, and can't do their work; horses and cows will spoil your corn-fields, and the hogs their clam-banks, and so undo them; then I pointed to our great house, and bid them tell them there lay twenty pieces of trucking cloth, of Mr. Pincheon's, with hoes, hatchets, and all manner of trade, they were better fight still with us, and so get all that, and then go up the river after they had killed all us. Having heard this, they were mad as dogs, and ran away; then when they came to the place from whence they came, I waved my hat about my head, and the two great guns went off, so that there was a great hubbub amongst them.

Then two days after came down Capt. Mason, and Sergeant Seely, with five men more, to see how it was with us; and whilst they were there, came down a Dutch boat, telling us the Indians had killed fourteen English, for by that boat I had sent up letters to Conectecott, what I heard, and what I thought, and how to prevent that threatened danger, and received back again rather a scoff, than nay thanks for my care and pains. But as I wrote, so it fell out to my great grief and theirs, for the next, or second day after, as major Mason well knows, came down a great many canoes, going down the creek beyond the marsh, before the fort, many of them having white shirts; then I commanded the carpenter whom I had shewed to level great guns, to put in two round shot in the two sackers, and we leveled them at a certain place, and I stood to bid him give fire, when I thought the canoe would meet the bullet, and one of them took off the nose of a great canoe wherein the two maids were, that were

taken by the Indians, whom I redeemed and clothed, for the Dutchmen, whom I sent to fetch them, brought them away almost naked from Pequit, they putting on their own linen jackets to cover their nakedness; and though the redemption cost me ten pounds, I am yet to have thanks for my care and charge about them; these things are known to Major Mason.

Then came from the Bay Mr. Tille [John Tilly], with a permit to go up to Harford [Hartford], and coming ashore he saw a paper nailed up over the gate, whereon was written that no boat or bark should pass the fort, but that they come to an anchor first, that I might see whether they were armed and manned sufficiently, and they were not to land any where after they passed the fort till they came to Wethersfield; and this I did because Mr. Michell had lost a shallop before coming down from Wethersfield, with three men well armed. This Mr. Tille gave me ill language for my presumption, as he called it, with other expressions too long here to write. When he had done I bid him go to his warehouse, which he had built before I came, to fetch his goods from thence, for I would watch no longer over it. So he, knowing nothing, went and found his house burnt, and one of Mr. Plum's with others, and he told me to my face that I had caused it to be done; but Mr. Higgisson, Mr. Pell, Mr. Thomas Hurlbut and John Green can witness that the same day that our house was burnt at Cornfield-point I went with Mr. Higgisson, Mr. Pell, and four men more, broke open a door and took a note of all that was in the house and gave it to Mr. Higgisson to keep, and so brought all the goods to our house, and delivered it all to them again when they came for it, without any penny of charge. Now the very next day after I had taken the goods out, before the sun was quite down, and we all together in the great hall, all them houses were on fire in one instant. The Indians ran away, but I would not follow them. Now when Mr. Tille had received all his goods, I said unto him, I thought I had deserved for my honest care both for their bodies and goods of those that passed by here, at the least better language, and am resolved to order such malepert persons as you are; there I wish you and also charge you to observe that which you have read at the gate, 'tis my duty to God, my masters, and my love I bear to you all which is the ground of this, had you but eyes to see it; but you will not till you feel it. So he went up the river, and when he came down again to his place which I call Tille's folly, now called Tille's point, in our sight in despite, having a fair wind he came to an anchor, and with one man more went ashore, discharged his gun, and the Indians fell upon him, and he killed the other, and carried him alive over the river in our sight, before my shallop could come to them; for immediately I sent seven men to fetch the Pink down, or else it had been taken and three men more. So they brought her down, and I sent Mr. Higgisson and Mr. Pell aboard to take and invoice of all that was in the vessel, that nothing might be lost.

Two days after came to me, as I had written to Sir Henerie Vane, then governor of the Bay, I say came to me Capt. Undrill [Underhill], with twenty lusty men, well armed, to stay with me two months, or 'till something should be done about the Pequits. He came at the charge of my masters.

Soon after came down from Hartford Maj. Mason, Lieut. Seely, accompanied with Mr. Stone and eight Englishmen, and eighty Indians, with a commission from Mr. Ludlow and Mr. Steel, and some others; these came to go fight with the Pequits. But when Capt. Undrill and I had seen their commission, we both said they were not fitted for such a design, and we aid to Maj. Mason, we wondered he would venture himself, being no better fitted; and he said the Magistrates could not or would not send better: then we said that none of our men should go with them, neither should they go unless we, that were bred soldiers from our youth, could see some likelihood to do better than the Bay-men with their strong commission last year.

Then I asked them how they durst trust the Mohegin Indians, who had but that year come from the Pequits. They said they would trust them, for they could not well go without them for want of guides. Yea, said I, but I will try them before a man of ours shall go with you or them; and I called for Uncas and said unto him, "you say you will help Maj. Mason, but I will first see it, therefore spend you not twenty men to the Bass river, for there went yester-night six Indians in a canoe thither; fetch them now dead or alive, and then you shall go with Maj. Mason, else not." So he sent his men who killed four, brought one a traitor to us alive, whose name was Kiswas, and one ran away. And I gave him fifteen yards of trading cloth on my own charge, to give unto his men according to their desert. And having staid there five or six days before we could agree, at last we old soldiers agreed about the way and act, and took twenty insufficient men from the eighty that came from Harford and sent them up again in a shallop, and Capt. Undrill with twenty of the lustiest of our men went in their room, and I furnished them with such things as they wanted, and sent Mr. Pell, the surgeon with them; and the Lord God blessed their design and way, so that they returned with victory to the glory of God, and honour of our nation, having slain three hundred, burnt their fort, and taken many prisoners.

Then came to me an Indian called Wequash, and I by Mr. Higgission inquired of him, how many of the Pequits were yet alive that had helped to kill Englishmen; and he declared them to Mr. Higgisson, and he writ them down, as may appear by his own hand here enclosed, and I did as therein is written.

Then three days after the fight came Waiandance, next brother to the old Sachem of Long Island, and having been recommended to me by Maj. Gibbons, he came to know if we were angry will all Indians. I answered "no, but only with such as had killed Englishmen." He asked me whether they that lived upon Long-Island might come to trade with us? I said "no, nor we with them, for if I should send my boat to trade for corn, and you have Pequits with you, and if my boat should come to some creek by reason of bad weather, they might kill my men, and I shall think that you of Long-Island have

done it, and so we may kill all you for the Pequits; but if you will kill all the Pequits that come to you, and send me their heads, then I will give to you as to Weakwash [Wequash], and you shall have trade with us." Then, said he, I will go to my brother, for he is the great Sachem of Long-Island, and if we may have peace and trade with you, we will give you tribute as we did the Pequits. Then I said, "If you have any Indians that have killed English, you must bring their heads also." He answered not any one, and said that Gibbons, my brother would have told you if it had been so; so he went away and did as I had said, and sent me five heads, three and four heads, for which I paid them that brought them as I had promised.

Then came Capt. Stoton [Stoughton] with an army of 300 men, from the Bay, to kill the Pequits; but they were fled beyond New Haven to a swamp. I sent Wequash after them, who went by night to spy them out, and the army followed him, and found them at the great swamp, who killed some and took others, and the rest fled to the Mowhakues with their Sachem. Then the Mohaws cut off his head and sent it to Harford, for then they all feared us, but now it is otherwise, for they say to our faces that our Commissioner's meeting once a year, and speak a great deal, or write a letter, and other's all for they dare not fight. But before they went to the Great Swamp they sent Thomas Stanton over to Long Island and Shelter island, to find Pequits there, but there was none, for Sachem Waiandance, that was at Plimoth when the commissioners were there, and set there last, I say, that they durst not come there; and he and his men went with the English to the Swamp, and thus the Pequits were quelled at that time.

But there was like to be a great broil between Miantenomie [Miantonomoh] and Unchus [Uncas] who should have the rest of the Pequits, but we mediated between them and pacified them; also Unchus challenged the Narraganset Sachem out to a single combat, but he wound not fight without all his men; but they were pacified, thought the grudge remained still, as it doth appear.

Thus far I had written in a book, that all men and posterity might know how and why so many honest men had their blood shed, yea, and some flayed alive, others cut in pieces, and some roasted alive, only because Kichamokin, a Bay Indian killed one Pequit; and thus far of the Pequit war, which was but a comedy in comparison of the tragedies which hath been here threatened since, and may yet come, if God do not open the eyes, ears, and hearts of some that I think are willfully deaf and blind, and think because there is no change that the vision fails, and put the evil threatened-day far off, for say they, we are to twenty to one to what we were then, and none dare meddle with us. Oh! wo be to the pride and security which hath been the ruin of many nations, as woful experience has proved.

But I wonder, and so doth many more with me, that the Bay doth not better revenge the murdering of Mr. Oldham, an honest man of their own, seeing they were at such cost for a Virginian. The Narraganset's there were at Block-Island killed him, and had £50 of gold of his, for

I saw it when he had five pieces of me, and put it up into a clout and tied it up altogether, when he went away from me to Block-Island; but the Narragansets had it and punched holes into it, and put it about their necks for jewels; and afterwards I saw the Dutch have some of it, which they had of the Narraganset at a small rate.

And now I find that to be true which our friend Waiandance told me many years ago, that was this; seeing that all the plots of the Narraganset were always discovered, he said they would let us alone till they had destroyed Uncas, and him, and then they, with the Mowaukes and Mowhaukes and the Indians beyond the Dutch, and all the Northern and Eastern Indians would easily destroy us, man and mother's son. This have I informed the Governors of these parts, but all in vain, for I see they have done as those of Wethersfield, not regarding till they were impelled to it by blood; and thus we may be sure of the fattest of the flock are like to go first, if not altogether, and then it will be too late to read. Jer. XXV.—for drink we shall if the Lord be not the more meriful to us for our extreme pride and base security, which cannot but stink before the Lord; and we may expect this, that if there should be war again between England and Holland, our friends at the Dutch and our Dutch Englishmen would prove as true to us now, as they were when the fleet came out of England; but no more of that, a word to the wise is enough.

Source: Curtiss C. Gardiner, ed., *Lion Gardiner and his Descendants* (St. Louis: A. Whipple, Publisher, 1890).

47. The Trial of Anne Hutchinson, November 1637 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Puritanism, which grew out of dissent against the established Church of England, became the new establishment in New England. Those who disagreed with the Puritan establishment of Massachusetts were accused of heresy. Anne Hutchinson, the daughter of a dissenting clergyman in England, departed for America in 1634, accompanied by her husband and 15 children. She did not find the religious freedom she expected in Massachusetts. She conducted religious discussion groups for women and gathered followers. Her outspoken views on religion and her assertion that she had received divine revelations, coupled with the fact that she was a woman in a world where women were not expected to have opinions on important matters, led to her arrest and trial for heresy in 1637. Her banishment was inevitable, and she moved to Rhode Island. She lived there until her husband's death, then moved with family and friends to Dutch-controlled Long Island in 1642. The following year, Indians killed Hutchinson and several of her children and servants in revenge for the Dutch governor's massacre of a defenseless Indian village. One of her descendants, great-great-grandson Thomas Hutchinson, served as royal governor of Massachusetts just prior to the American Revolutionary War.

Primary Source

The Examination of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson at the court a Newtown.

Mr. Winthrop, governor. Mrs. Hutchinson, you are called here as one of those that have troubled the peace of the commonwealth and the churches here; you are known to be a woman that hath had a great share in the promoting and divulging of those opinions that are causes of this trouble, and to be nearly joined not only in affinity and affection with some of those the court had taken notice of and passed censure upon, but you have spoken divers things as we have been informed very prejudicial to the honour of the churches and ministers thereof, and you have maintained a meeting and an assembly in your house that hath been condemned by the general assembly as a thing not tolerable nor comely in the sight of God nor fitting for your sex, and notwithstanding that was cried down you have continued the same, therefore we have thought good to send for you to understand how things are, that if you be in an erroneous way we may reduce you that so you may become profitable member here among us, otherwise if you be obstinate in your course that then the court may take such course that you may trouble us no further, therefore I would intreat you to express whether you do not hold and assent in practice to those opinions and factions that have been handled in court already, that is to say, whether you do not justify Mr. Wheelwright's sermon and the petition.

Mrs. Hutchinson. I ma called here to answer before you but I hear no things laid to my charge.

Gov. I have told you some already and more I can tell you.

(Mrs. H.) Name one Sir.

Gov. Have I not named some already?

Mrs. H. What have I said or done?

Gov. Why for your doings, this you did harbour and countenance those that are parties in this faction that you have heard of.

(Mrs. H.) That's matter of conscience, Sir.

Gov. Your conscience you must keep or it must be kept for you. *Mrs. H.* Must not I ten entertain the saints because I must keep by conscience.

Gov. Say that one brother should commit felony or treason and come to his other brother's house, if he knows him guilty and conceals him he is guilty of the same. It is his conscience to entertain him, but if his conscience comes into act in giving countenance and entertainment to him that hath broken the law he is guilty too. So if you do countenance those that are transgressor of the law you are in the same fact.

Mrs. H. What law do they transgress?

Gov. The law of God and of the state.

Mrs. H. In what particular?

Gov. Why in this among the rest, whereas the Lord doth say honour they father and they mother.

Mrs. H. Ey Sir in the Lord. (*Gov.*) This honour you have broke in giving countenance to them.

Mrs. H. In entertaining those did I entertain them against any act (for there is the thing) or what god hath appointed?

Gov. You knew that Mr. Wheelwright did preach this sermon and those that countenance him in this do break a law.

Mrs. H. What law have I broken?

Gov. Why the fifth commandment.

Mrs. H. I deny that for he saith in the Lord.

Gov. You have joined with them in the faction.

Mrs. H. In what faction have I joined with them?

Gov. In presenting the petition.

Mrs. H. Suppose I had set my hand to the petition what then? (*Gov.*) You saw that case tried before.

Mrs. H. But I had not my hand to the petition.

Gov. You have councelled them. (Mrs. H.) Wherein?

Gov. Why in entertaining them.

Mrs. H. What breach of law if that Sir?

Gov. Why dishonouring of parents.

Mrs. H. But put the case Sir that I do fear the Lord and my parents, may I not entertain them that fear the Lord because my parents will not give me leave?

Gov. If they be the fathers of the commonwealth, and they of another religion, if you entertain them then you dishonour your parents and are justly punishable.

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Mr. Weld. I then said to Mrs. Hutchinson when it was come to this issue, why did you let us go thus long and never tell us of it?

Gov. I should wonder why the elders should move the elders of our congregation to have dealth with her if they saw not some cause.

Mr. Cotton. Brother Weld and brother Shepard, I did then clear myself unto you that I understood her speech in expressing herself to you that you did hold forth some matter in your preaching that was not pertinent to the seal of the spirit—*Two lines defaced.*

Dep. Gov. They affirm that Mrs. Hutchinson did say they were not able ministers of the new testament.

Mr. Cotton. I do not remember it.

Mrs. H. If you please to give me leave I shall give you the ground of what I know to be true. Being much troubled to see the falseness of the constitution of the church of England, I had like to have turned separatist; whereupon I kept a day of solemn humiliation and pondering of the thing; this scripture was brought unto me—he that denies Jesus Christ to become in the flesh is antichrist—This I considered of and in considering found the papists did not deny him to become in the flesh, nor we did not deny him-who then was antichrist? Was the Turk antichrist only? The Lord knows that I could not open scripture; he must by his prophetical office open it unto me. So after that being unsatisfied in the thing, the Lord was pleased to bring this scripture out of the Hebrews. He that denies the testament denies the testator, and in this did open unto me and give me to see that those which did not teach the new covenant had the spirit of antichrist, and upon this he did discover the ministry unto me and ever since, I bless the Lord, he hath let me see which was the clear ministry and which the wrong. Since that time I confess I have

been more choice and he hath let me to distinguish between the voice of my beloved and the voice of Moses, the voice of John Baptist and the voice of antichrist, for all those voices are spoken of in scripture. Now if you do condemn me for speaking what in my conscience I know to be the truth I must commit myself unto the Lord.

Mr. Nowell. How do you know that that was the spirit?

Mrs. H. How did Abraham know that it was God that bid him offer his son, being a breach of the sixth commandment?

Dep. Gov. By an immediate voice.

Mrs. H. So to me by an immediate revelation.

Dep. Gov. How! An immediate revelation.

Mrs. H. By the voice of his own spirit to my soul. I will give you another scripture, Jer. 46. 27, 28—out of which the Lord shewed me what he would do for me and the rest of his servants.—But after he was pleased to reveal himself to me I did presently like Abraham run to Hagar. And after that he did let me see the atheism of my own heart, for which I begged of the Lord that it might not remain in my heart, and being thus, he did shew me this (a twelvemonth after) which I told you of before. Ever since that time I have been confident of what he hath revealed unto me.

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Source: David D. Hall, ed., *The Antinomian Controversy*, 1636–1638: *A Documentary History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990).

48. Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan*, 1637 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Thomas Morton was a well-connected Anglican lawyer in England when he decided to undertake a colonial venture in New England. In 1624, he and a partner settled with a group of indentured servants about 25 miles from Plymouth Colony. When Morton's partner abandoned Massachusetts for Virginia, Morton freed the servants and established a society based on a mix of Anglicanism, paganism, and the ways of the neighboring Indians. The settlement, renamed Merrymount, became infamous among the Pilgrims of Plymouth for its maypole and the men's dalliances with native women. Worse, Merrymount prospered by trading with the Indians, selling them guns and liquor. In 1627, Myles Standish and a force of Pilgrims attacked Merrymount, cut down the maypole, and marooned Morton on an island. Morton escaped to England, then returned to Merrymount and was re-arrested in 1630. Banished to England, his Massachusetts property confiscated and destroyed, Morton nearly succeeded in convincing King Charles I to revoke the Massachusetts Bay charter. In 1637 Morton published the story of his colonial experiences in the satirical and well-received New English Canaan, excerpted here. On Morton's return to Massachusetts in 1643, he was again arrested and banished to Maine, where he ended his days.

Primary Source

CHAP. XIV. Of the Revells of New Canaan.

The Inhabitants of Pasonagessit (having translated the name of their habitation from that ancient Salvage name to Ma-re Mount; and being resolved to have the new name confirmed for a memorial to after ages) did devise amongst themselves to have it performed in a solemne manner with Revels, & merriment after the old English custome: prepared to sett up a Maypole upon the festivall day of Philip and Iacob; & therefore brewed a barrell of excellent beare, & provided a case of bottles to be spent, with other good cheare, for all commers of that day. And because they would have it in a compleat forme, they had prepared a song fitting to the time and present occation. And upon Mayday they brought the Maypole to the place appointed, with drumes, gunnes, pistols, and other fitting instruments, for that purpose; and there erected it with the help of Salvages, that came thether of purpose to see the manner of our Revels. A goodly pine tree of 80. foote longe, was reared up, with a peare of buckshorns nayled one, somewhat neare unto the top of it: where it stood as a faire sea marke for directions; how to finde out the way to mine Host of Ma-re Mount.

[…]

The setting up of his Maypole was lamentable spectacle to the precise seperatists: that lived at new Plimmouth. They termed it an Idoll; yea they called it the Calfe of Horeb: and stood at defiance with the place naming it Mount Dagon; threatning to make it a woefull mount and not a merry mount.

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This harmeles mirth made by younge men (that lived in hope to have wifes brought over to them, that would save them a laboure to make a voyage to fetch any over) was much distasted, of the precise Seperatists: that keepe much a doe, about the tyth of Muit and Cummin; troubling their braines more then reason would require about things that are indifferent: and from that time sought occasion against my honest Host of Ma-re Mount to overthrow his ondertakings, and to destroy his plantation quite and cleane. . . .

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CHAP. XV. Of a great Monster supposed to be at Ma-re-Mount; and the preparation made to destroy it.

The Seperatists envying the prosperity, and hope of the Plantation at Ma-re Mount (which they perceaved beganne to come forward, and to be in a good way for gaine in the Beaver trade) conspired together against mine Host especially, (who was the owner of that Plantation) and made up a party against him; and mustred up what aide they could; accounting of him, as of a great Monster.

Many threatening speeches were given out both against his person, and his Habitation, which they divulged should be consumed with fire: And taking advantage of the time when his company (which seemed little to regard, theire threats) were gone up into the Inlands, to trade with the Salvages for Beaver.

They set upon my honest host at a place, called Wessaguscus, where (by accident) they found him. The inhabitants there were in good hope, of the subvertion of the plantation at Mare Mount, (which they principally aymed at;) and the rather, because mine host was a man that indeavoured to advance the dignity of the Church of England; which they (on the contrary part) would laboure to vilifie; with uncivile termes: enveying against the sacred booke of common prayer, and mine host that used it in a laudable manner amongst his family, as a practise of piety.

There hee would be a meanes to bringe sacks to their mill (such is the thrist after Beaver) and helped the conspiratores to. Surprisee mine host, (who was there all alone) and they chardged him, (because they would seeme to have some reasonable cause against him (to sett a glosse upon their malice) with criminall things which indeede had beene done by such a person but was of their conspiracy; mine host demaunded of the conspirators who it was, that was author of that information, that seemed to be their ground for what they now intended. And because they answered, they would not tell him, hee as peremptorily replyed, that hee would not stay, whether he had, or he had not done as they had bin informed.

The answere made no matter (as it seemed) whether it had bin negatively, or affirmatively made) for they had resolved what hee should suffer, because (as they boasted,) they were now become the greater number: they had shaked of their shackles of servitude, and were become Masters, and masterles people.

It appeares, they were like beares whelpes in former time, when mine hosts plantation was of as much strength as theirs, but now (their being stronger,) the (like overgrowne beares) seemed monsterous. In breife, mine host must indure to be their prisoner, untill they could contrive it so, that they might send him for England, (as they said,) there to suffer according to the merrit of the fact, which they intended to father upon him; supposing (belike) it would proove a hainous crime.

Much rejoycing was made that they had gotten their cappitall enemy (as they concluded him) whome they purposed to hamper is such sort, that hee should not be able to uphold his plantation at Ma-re Mount.

The Conspirators sported themselves at my honest host, that meant them no hurt; & were so joccund that they feasted their bodies, and fell to tippeling, as if they had obtained a great prize; like the Trojans when they had the custody of Hippeus pinetree horse.

Mine host fained greefe: and could not be perswaded either to eate, or drinke, because hee knew emptines would be a meanes to make him as watchfull, as the Geese kept in the Roman Cappitall: whereon the contrary part, the conspirators would be so drowsy, that hee might have an opportunity to give them a slip, insteade of a tester. Six persons of the conspiracy were set to watch him at Wessaguscus: But hee kept waking; and in the dead of night (one lying on the bed, for further suerty,) up gets mine Host and got to the second dore that hee was to passe which (notwithstanding the lock) hee got open: and shut it after him with such violence, that it affrighted some of the conspirators.

The word which was given with an alarme, was, ô he's gon, he's gon, what shall wee doe he's gon? the rest (halfe a sleepe) start up in a maze, and like rames, ran theire heads one at another full butt in the darke.

Their grand leader Captaine Shrimp tooke on most furiously, and tore his clothes for anger, to see the empty nest, and their bird gone.

The rest were eager to have torne theire haire from theire heads, but it was so short, that it would give them no hold; Now Captaine Shrimp thought in the losse of this prize (which hee accoumpted his Master peece,) all his honor would be lost for ever.

In the meane time mine Host was got home to Ma-re Mount through the woods, eight miles, round about the head of the river Monatoquit, that parted the two Plantations: finding his way by the helpe of the lightening (for it thundred as hee went terribly) and there hee prepared powther three pounds dried, for his present imployment, and foure good gunnes for him, and the two assistants left at his howse, with bullets of severall sizes three hounderd, or thereabouts; to be used if the conspirators should pursue him thether: and these two persons promised theire aides in the quarrell, and confirmed that promise with a health in good rosa solis.

Now Captaine Shrimp, the first Captaine in the Land (as hee supposed,) must doe some new act to repaire this losse, and to vindicate his reputation, who had sustained blemish, by this oversight. Begins now to study, how to repaire or survive his honor in this manner; callinge of Councell: they conclude.

Hee takes eight persons more to him, and (like the nine Worthies of New Canaan) they imbarque with preparation against Ma-re-Mount, where this Monster of a man (as theire phrase was) had his denne; the whole number, (had the rest not bin from home, being but seaven,) would have given Captaine Shrimpe (a quondam Drummer,) such a wellcome, as would have made him wish for a Drume as bigg as Diogenes tubb, that hee might have crept into it out of sight.

Now the nine Worthies are approached; and mine Host prepared: having intelligence by a Salvage, that hastened in love from Wessaguscus, to give him notice of their intent.

One of mine Hosts men prooved a craven: the other had prooved his wits to purchase a little valoure, before mine Host had observed his posture.

The nine worthies comming before the Denne of this supposed Monster, (this seaven headed hydra, as they termed him) and began like Don Quixote against the Windmill to beate a party, and to offer quarter (if mine Host would yeald) for they resolved to send him for England, and bad him lay by his armes.

But hee (who was the Sonne of a Souldier) having taken up armes in his just defence, replyed, that hee would not lay by those armes, because they were so needfull at Sea, if hee should be sent over. Yet (to save the effusion of so much worthy bloud, as would haue issued, out of the vaynes of these 9. worthies of New Canaan, if mine Host should have played upon them out at his port holes (for they came within danger like a flocke of wild geese, as if they had bin tayled one another, as coults to be sold at a faier) mine Host was content to yeelde upon quarter; and did capitulate with them: in what manner it should be more certainety, because hee knew what Captaine Shrimpe was.

Hee expressed, that no violence should be offered to his person, none to his goods, nor any of his Howsehold: but that hee should have his armes, and what els was requisit for the voyage, (which their Herald retornes,) it was agreed upon, and should be performed.

But mine Host no sooner had set open the dore and issued out: but instantly Captaine Shrimpe, and the rest of the worties stepped to him, layd hold of his armes; and had him downe, and so eagerly was every man bent against him (not regarding any agreement made with such a carnall man,) that they fell upon him, as if they would have eaten him: some of them were so violent, that they would have a slice with scabbert and all for haste, until an old Souldier (of the Queenes as the Proverbe is) that was there by accident, clapt his gunne under the weapons, and sharply rebuked these worthies for their unworthy practises. So the matter was taken into more deliberate consideration.

Captaine Shrimpe and the rest of the nine worthies, made themselves (by this outragious riot) Masters of mine Hoste of Marre Mount, and disposed of what hee had at his plantation.

This they knew (in the eye of the Salvages) would add to their glory; and diminish the reputation of mine honest Host, whome they practised to be ridd of, upon any termes, as willingly as if hee had bin the very Hidra of the time.

CHAP. XVI. How the 9. worthies put mine Host of Ma-re-Mount into the inchaunted, Castle at Plimmouth, and terrified him with the Monster Briareus.

[...]

A conclusion was made, and sentence given, that mine Host should be sent to England a prisoner. But when hee was brought to the shipps for that purpose, no man durst be so foole hardy as to undertake carry him. So these Worthies set mine Host upon an Island, without gunne, powther, or shot, or dogge, or so much as a knife, to get any thinge to feede upon or any other cloathes to shelter him with at winter then a thinne suite which hee had one at that time. Home hee could not get to Ma-re-Mount upon this Island. Hee stayed a moneth at least, and was releeved by the Salvages that tooke notice that mine Host was a Sachem of Passonagessit, and would bring bottles of strong liquor to him, and unite themselves into a league of brother hood with mine Host; so full of humanity are these infidels before these Christians.

From this place for England, sailed mine Host in a Plimmouth shipp, (that came into the Land to fish upon the Coast,) that landed him safe in England at Plimmouth, and hee stayed in England untill the ordinary time for shipping to set forth for these parts; and then retorned: Noe man being able to taxe him of any thinge.

[…]

Source: Peter Force, ed., *Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to . . . the Colonies in North America . . .*, vol. 2 (New York: Peter Smith, 1947).

49. Leonard Calvert, Letter to Lord Baltimore, 1638 [Excerpt]

Introduction

From the time Cecilius Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore, received a charter to establish a colony in Maryland, he faced challenges on multiple fronts. After overcoming interference by Virginians who saw the new colony as an encroachment on their territory, the first colonists finally sailed to Maryland late in 1633. Leonard Calvert, the lord proprietor's brother, accompanied the colonists as lieutenant-governor. Maryland confronted border disputes on all sides—first with Virginia, then later with Delaware and Pennsylvania. A Virginia colonist, William Claiborne, had claimed and occupied Kent Island, located in the Chesapeake Bay within the borders of Maryland. Claiborne had been conducting a lucrative trade with the Indians from this well-placed island and did not wish to submit to Lord Baltimore. Because Claiborne and the island's other English residents refused to cooperate with Maryland authorities, in 1638 Calvert led an armed expedition to take control of the island. Once he arrested the leading resistors the rest of the inhabitants accepted Maryland's sovereignty. Claiborne returned to reclaim the island in 1644 while Calvert was in England. The Calvert family temporarily lost control of Maryland for about two years, but on regaining control again ejected Claiborne.

Primary Source

Good Brother: I have endeavored this last winter to bring the Inhabitants of the Ile of Kent willingly to submit themselves to your governement and to incourage them thereunto I wrote unto them a letter in November, where amongst other motives I used to perswade them, I promised to free them from all question of any former contempts they had committed against you, so that they would from thence forward desist from the like and submit themselves to the government and to shew them greater favor I gave them the choice to name whom they would of the Inhabitants of the Ileand to be theire commaunder; but one Jhon Butler Cleybornes brother in law and one Tho: Smith an agent of Cleybornes upon Kent was of such power amongst them that they perswaded them still to continue in theire former contumacie. Upon notice given me hereof, presently appointed Capt. Evelin Commander of the Ileand which formerly I purposely omitted because he was had in a generall dislike amongst them, him they contemned and committed many Insolencies against; wherefore findeing all faire meanes I could use to be in vaine, and that no way but compulsion was left, I gathered togeather about twenty musketteers out of the Colony of St. Maries and appointing the command of them to Capt. Cornewallis whome I tooke as my assistant with me, I sat saile from St. Maries towards Kent about the latter end of November, intending to apprehend Smith and Butler if I could, and by the example of theire punishment to reduce the rest to obedience, but it beeing then farre in the winter, the windes were so cross and the weather so fowle in the bay, that after I had remayned a week upon the water I was foret to returne back and deferre that expedition untill some fitter tyme. Two months affter in the beginning of februarie I was given to understand that the Indians at the head of the bay, called the Sasquahannoughs, intended in the spring following to make warre upon us at St. Maries pretending revenge for our assisting of our neighbors Indians against them two yeares before (which we never did though they will needs thinck so) and that they were incouraged much against us by Thomas Smith who had transplanted himselfe with other English from the Ile of Kent the last summer to an Ileand at the head of the bay fower miles below the falls called Palmers Ileand and understanding likewise that they had planted and fortified themselves there by directions from Capt. Cleybourne with intent to live there independent of you (because they supposed it out of the limits of your Province) and that the Smith and Mr. Botler whom I have formerly mentioned was then preparing to carrie a farther supply from Kent both of men and necessaries to the said Ileand; I thought it expedient to stop theire proceedings in the beginnings, and for that purpose haveing advised with the councell about the busines I sat forth from St. Maries for the Ile of Kent with thirtie choice musketteers takeing Capt. Cornewalleis and Capt. Evelin in my company. To Capt. Cornew: I appointed the command of those Soldiers I carried with me, and afterward arriving at the said Ileand I landed with my company a little before sunne rise, at the southermost end thereof where Capt. Cleybornes howse is seated wthin a small ffort of Pallysadoes, but findeing the gate towards the sea at my comeing fast barred in the inside one of my company being acquainted with the place quickly found passage in at an othergate and commeing to the gate which I was at opened unto me, so that I was arrived and entered the fort without notice taken by any of the Ileand which I did desire, the easilier to apprehend Boteler and Smith the cheife incenduaries of the former seditions and mutinies upon the Ileand, before they should be able to make head against me, and understanding that Boteler and Smith were not then at the fort but at theire severall plantations I sent to all the lodgeings in the fort and caused all the persons that were fownd in them to be brought unto me thereby to prevent theire giving untymely notice unto Boteler and Smith of my commeing, and takeing them all alongst with me I marched with my company from thence with what speed I could towards Botelers dwelling called the great thicket some five miles from the fort and appointed my Pinnass to meet me at an other Place called Craford, and makeing a stand about halfe a mile short of the place, I sent my Ensigne one Mr. Clerck (that came once with Mr. Copley from England) with tenne musketteires to Butler to acquaint him that I was come upon the Ileand to settle the government thereof and commaund his present repaire unto me at Craford two miles distant from thence, which the Ensigne accordingly did and brought Boteler unto me before I removed from where he left me. After I had thus possessed myselfe of him I sent my Serjeant one Robert Vaugham with six musketteires to Thomas Smiths who lived at a place called beaver neck right against Boteler on the other side of a Creeck with like commands as I had formerly given for Boteler, and then marching forward with your Ensigne displayed to Craford by the tyme I was come thither Smith was brought unto me where haveing both the cheife delinquents against you I first charged them with theire crimes and afterward committed them Prisoners aboard the Pinnass. I came in and appointed a gard over them, after I caused a proclamation to be made of a generall pardon to all other the Inhabitants of the Ileand excepting Boteler and Smith for all former contempts against you that should with in fower and twenty howers after the proclaiming of the same come in and submit themselves to your government where upon wthin the time appointed the whole Ileand came in and submitted themselves. Haveing received theire submission, I exorted them to a faith full continuance of the same, and encouraged them thereto by assureing them how ready you would be alwayes upon theire deserts to condescend to any thing for theire goods. Afterward I gave order for the carrieing of Boteler and Smith to St. Maries in the Pinnass I came in, and with them sent most of the Soldiers as a gard upon them commaunding them to be delivered into the custody of the sheriffe at St. Maries untill my returne and my Pinnass to returne to the Ileand to me, where till my Pinnasses returne I held a court and heard and determined diverse causes between the Inhabitants. At the end of the said court I assembled all the Inhabitants to make choise of theire

delegates to be present for them at a generall assembly then held at St. Maries for the makeing of Lawes which they accordingly did, and before my departure from them I gave them to understand that every man that held or desired to hold any land in the Ileand, it was necessarie they should take pattents of it under the seale of the Province as holding it of you which they were all very desireous of, so that some tyme this summer I promised to come to the Ileand and bring Mr. Lewger with me to survay and layout theire lands for them and then to pass grants unto them of it, reserveing onely such rents and services to you as the law of the Province should appoint. There is upon the Ileand about one hundred and twentie men able to beare armes as neer as I could gather; of the women and children I can make no estimate. In conclusion appointing the command of the Ileand to three of them vist: to Mr. Robert Philpot as commaunder and William Cox and Tho: Allen joynt commissioners with him I departed for St. Maries, where after my arrivall I called a grand inquest upon Smith who fownd a bill against him for Pyracie, whereupon he was arraigned before the assembly and by them condemned to suffer death and forfeit, as by a particular act for that purpose assented unto by the whole howse and sent unto you, you will perceive; I have omitted as yet to call Mr. Boteler to his tryall, because I am in hopes by shewing favor unto him to make him a good member, but I have not as yet released him, though I have taken him out of the sheriffes custody into my owne howse where I intend to have him remayne untill I have made farther experience of his disposition and if I can win him to a good inclination to your Service, I shall thinck him fittest to take the commaund of the Ile of Kent; for those others which have now that charge from me are very unable for it, nor is there better to be found upon the Ileand, but least (Boteler demeaning himselfe otherwise then well and that I should finde cause to thinck him fitter to be punished then pardoned) there should want meanes to give him condigne punishment for all his former offences, I desire you would send over an act the next yeare with your assent thereto, to be proposed to an assembly in Maryland for theire assent censureing Boteler as Smith was for Pyracie which he committed at the head of the bay neer Palmers Ileand in the yeare 1635 upon a Pinnasse belonging to St. Maries by takeing and a great quantitie of trucking commodities from Jhon Tomkins and serjeant Robert Vaughan who had the charge of her and togeather with the said Pinnass and goodes carried the said Tomkins and Vaughan prisoners to Kent. Smith hath solicited you I suppose by his letters for his pardon but I shall desire you that you would leave it to me to do as I shall finde him to deserve; whereby (if it be possible he should be the better for it) it will take better effect with him when he shall continue at my mercie under whose eye he is. Palmers Ileand beeing already seated and fortifyed and a good stock of cattle to the number of thirteen head put upon it, I thought not good to supplant but understanding there were five men inhabiting it servants to Capt. Cleyborne and formerly under the command of Smith I sent serjeant Robert Vaugham and two others with him from St. Maries to set downe there and to the said: Vaugham gave the commaund of all the rest, and by reason Capt Cleyborne

hath been attainted of ffelony in the last assembly at St Maries by particular act and sentenced to forfeit all his estate in the Province. I gave Vaugham authoritie to take the servants and other goodes and chattles belonging to Cleyborne upon the Ileand into his charge, and to have them forth commeing when they shall be demaunded of him togeather wth what profitt shall be made by the serjeants labors. I am informed that upon occasion of discourse given before Sir Jhon Harvey Mr. Kempe and Mr. Hawley by Mr. Boteler whether Palmers Ile were within the Province of Maryland or no Mr. Hawley did so weackly defend your title to it that Boteler grew more confident of proceeding in planting it for his Brother Cleyborne and I have some reason to thinck that Mr Hawley did willingly let your title fall for some designe sake of his owne upon trade with the Sasquahannoughs weh he might conceive better hopes to advance by its depenice on Virginia then on Maryland for when I sat in counsell at St. Maries about the expedition I made to Kent to stop the proceedings of that designe of Boteler and Smiths planting it, he earnestly diswaded it by suggesting all the reasons he could to make your title doubtfull to it the Ileand and then how unlawfull an act it would be to hinder theire planting it, and though it was made appeare that theire seating there was most dangerous to the Colony at St. Maries by reason that they had incouraged the Indians to set upon us and might hereafter furnish them with gunns to our further harme if we should suffer them to proceed, whereas otherwise Boteler and Smith beeing removed we might hope to make a peace with those Indians yet it seemed some designe he had upon theire setting downe there was so deare unto him that he preferred it before the safetie of all us and his owne family beeing included in the daunger, and would needs have perswaded it to be in Virginia though the express words of your pattent limits the Province to the northward where New England ends but it is apparent that the Iland is within your Province for the line of fortie by Smiths map by which the Lords Refferies lade out the bonds lyeth right over the first falls and this Ileand is fowre miles to the sowtherd below those falls. . . .

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Source: Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910).

50. Exeter Compact, 1639

Introduction

In 1638, Massachusetts Bay Colony banished Rev. John Wheel-wright and his congregation, accusing them of Antinomianism. Antinomians believed that people could have a direct relationship with God, heresy in the eyes of the Puritans. Wheelwright's group founded the town of Exeter, in modern-day New Hampshire, and established their own government based on the Exeter Compact. The compact embraced many of the same democratic principles of self-government championed in the Pilgrims' Mayflower Compact

of 1620. Massachusetts authorities, however, grew concerned that New Hampshire would become a refuge for all sorts of undesirables, and complained that the New Hampshire settlers should not have allowed Wheelwright's group to settle among them. The Puritans' complaints fell on deaf ears, as most New Hampshire settlers were Anglicans. By 1640, about 1,000 English people lived in and around four towns in New Hampshire. More than half of them had come from Massachusetts Bay Colony. Massachusetts extended its authority over New Hampshire in 1651 but each town still had its own government and control over its own affairs. In 1680, English authorities made New Hampshire a separate colony despite the wish of its Puritans to remain part of Massachusetts.

Primary Source

Whereas it hath pleased the Lord to move the Heart of our dread Sovereigns Charles by the Grace of God King &c. to grant Licence and Libertye to sundry of his subjects to plant themselves in the Westerne parts of America. We his loyal Subjects Brethern of the Church in Exeter situate and lying upon the River Pascataqua with other Inhabitants there, considering with ourselves the holy Will of God and our own Necessity that we should not live without wholesome Lawes and Civil Government among us of which we are altogether destitute; do in the name of Christ and in the sight of God combine ourselves together to erect and set up among us such Government as shall be to our best discerning agreeable to the Will of God professing ourselves Subjects to our Sovereign Lord King Charles according to the Libertyes of our English Colony of Massachusetts, and binding of ourselves solemnly by the Grace and Help of Christ and in His Name and fear to submit ourselves to such Godly and Christian Lawes as are established in the realm of England to our best Knowledge, and to all other such Lawes which shall upon good grounds he made and enacted among us according to God that we may live quietly and peaceably together in all godliness and honesty.

Source: Thorpe, Francis Newton. *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America.* Vol. IV. Washington: GPO, 1909.

51. Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1639 [Excerpt]

Introduction

With the permission of Massachusetts authorities, groups of Puritans in need of land began expanding into Connecticut. In 1633, settlers from Plymouth bought land from the Indians and built a settlement that became Windsor, Connecticut. In 1634, settlers from Watertown established the town of Wethersfield in Connecticut. In 1636, Thomas Hooker of Newtown (later Cambridge) led his congregation to build a new settlement at Hartford. Following the

Pequot War, in 1637 the town of New Haven was established as a colony independent of the rest of Connecticut. In 1639, men from the towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield drew up a governing document for Connecticut called the Fundamental Orders. The Fundamental Orders served as Connecticut's governing document for the first 50 years of its existence. Although the orders provided for elected representatives, the right to vote was limited to Puritan men. The government was designed to extend Puritan authority over Connecticut. The orders also served as the basis for the colony's charter in 1662 and the state's constitution of 1776. New Haven was forced to join Connecticut when it received its royal charter in 1662.

Primary Source

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- 1. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that there shall be yearly two General Assemblies or Courts, the one the second Thursday in April, the other the second Thursday in September following; the first shall be called the Court of Election, wherein shall be yearly chosen from time to time, so many Magistrates and other public Officers as shall be found requisite: Whereof one to be chosen Governor for the year ensuing and until another be chosen, and no other Magistrate to be chosen for more than one year: provided always there be six chosen besides the Governor, which being chosen and sworn according to an Oath recorded for that purpose, shall have the power to administer justice according to the Laws here established, and for want thereof, according to the Rule of the Word of God; which choice shall be made by all that are admitted freemen and have taken the Oath of Fidelity, and do cohabit within this Jurisdiction having been admitted Inhabitants by the major part of the Town wherein they live or the major part of such as shall be then present.
- 2. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the election of the aforesaid Magistrates shall be in this manner: every person present and qualified for choice shall bring in (to the person deputed to receive them) one single paper with the name of him written in it whom he desires to have Governor, and that he that hath the greatest number of papers shall be Governor for that year. And the rest of the Magistrates or public officers to be chosen in this manner: the Secretary for the time being shall first read the names of all that are to be put to choice and then shall severally nominate them distinctly, and every one that would have the person nominated to be chosen shall bring in one single paper written upon, and he that would not have him chosen shall bring in a blank; and every one that hath more written papers than blanks shall be a Magistrate for that year; which papers shall be received and told by one or more that shall be then chosen by the court and sworn to be faithful therein; but in case there should not be six chosen as aforesaid. besides the Governor, out of those which are nominated, than he or they which have the most writen papers shall be a Magistrate or Magistrates for the ensuing year, to make up the aforesaid number.

- 3. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the Secretary shall not nominate any person, nor shall any person be chosen newly into the Magistracy which was not propounded in some General Court before, to be nominated the next election; and to that end it shall be lawful for each of the Towns aforesaid by their deputies to nominate any two whom they conceive fit to be put to election; and the Court may add so many more as they judge requisite.
- 4. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that no person be chosen Governor above once in two years, and that the Governor be always a member of some approved Congregation, and formerly of the Magistracy within this Jurisdiction; and that all the Magistrates, Freemen of this Commonwealth; and that no Magistrate or other public officer shall execute any part of his or their office before they are severally sworn, which shall be done in the face of the court if they be present, and in case of absence by some deputed for that purpose.
- 5. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that to the aforesaid Court of Election the several Towns shall send their deputies, and when the Elections are ended they may proceed in any public service as at other Courts. Also the other General Court in September shall be for making of laws, and any other public occasion, which concerns the good of the Commonwealth.
- 6. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the Governor shall, either by himself or by the Secretary, send out summons to the Constables of every Town for the calling of these two standing Courts one month at least before their several times: And also if the Governor and the greatest part of the Magistrates see cause upon any special occasion to call a General Court, they may give order to the Secretary so to do within fourteen days' warning: And if urgent necessity so required, upon a shorter notice, giving sufficient grounds for it to the deputies when they meet, or else be questioned for the same; And if the Governor and major part of Magistrates shall either neglect or refuse to call the two General standing Courts or either of them, as also at other times when the occasions of the Commonwealth require, the Freemen thereof, or the major part of them, shall petition to them so to do; if then it be either denied or neglected, the said Freemen, or the major part of them, shall have the power to give order to the Constables of the several Towns to do the same, and so may meet together, and choose to themselves a Moderator, and may proceed to do any act of power which any other General Courts may.
- 7. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that after there are warrants given out for any of the said General Courts, the Constable or Constables of each Town, shall forthwith give notice distinctly to the inhabitants of the same, in some public assembly or by going or sending from house to house, that at a place and time by him or them limited and set, they meet and assemble themselves together

to elect and choose certain deputies to be at the General Court then following to agitate the affairs of the Commonwealth; which said deputies shall be chosen by all that are admitted Inhabitants in the several Towns and have taken the oath of fidelity; provided that none be chosen a Deputy for any General Court which is not a Freeman of this Commonwealth. The aforesaid deputies shall be chosen in manner following: every person that is present and qualified as before expressed, shall bring the names of such, written in several papers, as they desire to have chosen for that employment, and these three or four, more or less, being the number agreed on to be chosen for that time, that have the greatest number of papers written for them shall be deputies for that Court; whose names shall be endorsed on the back side of the warrant and returned into the Court, with the Constable or Constables' hand unto the same.

8. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield shall have power, each Town, to send four of their Freemen as their deputies to every General Court; and Whatsoever other Town shall be hereafter added to this Jurisdiction, they shall send so many deputies as the Court shall judge meet, a reasonable proportion to the number of Freemen that are in the said Towns being to be attended therein; which deputies shall have the power of the whole Town to give their votes and allowance to all such laws and orders as may be for the public good, and unto which the said Towns are to be bound.

9. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the deputies thus chosen shall have power and liberty to appoint a time and a place of meeting together before any General Court, to advise and consult of all such things as may concern the good of the public, as also to examine their own Elections, whether according to the order, and if they or the greatest part of them find any election to be illegal they may seclude such for present from their meeting, and return the same and their reasons to the Court; and if it be proved true, the Court may fine the party or parties so intruding, and the Town, if they see cause, and give out a warrant to go to a new election in a legal way, either in part or in whole. Also the said deputies shall have power to fine any that shall be disorderly at their meetings, or for not coming in due time or place according to appointment; and they may return the said fines into the Court if it be refused to be paid, and the Treasurer to take notice of it, and to escheat or levy the same as he does other fines.

10. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that every General Court, except such as through neglect of the Governor and the greatest part of the Magistrates the Freemen themselves do call, shall consist of the Governor, or some one chosen to moderate the Court, and four other Magistrates at least, with the major part of the deputies of the several Towns legally chosen; and in case the Freemen, or major part of them, through neglect or refusal of the Governor and major part of the Magistrates, shall call a Court, it shall consist of the major part of Freemen that are present or their deputies, with a Modera-

tor chosen by them: In which said General Courts shall consist the supreme power of the Commonwealth, and they only shall have power to make laws or repeal them, to grant levies, to admit of Freemen, dispose of lands undisposed of, to several Towns or persons, and also shall have power to call either Court or Magistrate or any other person whatsoever into question for any misdemeanor, and may for just causes displace or deal otherwise according to the nature of the offense; and also may deal in any other matter that concerns the good of this Commonwealth, except election of Magistrates, which shall be done by the whole body of Freemen. In which Court the Governor or Moderator shall have power to order the Court, to give liberty of speech, and silence unseasonable and disorderly speakings, to put all things to vote, and in case the vote be equal to have the casting voice. But none of these Courts shall be adjourned or dissolved without the consent of the major part of the Court.

11. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that when any General Court upon the occasions of the Commonwealth have agreed upon any sum, or sums of money to be levied upon the several Towns within this Jurisdiction, that a committee be chosen to set out and appoint what shall be the proportion of every Town to pay of the said levy, provided the committee be made up of an equal number out of each Town.

14th January 1639 the 11 Orders above said are voted. [January 14, 1639]

Source: Thorpe, Francis Newton. *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America.* Vol. I. Washington: GPO, 1909.

52. New England Confederation Charter, 1643 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Established in 1643 by the Puritan colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, the New England Confederation, also known as the United Colonies of New England, was an attempt to cooperate against common enemies. Although concerned primarily with the potential for Native American attacks, the confederation also called for mutual defense against Dutch, French, or Spanish incursions. The confederation also helped foster the spread of Puritan beliefs among English settlers and allowed the various colonial governments a common forum in which to address their problems with one another. Rhode Island and Maine were excluded from the confederation because they welcomed non-Puritans. Cooperation among the member colonies broke down in 1653 when Massachusetts declined to participate in a proposed action against the Dutch. The united colonies successfully collaborated during King

Philip's War in 1675–1676. The organization formally existed until 1684, when the British government reorganized all of the New England colonies into a single entity, the Dominion of New England. The confederation is considered the earliest forerunner to the cooperation among the colonies that made the American Revolutionary War possible.

Primary Source

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Whereas we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, namely, to advance the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospel in purity with peace; and whereas in our settling (by a wise providence of God) we are further dispersed upon the sea coasts and rivers than was at first intended, so that we can not according to our desire with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction; and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages which hereafter may prove injurious to us or our posterity. And forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry Insolence and outrages upon several Plantations of the English and have of late combined themselves against us: and seeing by reason of those sad distractions in England which they have heard of, and by which they know vie are hindered from that humble way of seeking advice, or reaping those comfortable fruits of protection, which at other times we might well expect. We therefore do conceive it our bounder duty, without delay to enter into a present Consociation amongst ourselves, for mutual help and strength in all our future concernments: That, as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one according to the tenor and true meaning of the ensuing articles: Wherefore it is fully agreed and concluded by and between the parties or Jurisdictions above named, and they jointly and severally do by these presents agree and conclude that they all be and henceforth be called by the name of the United Colonies of New England.

- 2. The said United Colonies for themselves and their posterities do jointly and severally hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel and for their own mutual safety and welfare.
- 3. It is further agreed that the Plantations which at present are or hereafter shall be settled within the limits of the Massachusetts shall be forever under the Massachusetts and shall have peculiar jurisdiction among themselves in all cases as an entire body, and that Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven shall each of them have like peculiar jurisdiction and government within their limits; and in reference to the Plantations which already are settled, or shall hereafter be erected, or shall settle within their limits respectively; provided no other Jurisdiction shall hereafter be taken in as a distinct head or member of this Confederation, nor shall any other Plantation or Jurisdiction in present being, and not already in com-

bination or under the jurisdiction of any of these Confederates, be received by any of them; nor shall any two of the Confederates join in one Jurisdiction without consent of the rest, which consent to be interpreted as is expressed in the sixth article ensuing.

- 4. It is by these Confederates agreed that the charge of all just wars, whether offensive or defensive, upon what part or member of this Confederation soever they fall, shall both in men, provisions and all other disbursements be borne by all the parts of this Confederation in different proportions according to their different ability in manner following, namely, that the Commissioners for each Jurisdiction from time to time, as there shall be occasion, bring a true account and number of all their males in every Plantation, or any way belonging to or under their several Jurisdictions, of what quality or condition soever they be, from sixteen years old to threescore, being inhabitants there. And that according to the different numbers which from time to time shall be found in each Jurisdiction upon a true and just account, the service of men and all charges of the war be borne by the poll: each Jurisdiction or Plantation being left to their own just course and custom of rating themselves and people according to their different estates with due respects to their qualities and exemptions amongst themselves though the Confederation take no notice of any such privilege: and that according to their different charge of each Jurisdiction and Plantation the whole advantage of the war (if it please God so to bless their endeavors) whether it be in lands, goods, or persons, shall be proportionately divided among the said Confederates.
- 5. It is further agreed, that if any of these Jurisdictions or any Plantation under or in combination with them, be invaded by any enemy whomsoever, upon notice and request of any three magistrates of that Jurisdiction so invaded, the rest of the Confederates without any further meeting or expostulation shall forthwith send aid to the Confederate in danger but in different proportions; namely, the Massachusetts an hundred men sufficiently armed and provided for such a service and journey, and each of the rest, fortyfive so armed and provided, or any less number, if less be required according to this proportion. But if such Confederate in danger may be supplied by their next Confederates, not exceeding the number hereby agreed, they may crave help there, and seek no further for the present: the charge to be borne as in this article is expressed: and at the return to be victualled and supplied with powder and shot for their journey (if there be need) by that Jurisdiction which employed or sent for them; but none of the Jurisdictions to exceed these numbers until by a meeting of the Commissioners for this Confederation a greater aid appear necessary. And this proportion to continue till upon knowledge of greater numbers in each Jurisdiction which shall be brought to the next meeting, some other proportion be ordered. But in any such case of sending men for present aid, whether before or after such order or alteration, it is agreed that at the meeting of the Commissioners for this Confederation, the cause of such war or invasion be duly considered: and if it appear that the fault lay in the parties so invaded then that Jurisdiction or Plantation make just satisfaction, both to the invaders whom they have injured, and bear all

the charges of the war themselves, without requiring any allowance from the rest of the Confederates towards the same. And further that if any Jurisdiction see any danger of invasion approaching, and there be time for a meeting, that in such a case three magistrates of the Jurisdiction may summon a meeting at such convenient place as themselves shall think meet, to consider and provide against the threatened danger; provided when they are met they may remove to what place they please; only whilst any of these four Confederates have but three magistrates in their Jurisdiction, their requests, or summons, from any two of them shall be accounted of equal force with the three mentioned in both the clauses of this article, till there be an increase of magistrates there.

6. It is also agreed, that for the managing and concluding of all Stairs and concerning the whole Confederation two Commissioners shall be chosen by and out of each of these four Jurisdictions: namely, two for the Massachusetts, two for Plymouth, two for Connecticut, and two for New Haven, being all in Church-fellowship with us, which shall bring full power from their several General Courts respectively to hear, examine, weigh, and determine all affairs of our war, or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men for war, division of spoils and whatsoever is gotten by conquest, receiving of more Confederates for Plantations into combination with any of the Confederates, and all things of like nature, which are the proper concomitants or consequents of such a Confederation for amity, offense, and defence: not intermeddling with the government of any of the Jurisdictions, which by the third article is preserved entirely to themselves. But if these eight Commissioners when they meet shall not all agree yet it concluded that any six of the eight agreeing shall have power to settle and determine the business in question. But if six do not agree, that then such propositions with their reasons so far as they have been debated, be sent and referred to the four General Courts; namely, the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven; and if at all the said General Courts the business so referred be concluded, then to be prosecuted by the Confederates and all their members. It is further agreed that these eight Commissioners shall meet once every year besides extraordinary meetings (according to the fifth article) to consider, treat, and conclude of all affairs belonging to this Confederation, which meeting shall ever be the first Thursday in September. And that the next meeting after the date of these presents, which shall be accounted the second meeting, shall be at Boston in the Massachusetts, the third at Hartford, the fourth at New Haven, the fifth at Plymouth, the sixth and seventh at Boston; and then Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth, and so n course successively, if in the meantime some middle place be not found out and agreed on, which may be commodious for all the Jurisdictions.

7. It is further agreed that at each meeting of these eight Commissioners, whether ordinary or extraordinary, they or six of them agreeing as before, may choose their President out of themselves whose office work shall be to take care and direct for order and a comely carrying on of all proceedings in the present meeting: but he shall be invested with no such power or respect, as by which he

shall hinder the propounding or progress of any business, or any way cast the scales otherwise than in the precedent article is agreed.

8. It is also agreed that the Commissioners for this Confederation hereafter at their meetings, whether ordinary or extraordinary, as they may have commission or opportunity, do endeavor to frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all the Plantations are interested, for preserving of peace among themselves, for preventing as much as may be all occasion of war or differences with others, as about the free and speedy passage of justice in every Jurisdiction, to all the Confederates equally as to their own, receiving those that remove from one Plantation to another without due certificate, how all the Jurisdictions may carry it towards the Indians, that they neither grow insolent nor be injured without due satisfaction, lest war break in upon the Confederates through such miscarriages. It is also agreed that if any servant run away from his master into any other of these confederated Jurisdictions, that in such case, upon the ceritficate of one magistrate in the Jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled, or upon other due proof; the said servant shall be delivered, either to his master, or any other that pursues and brings such certificate or proof. And that upon the escape of any prisoner whatsoever, or fugitive for any criminal cause, whether breaking prison, or getting from the officer, or otherwise escaping, upon the certificate of two magistrates of the Jurisdiction out of which the escape is made, that he was a prisoner, or such an offender at the time of the escape, the magistrates, or some of them of that Jurisdiction where for the present the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grant such a warrant as the case will bear, for the apprehending of any such person, and the delivery of him into the hands of the officer or other person who pursues him. And if there be help required, for the safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted to him that craves the same, he paying the charges thereof.

9. And for that the justest wars may be of dangerous consequence, especially to the smaller Plantations in these United Colonies, it is agreed that neither the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, nor New Haven, nor any of the members of them, shall at any time hereafter begin, undertake, or engage themselves, or this Confederation, or any part thereof in any war whatsoever (sudden exigencies, with the necessary consequents thereof excepted), which are also to be moderated as much as the case will permit, without the consent and agreement of the forementioned eight Commissioners, or at least six of them, as in the sixth article is provided: and that no charge be required of any of the Confederates, in case of a defensive war, till the said Commissioners have met, and approved the justice of the war, and have agreed upon the sum of money to be levied, which sum is then to be paid by the several Confederates in proportion according to the fourth article.

10. That in extraordinary occasions, when meetings are summoned by three magistrates of any Jurisdiction, or two as in the fifth article, ii) any of the Commissioners come not, due warning being given or sent, it is agreed that four of the Commissioners shall have power to direct a war which cannot be delayed, and to send for due proportions of men out of each Jurisdiction, as well as six might do

if all met; but not less than six shall determine the justice of the war, or allow the demands or bills of charges, or cause any levies to be made for the same.

11. It is further agreed that if any of the Confederates shall hereafter break any of these present articles, or be any other ways injurious to any one of the other Jurisdictions; such breach of agreement or injury shall be duly considered and ordered by the Commissioners for the other Jurisdictions, that both peace and this present Confederation may be entirely preserved without violation.

12. Lastly, this perpetual Confederation, and the several articles and agreements thereof being read and seriously considered, both by the General Court for the Massachusetts, and by the Commissioners for Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, were fully allowed and confirmed by three of the forenamed Confederates, namely, the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven; only the Commissioners for Plymouth having no commission to concludes desired respite until they might advise with their General Court; whereupon it was agreed and concluded by the said Court of the Massachusetts, and the Commissioners for the other two Confederates, that, if Plymouth consent, then the whole treaty as it stands in these present articles is, and shall continue, firm and stable without alteration: but if Plymouth come not in yet the other three Confederates do by these presents confirm the whole Confederation, and all the articles thereof; only in September next when the second meeting of the Commissioners is to be at Boston, new consideration may be taken of the sixth article, which concerns number of Commissioners for meeting and concluding the affairs of this Confederation to the satisfaction of the Court of the Massachusetts, and the Commissioners for the other two Confederates, but the rest to stand unquestioned.

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Source: Thorpe, Francis Newton. *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America.* Vol. I. Washington: GPO, 1909.

53. Rev. Johannes Megapolensis, "A Short Account of the Mohawk Indians," 1644 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The Dutch West India Company established New Netherland in 1624, and eventually controlled territory extending from the Connecticut River to the Delaware River. At first, the Dutch took great care to avoid conflict with the Indians. They purchased all the land on which they settled, and refused to be drawn into the trade rivalry between the Algonquian-speaking Mahicans and the Iroquoian Mohawks. When the Mohawks decisively defeated the Mahicans in 1628, the Dutch West India Company formally recognized the

Mohawks as their trading partners. Johannes Megapolensis the Younger was a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church who came to New Netherland in 1643 as the preacher for Rensselaerswyck, a settlement near present-day Albany, New York. He remained there about five years. He soon began preaching to the Mohawks, one of the five Iroquois nations. This account describes in detail their appearance, diet, customs, religion, government, and their manner of conducting warfare against the Indians of Canada. Megapolensis left Rensselaerswyck and served a New Amsterdam church for many years. He became influential in the town, and convinced Petrus Stuyvesant of the wisdom of surrendering to the English in 1664 during the Anglo-Dutch Wars.

Primary Source

THE country here is in general like that in Germany. The land is good, and fruitful in everything which supplies human needs, except clothes, linen, woollen, stockings, shoes, etc., which are all dear here. The country is very mountainous, partly soil, partly rocks, and with elevations so exceeding high that they appear to almost touch the clouds. Thereon grow the finest fir trees the eye ever saw. There are also in this country oaks, alders, beeches, elms, willows, etc. In the forests, and here and there along the water side, and on the islands, there grows an abundance of chestnuts, plums, hazel nuts, large walnuts of several sorts, and of as good a taste as in the Netherlands, but they have a somewhat harder shell. The ground on the hills is covered with bushes of bilberries or blueberries; the ground in the flat land near the rivers is covered with strawberries, which grow here so plentifully in the fields, that one can lie down and eat them. Grapevines also grow here naturally in great abundance along the roads, paths, and creeks, and wherever you may turn you find them. I have seen whole pieces of land where vine stood by vine and grew very luxuriantly, climbing to the top of the largest and loftiest trees, and although they are not cultivated, some of the grapes are found to be as good and sweet as in Holland. Here is also a sort of grapes which grow very large, each grape as big as the end of one's finger, or an ordinary plum, and because they are somewhat fleshy and have a thick skin we call them Speck Druyven. If people would cultivate the vines they might have as good wine here as they have in Germany or France. I had myself last harvest a boat-load of grapes and pressed them. As long as the wine was new it tasted better than any French or Rhenish Must, and the color of the grape juice here is so high and red that with one wine-glass full you can color a whole pot of white wine. In the forests is great plenty of deer, which in autumn and early winter are as fat as any Holland cow can be. I have had them with fat more than two fingers thick on the ribs, so that they were nothing else than almost clear fat, and could hardly be eaten. There are also many turkies, as large as in Holland, but in some years less than in others. The year before I came here, there were so many turkies and deer that they came to feed by the houses and hog pens, and were taken by the Indians in such numbers that a deer was sold to the Dutch for a loaf of bread, or a knife, or even for a tobacco pipe; but now one commonly has

to give for a good deer six or seven guilders. In the forests here there are also many partridges, heath-hens and pigeons that fly together in thousands, and sometimes ten, twenty, thirty and even forty and fifty are killed at one shot. We have here, too, a great number of all kinds of fowl, swans, geese, ducks, widgeons, teal, brant, which sport upon the river in thousands in the spring of the year, and again in the autumn flyaway in flocks, so that in the morning and evening anyone may stand ready with his gun before his house and shoot them as they fly past. I have also eaten here several times of elks, which were very fat and tasted much like venison; and besides these profitable beasts we have also in this country lions, bears, wolves, foxes, and particularly very many snakes, which are large and as long as eight, ten, and twelve feet. Among others, there is a sort of snake, which we call rattlesnake, from a certain object which it has back upon its tail, two or three fingers breadth long, and has ten or twelve joints, and with this it makes a noise like the crickets. Its color is variegated much like our large brindled bulls. These snakes have very sharp teeth in their mouth, and dare to bite at dogs; they make way for neither man nor beast, but fall on and bite them, and their bite is very poisonous, and commonly even deadly too.

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As for the temperature in this country, and the seasons of the year, the summers are pretty hot, so that for the most of the time we are obliged to go in just our shirts, and the winters are very cold. The summer continues long, even until All Saints' Day; but when the winter does begin, just as it commonly does in December, it freezes so hard in one night that the ice will bear a man. Even the rivers, in still weather when there is no strong current running, are frozen over in one night, so that on the second day people walk over it. And this freezing continues commonly three months; for although we are situated here in 42 degrees of latitude, it always freezes so. And although there come warm and pleasant days, the thaw does not continue, but it freezes again until March. Then, commonly, the rivers first begin to open, and seldom in February. We have the greatest cold from the northwest, as in Holland from the northeast. The wind here is very seldom east, but almost always south, southwest, northwest, and north; so also the rain.

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The inhabitants of this country are of two kinds: first, Christians—at least so called; second, Indians. Of the Christians I shall say nothing; my design is to speak of the Indians only. These among us are again of two kinds: first, the Mahakinbas, or, as they call themselves, *Kajingahaga*; second, the Mahakans, otherwise called *Agotzagena*. These two nations have different languages, which have no affinity with each other, like Dutch and Latin. These people formerly carried on a great war against each other, but since the Mahakanders were subdued by the Mahakobaas, peace has subsisted between them, and the conquered are obliged to bring a yearly contribution to the oth-

ers. We live among both these kinds of Indians; and when they come to us from their country, or we go to them, they do us every act of friendship. The principal nation of all the savages and Indians hereabouts with which we have the most intercourse, is the Mahakuaas, who have laid all the other Indians near us under contribution. This nation has a very difficult language, and it costs me great pains to learn it, so as to be able to speak and preach in it fluently. There is no Christian here who understands the language thoroughly; those who have lived here long can use a kind of jargon just sufficient to carry on trade with it, but they do not understand the fundamentals of the language. I am making a vocabulary of the Mahakuaas' language, and when I am among them I ask them how things are called; but as they are very stupid, I sometimes cannot make them understand what I want. Moreover when they tell me, one tells me the word in the infinitive mood, another in the indicative; one in the first, another in the second person; one in the present, another in the preterit. So I stand oftentimes and look, but do not know how to put it down. And as they have declensions and conjugations also, and have their augments like the Greeks, I am like one distracted, and frequently cannot tell what to do, and there is no one to set me right. I shall have to speculate in this alone, in order to become in time an Indian grammarian. When I first observed that they pronounced their words so differently, I asked the commissary of the company what it meant. He answered me that he did not know, but imagined they changed their language every two or three years; I argued against this that it could never be that a whole nation should change its language with one consent; —and, although he has been connected with them here these twenty years, he can afford me no assistance.

The people and Indians here in this country are like us Dutchmen in body and stature; some of them have well formed features, bodies and limbs; they all have black hair and eyes, but their skin is yellow. In summer they go naked, having only their private parts covered with a patch. The children and young folks to ten, twelve and fourteen years of age go stark naked. In winter, they hang about them simply an undressed deer or bear or panther skin; or they take some beaver and otter skins, wild cat, raccoon, martin, otter, mink, squirrel or such like skins, which are plenty in this country, and sew some of them to others, until it is a square piece, and that is then a garment for them; or they buy of us Dutchmen two and a half ells of duffel, and that they hang simply about them, just as it was tom off, without sewing it, and walk away with it. They look at themselves constantly, and think they are very fine. They make themselves stockings and also shoes of deer skin, or they take leaves of their corn, and plait them together and use them for shoes. The women, as well as the men, go with their heads bare. The women let their hair grow very long, and tie it together a little, and let it hang down their backs. The men have a long lock of hair hanging down, some on one side of the head, and some on both sides. On the top of their heads they have a streak of hair from the forehead to the neck, about the breadth of three fingers, and this they shorten until it is about two or three fingers long, and it stands right on end like

a cock's comb or hog's bristles; on both sides of this cock's comb they cut all the hair short, except the aforesaid locks, and they also leave on the bare places here and there small locks, such as are in sweeping-brushes, and then they are in fine array.

They likewise paint their faces red, blue, etc., and then they look like the Devil himself. They smear their heads with bear's-grease, which they all carry with them for this purpose in a small basket; they say they do it to make their hair grow better and to prevent their having lice. When they travel, they take with them some of their maize, a kettle, a wooden bowl, and a spoon; these they pack up and hang on their backs. Whenever they are hungry, they forthwith make a fire and cook; they can get fire by rubbing pieces of wood against one another, and that very quickly.

They generally live without marriage; and if any of them have wives, the marriage continues no longer than seems good to one of the parties, and then they separate, and each takes another partner. I have seen those who had parted, and afterwards lived a long time with others, leave these again, seek their former partners, and again be one pair. And, though they have wives, yet they will not leave off whoring; and if they can sleep with another man's wife, they think it a brave thing. The women are exceedingly addicted to whoring; they will lie with a man for the value of one, two, or three *schillings*, and our Dutchmen run after them very much.

The women, when they have been delivered, go about immediately afterwards, and be it ever so cold, they wash themselves and the young child in the river or the snow. They will not lie down (for they say that if they did they would soon die), but keep going about. They are obliged to cut wood, to travel three or four leagues with the child; in short, they walk, they stand, they work, as if they had not lain in, and we cannot see that they suffer any injury by it; and we sometimes try to persuade our wives to lie-in so, and that the way of lyingin in Holland is a mere fiddle-faddle. The men have great authority over their concubines, so that if they do anything which does not please and raises their passion, they take an axe and knock them in the head, and there is an end of it. The women are obliged to prepare the land, to mow, to plant, and do everything; the men do nothing, but hunt, fish, and make war upon their enemies. They are very cruel towards their enemies in time of war; for they first bite off the nails of the fingers of their captives, and cut off some joints, and sometimes even whole fingers; after that, the captives are forced to sing and dance before them stark naked; and finally, they roast their prisoners dead before a slow fire for some days, and then eat them up. The common people eat the arms, buttocks and trunk, but the chiefs eat the head and the heart.

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The Mohawk Indians are divided into three tribes, which are called *Ochkari, Anaware, Oknaho*, that is, the Bear, the Tortoise and the

Wolf. Of these, the Tortoise is the greatest and most prominent; and they boast that they are the oldest descendants of the woman before mentioned. These have made a fort of palisades, and they call their castle Asserue. Those of the Bear are the next to these, and their castle is called by them *Banagiro*. The last are a progeny of these, and their castle is called Thenondiogo. These Indian tribes each carry the beast after which they are named (as the arms in their banner) when they go to war against their enemies, and this is done as well for the terror of their enemies, as for a sign of their own bravery. Lately one of their chiefs came to me and presented me with a beaver, an otter, and some cloth he had stolen from the French, which I must accept as a token of good fellowship. When he opened his budget he had in it a dried head of a bear, with grinning teeth. I asked him what that meant? He answered me that he fastened it upon his left shoulder by the side of his head, and that then he was the devil, who cared for nothing, and did not fear any thing.

The government among them consists of the oldest, the most intelligent, the most eloquent and most warlike men. These commonly resolve, and then the young and warlike men execute. But if the common people do not approve of the resolution, it is left entirely to the judgment of the mob. The chiefs are generally the poorest among them, for instead of their receiving from the common people as among Christians, they are obliged to give to the mob; especially when anyone is killed in war, they give great presents to the next of kin of the deceased; and if they take any prisoners they present them to that family of which one has been killed, and the prisoner is then adopted by the family into the place of the deceased person. There is no punishment here for murder and other villainies, but everyone is his own avenger. The friends of the deceased revenge themselves upon the murderer until peace is made by presents to the next of kin. But although they are so cruel, and live without laws or any punishments for evil doers, yet there are not half so many villainies or murders committed amongst them as amongst Christians; so that I oftentimes think with astonishment upon all the murders committed in the Fatherland, notwithstanding their severe laws and heavy penalties. These Indians, though they live without laws, or fear of punishment, do not (at least, they very seldom) kill people, unless it may be in a great passion, or a hand-to-hand fight. Wherefore we go wholly unconcerned along with the Indians and meet each other an hour's walk off in the woods, without doing any harm to one another.

Source: J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909).

54. Johan Printz, Report from New Sweden, 1644 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Swedish government officials and Dutch merchants formed the New Sweden Company in 1637, and the first colonists arrived in present-day Delaware the following year. New Sweden had a tenuous existence, challenged by encroaching neighbors and virtually abandoned by Sweden. During his 10 years as governor (1643-1653), the former Swedish Army officer Johan Printz imposed strict rule on the colony, purchased additional land, improved crop and livestock production, and presided over construction of forts and settlements. He wrote home pleading for more settlers to no avail. The population fell to under 200, in no small part due to settlers deserting to neighboring colonies. New Sweden under Printz endured other setbacks, including poor harvests and official neglect. No ships or communication from Sweden arrived between 1647 and 1653, and the colony's fur trade collapsed from lack of trade goods. New Sweden survived as long as it did thanks to Printz's negotiating skills. He maintained peace with the native peoples and with New Netherland and the English. However, he could not prevent the Dutch from establishing a fort on New Swedish territory. This 1644 report to Sweden touches on economic, diplomatic, and military matters.

Primary Source

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7. I planted last year maize al over, thinking, according to the representations of Peter Hollander, to receive yearly food for nine men from the planting of one man, but I received, as well on the one place as on the other, from the work of nine men hardly a year's nourishment for one man. Immediately I sent the sloop to Manathans and caused to be bought there for the company seven oxen, one cow, and 75 bushels of winter rye. And although they arrived a little late in the year yet I have caused three places to be sown with rye, also a little barley in the spring. It looks very fine. In addition to this, maize can be bought cheaply from the savages here in the river, so that I hope that the nourishment of the people shall not be so expensive hereafter as it has been before. And therefore I have appointed the people to plant tobacco on all places and have engaged a special master or tobacco planter for a monthly wage of 35 florins; who made good proof of his competence last year. How this will turn out will depend on God and the weather; one must hope, with the help of God, for the best. But as concerns salt-making, oil manufactories, whale-catching, minerals, or silk worms, I must report that I have not been able to find an opportunity for these things, as is reported in my former letters.

8. The places which we now possess and occupy are: 1. Elfsborg, which now (especially on the one side) is so secure that there is no need to fear any attack (if it is not entirely too severe); 2. Christina; 3. Tinnakongh; these two places are also in like manner made so strong that those who are therein need not fear for any savages, even if they were several thousands; 4. Upland; 5. Schylenkyll; these two places are now open, yet strong wooden houses are built upon them with small stone-cannon. In the Schylenkyll there have now been bought, since we received a cargo, three hundred beavers for the Honorable

Company, yet with such discretion that the Hollanders are not in any manner offended, and although they do not gladly see us here, but always protest and in the meantime loosen the tongue, yet they have nevertheless since I came here kept and yet keep with us good friendship, especially their commander in Manathans, Willem Kiefft, who often and in most cases, when he has been able, has written to me and advised me about what has happened in Sweden, Holland, and other European places. He reminded me indeed in the beginning in his letters about the pretension of the Dutch West India Company to this entire river, but since I answered him with as good reasons as I could and knew how, he has now for a time relieved me of this protesting. Now a new commander is about to arrive and in that case probably a new action may follow. But how hard the Puritans have lain upon my neck and yet do lay can be seen from the acts which are enclosed here. I believe that I shall hardly get rid of them in a peaceful manner because they have sneaked into New Netherland also with their Pharisean practices. Now they are so strong there that they have chased the Hollanders from that place called Fort River, and now keep it with violence although it is the land of the Hollanders. And now neither protest nor good words will avail, but if the Hollanders wish to obtain the place again it must be done with other and stronger means. I look at least a hundred times a day in this mirror, God knows with what meditation, for I am here alone and there are hardly thirty men, of all that are here, upon whom I can rely in such cases.

In a like manner I have also in my former writings spoken about the English knight, how he last year wished to go from Heckemak in Virginia to Kikathans with a bark and his people, about sixteen persons, and when they came into the Virginian bay the skipper, who had conspired beforehand with the knight's people to destroy him, took his course, not towards Kikathanss but to Cape Henry. When they had passed this place and had come close to an island in the big ocean called Smeed's Island, they counselled together how they should kill him and they found it advisable not to kill him with their own hands but to put him on the said island without clothes and guns, where there were no people nor any other animals but where only wolves and bears lived, which they also did, but two young pages of the nobility, whom the knight had brought up and who did not know of this conspiracy, when they saw the misfortune of their master, threw themselves out of the bark into the sea and swam ashore and remained with their master. On the fourth day after that an English sloop sailed near by Smeed's Island, so that these young pages could call to it. This sloop took the knight (who was half dead and black as earth) on board and brought him to Haakemak where he recovered again. But the people belonging to the knight, and the bark, came to our Fort Elfsborgh on May 6, 1643, and asked for ships to Old England. Then I asked for their passport and whence they came, and since I immediately observed that they were not right in their designs I took them with me (with their own consent, however) to Christina in order to buy flour and other provisions from them, and I examined them until a servant maid (who had been employed as washerwoman by the knight) confessed and betrayed them. Then I caused all the goods they had on hand to be inventoried in their presence, and I kept the people prisoners until the same English sloop which had saved the knight arrived here with the knight's letter, written not only to me but to an the governors and commanders of the whole coast from Florida northwards. Then I delivered the people unto him, bark and goods all together, according to the inventory, and he paid me my expenses, which amounted to 425 rix-dollars. The principal men among these traitors the knight has caused to be shot, but he himself is yet in Virginia and (as he represents) is expecting ships and people out of Ireland and England. He gives free commission to all sloops and barks which come from there to trade here in the river with the savages, but I have not allowed anyone to pass by and will not do it, until I receive a command and order from Her Royal Majesty, my Most Gracious Queen.

The savages here in West India set themselves up against the Christians in one place after another. The Hollanders have fought the whole year with the savages around Manathans, as they are still doing, and although they have chased them from the one place to the other, yet the Hollanders have lost more than a thousand men at it and the company has received so great a damage from it that (as they themselves admit) it cannot be repaired with a few barrels of gold. In Virginia more than a thousand savages banded themselves together about six weeks ago and attacked and fearfully murdered over six hundred Christians. The Marylanders have also suffered great damage from the Minquas and have lost two cannon and some people. Our savages also become very proud here in the river. I have told them the whole year that we shall receive much people with our ships, but three days after the ship arrived and they observed that there was only one ship and no people they fell in between Tinnakungh and Uplandh and murdered a man and a woman on their bed, and they killed a few days afterwards two soldiers and a servant. When their commanders found out that I drew the people together in order to prevent a future and a greater damage, then they feared and came together from all places excusing themselves in the highest manner, and said that this had happened without their knowledge, and asked for peace, which was granted them on the following conditions: that in case they hereafter practised the smallest hostilities against our people then we would not let a soul of them live, upon which they gave their writing and all their sachems signed their names to it and (according to their custom) gave us twenty beavers and some sewant1 and we presented them with a piece of cloth. But yet they do not trust us and we trust them much less.

Nothing would be better than that a couple of hundred soldiers should be sent here and kept here until we broke the necks of all of them in the river, especially since we have no beaver trade with them but only the maize trade. They are a lot of poor rascals. Then each one could be secure here at his work, and feed and nourish himself unmolested without their maize, and also we could take possession of the places (which are the most fruitful) that the savages now possess; and then, when we have not only bought this river but also won it with the

sword, then no one whether he be Hollander or Englishman could pretend in any manner to this place either now or in coming times, but we should then have the beaver trade with the black and white Minquas alone, four times as good as we have had it, now or at any past time. And if there is some delay in this matter it must nevertheless in the end come to this and it cannot be a voided; the sooner the better, before they do us more harm. They are not to be trusted, as both example and our own experience show, but if I should receive a couple of hundred good soldiers and in addition necessary means and good officers, then with the help of God not a single savage would be allowed to live in this river. Then one would have a passage free from here unto Manathans, which lies at a distance of three small days' journeys from here across the country, beginning at Zachikans.

9. The Honorable Company is also not ignorant of the fact that if sevant is not always on hand here, together with the other cargoes for the savages, it is difficult to trade with the savages; but half or at least the one-third part of the cargoes must be sold for *sevant* (which also does not happen without profit to the Company). Now, as has been stated, our savages are poor, so that one can secure from them only little or hardly any sevant, hence we must buy sevant from Manathans and of the North English, where sevant is made, and it can be bought cheaply there from the savages. If we now had among the North English or at Manathans a faithful man stationed year out and year in, who could buy up sevant for us there so that sevant would not be lacking here in the river for the Swedish trade, the Company would have yearly a great profit. Likewise one can secure beavers for gold and rix-dollars in Manathans as well as here in the river of the Dutch freemen, at the rate of seven florins apiece for the good ones, and the small profit would help to increase the capital at home without noticeable cost.

10. We have not been able to put into execution our plans concerning the keel-boat which we had in mind to build here, the reason being that two of the carpenters have been sick almost the whole year and one man alone has not been able to do such heavy work. Then the savages set a fire on the island in the night and burnt part of the material which had been sawed and cut for the boat. Yet the one carpenter who has been well has not been idle. He has built two fine gates, one at Elfsborgh the other one at Tinnakungh. But since the carpenters have recovered somewhat they have built two beautiful large boats, one to be at Elfsborg, the other at Christina, and they have likewise repaired and made ready both sloops. No pains shall be spared hereafter, to have them accomplish whatever they can. But the cordage, which was sent here for the keel-boat, since we do not need it so soon, would be good merchandise to sell for beavers and tobacco, but I do not know the price, therefore I have sold, for a test, a piece of it weighing 597 pounds, according to Holland weight, for 26 beavers, less two florins, paying seven florins apiece, or nine stivers a pound, according to Holland weight. I will not sell any more before I have been informed if I have done well or ill in this.

[...]

Source: Albert Cook Myers, ed., *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, *West New Jersey, and Delaware* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912).

55. Roger Williams, *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution*, 1644 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Although Puritans came to America to gain religious liberty for themselves, most were not willing to extend such liberty to others. The English clergyman Roger Williams came to America in 1631. Massachusetts Bay Colony banished him, in part for his view that civil authorities had no right to extend their control over religious matters. In 1636, Williams founded Providence Plantation in present-day Rhode Island on land purchased from the Narragansetts. The new settlement welcomed settlers of all religions. Williams wrote The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution (excerpted below) in 1644 while in England to petition for a charter for Rhode Island. The charter, granted that same year, provided legal protection against the hostile Puritan colonies that bordered Rhode Island. With a clear view of the toll that religious persecution had taken in human lives, Williams's essay is one of the earliest arguments for the separation of church and state. It states that religious beliefs should not be forced on people, and that churches should confine their authority strictly to religious matters. In 1663, King Charles II gave Rhode Island a new charter that continued the traditions of religious tolerance and self-government. More than a century later, similar arguments influenced the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

Primary Source

First, that the blood of so many hundred thousand souls of Protestants and Papists, spilt in the wars of present and former ages, for their respective consciences, is not required nor accepted by Jesus Christ the Prince of Peace.

Secondly, pregnant scriptures and arguments are throughout the work proposed against the doctrine of persecution for cause of conscience.

Thirdly, satisfactory answers are given to scriptures, and objections produced by Mr. Calvin, Beza, Mr. Cotton, and the ministers of New English churches and others former and late, tending to prove the doctrine of persecution for cause of conscience.

Fourthly, the doctrine of persecution for cause of conscience is proved guilty of all the blood of the souls crying for vengeance under the altar.

Fifthly, all civil states with their officers of justice in their respective constitutions and administrations are proved essentially civil, and therefore not judges, governors, or defenders of the spiritual or Christian state and worship.

Sixthly, it is the will and command of God that (since the coming of his Son the Lord Jesus) a permission of the most paganish, Jewish, Turkish, or antichristian consciences and worships, be granted to all men in all nations and countries; and they are only to be fought against with that sword which is only (in soul matters) able to conquer, to wit, the sword of God's spirit, the Word of God.

Seventhly, the state of the Land of Israel, the kings and people thereof in peace and war, is proved figurative and ceremonial, and no pattern nor president for any kingdom or civil state in the world to follow.

Eighthly, God requireth not a uniformity of religion to be enacted and enforced in any civil state; which enforced uniformity (sooner or later) is the greatest occasion of civil war, ravishing of conscience, persecution of Christ Jesus in his servants, and of the hypocrisy and destruction of millions of souls.

Ninthly, in holding an enforced uniformity of religion in a civil state, we must necessarily disclaim our desires and hopes of the Jew's conversion to Christ.

Tenthly, an enforced uniformity of religion throughout a nation or civil state, confounds the civil and religious, denies the principles of Christianity and civility, and that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh.

Eleventhly, the permission of other consciences and worships than a state professeth only can (according to God) procure a firm and lasting peace (good assurance being taken according to the wisdom of the civil state for uniformity of civil obedience from all forts).

Twelfthly, lastly, true civility and Christianity may both flourish in a state or kingdom, notwithstanding the permission of divers and contrary consciences, either of Jew or Gentile. . . .

[...]

First, the proper means whereby the civil power may and should attain its end are only political, and principally these five.

[...]

First, the erecting and establishing what form of civil government may seem in wisdom most meet, according to general rules of the world, and state of the people.

Secondly, the making, publishing, and establishing of wholesome civil laws, not only such as concern civil justice, but also the free passage of true religion; for outward civil peace ariseth and is maintained from them both, from the latter as well as from the former.

Civil peace cannot stand entire, where religion is corrupted (2 Chron. 15. 3. 5. 6; and Judges 8). And yet such laws, though conversant about religion, may still be counted civil laws, as, on the contrary, an oath doth still remain religious though conversant about civil matters.

Thirdly, election and appointment of civil offices to see execution to those laws. Fourthly, civil punishments and rewards of transgressors and observers of these laws.

Fifthly, taking up arms against the enemies of civil peace.

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Secondly, the means whereby the church may and should attain her ends are only ecclesiastical, which are chiefly five.

[...]

First, setting up that form of church government only of which Christ hath given them a pattern in his Word.

Secondly, acknowledging and admitting of no lawgiver in the church but Christ and the publishing of His laws.

Thirdly, electing and ordaining of such officers only, as Christ hath appointed in his Word.

Fourthly, to receive into their fellowship them that are approved and inflicting spiritual censures against them that offend.

Fifthly, prayer and patience in suffering any evil from them that be without, who disturb their peace.

[…]

So that magistrates as magistrates, have no power of setting up the form of church government, electing church officers, punishing with church censures, but to see that the church does her duty herein. And on the other side, the churches as churches, have no power (though as members of the commonwealth they may have power) of erecting or altering forms of civil government, electing of civil officers, inflicting civil punishments (not on persons excommunicate) as by deposing magistrates from their civil authority, or withdrawing the hearts of the people against them, to their laws, no more than to discharge wives, or children, or servants, from due obedience to their husbands, parents, or masters; or by taking up arms against their magistrates, though he persecute them for conscience: for though members of churches who are public officers also of the civil state may suppress by force the violence of usurpers, as Iehoiada did Athaliah, yet this they do not as members of the church but as officers of the civil state.

Source: Williams, Roger. *The Complete Writings of Roger Williams*. Vol. 3. New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1963.

56. The Westminster Confession of Faith, 1646 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The English Civil War (1642–1649) ended with the overthrow and execution of King Charles I. Suspicion that Charles was moving the Church of England (Anglican Church) in the direction of Catholicism had contributed to his unpopularity. During the civil war, Parliament ordered 121 Puritan clergymen—who convened in London's West-

minster Abbey in 1643—to produce documents that would govern the reformation of the Church of England. The reforms were intended, in part, to appease Scottish Presbyterians so that they would join Parliament's war against the king. The so-called Westminster Confession of Faith was completed in 1647. England's parliament adopted part of the confession in 1648, and Scotland's parliament ratified the entire document in 1649. Beginning in 1649, Parliament ruled the nation as a Puritan Commonwealth under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell. Puritan-dominated Massachusetts and Connecticut rejoiced in the establishment of the Commonwealth and adopted most of the confession in 1648. When Cromwell died in 1658, his son was unable to hold power. Charles II regained the English throne in 1660, and the confession was nullified. The document consists of 33 chapters. Chapter 20, reproduced here, defines liberty of conscience.

Primary Source

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Of Christian Liberty, and Liberty of Conscience

I. The liberty which Christ has purchased for believers under the Gospel consists in their freedom from the guilt of sin, and condemning wrath of God, the curse of the moral law; and, in their being delivered from this present evil world, bondage to Satan, and dominion of sin; from the evil of afflictions, the sting of death, the victory of the grace, and everlasting damnation; as also, in their free access to God, and their yielding obedience unto Him, not out of slavish fear, but a child-like love and willing mind. All which were common also to believers under the law. But, under the New Testament, the liberty of Christians is further enlarged, in their freedom from the yoke of the ceremonial law, to which the Jewish Church was subjected; and in greater boldness of access to the throne of grace, and in fuller communications of the free Spirit of God, than believers under the law did ordinarily partake of.

II. God alone is Lord of the conscience, and has left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men, which are, in any thing, contrary to His Word; or beside it, if matters of faith, or worship. So that, to believe such doctrines, or to obey such commands, out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience: and the requiring of an implicit faith, and an absolute and blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience, and reason also.

III. They who, upon pretence of Christian liberty, do practice any sin, or cherish any lust, do thereby destroy the end of Christian liberty, which is, that being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, we might serve the Lord without fear, in holiness and righteousness before Him, all the days of our life.

IV. And because the powers which God has ordained, and the liberty which Christ has purchased are not intended by God to destroy, but mutually to uphold and preserve one another, they who, upon pretence of Christian liberty, shall oppose any lawful power, or the

lawful exercise of it, whether it be civil or ecclesiastical, resist the ordinance of God. And, for their publishing of such opinions, or maintaining of such practices, as are contrary to the light of nature, or to the known principles of Christianity (whether concerning faith, worship, or conversation), or to the power of godliness; or, such erroneous opinions or practices, as either in their own nature, or in the manner of publishing or maintaining them, are destructive to the external peace and order which Christ has established in the Church, they may lawfully be called to account, and proceeded against, by the censures of the Church, and by the power of the civil magistrate.

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Source: http://www.reformed.org/documents/wcf_with_proofs/.

57. David Pietersz De Vries, Short Historical and Journal Notes, 1655 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The Dutch West India Company established New Netherland in 1624 and eventually controlled territory extending from the Connecticut River to the Delaware River. At first, the Dutch took great care to avoid conflict with the Indians. They purchased all the land on which they settled and refused to be drawn into the rivalry between the Algonquian and Iroquoian peoples. As the town of New Amsterdam grew, the colonists and the Algonquians came into increasing conflict. This account describes the massacre of an Indian village ordered by Director General Willem Kieft. David Pietersz De Vries, president of the ruling council, decried Kieft's action in ordering the February 25, 1643, massacre of some 80 defenseless Algonquians. The massacre spared neither women nor children. The period of war that followed ended with at least 1,000 Indians slaughtered and numerous colonial farms and settlements burned to the ground. Between 1655 and 1664, New Netherland, under Director General Petrus Stuyvesant, went to war against the Algonquians three more times.

Primary Source

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The 24th of February, sitting at a table with the Governor, he began to state his intentions, that he had a mind to *wipe the mouths* of the savages; that he had been dining at the house of Jan Claesz. Damne, where Maryn Adrianensz. And Jan Claesz. Damen, together with Jacob Planek, had presented a petition to him to begin this work. I answered him that they were not wise to request this; that such work could not be done without the approbation of the *Twelve Men*; that it could not take place without my assent, who was one of the Twelve Men; that moreover I was the first patroon, and no one else

hitherto had risked there so many thousands, and also his person, as I was the first to come from Holland or Zeeland to plan a colony; and that he should consider what profit he could derive from this business, as he well knew that on account of trifling with the Indians we had lost our colony in the South River at Swanendael, in the Hoere-kil, with thirty-two men, who were murdered in the year 1630; and that in the year 1640, that cause of my people being murdered on Staten Island was a difficulty which he had brought on with the Raritaen Indians, where his soldiers had for some trifling thing killed some savages, and brought the brother of the chief a prisoner to the Mannates, who was ransomed there, as I have before more particularly related. But it appeared that my speaking was of no avail. He had, with his co-murderers, determined the commit the murder, deeming it a Roman deed, and to do it without warning the inhabitants in the open lands, that each one might take care of himself against the retaliation of the savages, for he could not kill all the Indians. When I had expressed all these things in full, sitting at the table, and the meal was over, he told me he wished me to go to the large hall, which he had been lately adding to his house. Coming to it, there stood all his soldiers ready to cross the river to Pavonia to commit the murder. Then spoke I again to Governor Willem Kieft: "Let this work alone; you wish to break the mouths of the Indians, but you will also murder our own nation, for there are none of the settlers in the open country who are aware of it. My own dwelling, my people, cattle, corn, and tobacco will be lost." He answered me, assuring me that there would be no danger; that some soldiers should go to my house to protect it. But that was not done. So was this business begun between the 25th and 26th of February in the year 1643. I remained that night at the Governor's, sitting up. I went and sat by the kitchen fire, when about midnight I heard a great shrieking, and I ran to the ramparts of the fort, and looked over to Pavonia. Saw nothing but firing, and heard the shrieks of the savages murdered in their sleep. I returned again to the house by the fire. Having sat there awhile, there came an Indian with his squaw, whom I knew well, and who lived about an hour's walk from my house, and told me that they two had fled in a small skiff, which they had taken from the shore at Pavonia; that the Indians from Fort Orange had surprised them; and that they had come to conceal themselves in the fort. I told them that they must go away immediately; that this was no time for them to come to the fort to conceal themselves; that they who had killed their people at Pavonia were not Indians, but the Swannekens, as they call the Dutch, had done it. They then asked me how they should get out of the forts. I took them to the door, and there was no sentry there, and so they betook themselves to the woods. When it was day the soldiers returned to the fort, having massacred or murdered eighty Indians, and considering they had done a deed of Roman valor, in murdering so many in their sleep; where infants were torn from the mother's breasts, and hacked to pieces in the presence of the parents, and the pieces thrown into the fire and in the water, and other sucklings, being bound to small boards, were cut, stuck, and pierced, and miserably massacred in a manner to move a heart of stone. Some were thrown into the river, and when the fathers and mothers endeavored to save them, the soldiers would not let them come on land but made both parents and children drown—children from five to six years of age, and also some old and decrepit persons. Those who fled from the onslaught, and concealed themselves in the neighboring sedge, and when it was morning, came out to bega piece of bread, and to be permitted to warm themselves, were murdered in cold blood and tossed into the fire or the water. Some came to our people in the country with their hands, some with their legs cut off, and some holding their entrails in their arms, and others had such horrible cuts and gashes, that worse than they were could never happen. And these poor simple creatures, as also many of our own people, did not know any better than they had been attacked by a part of other Indians—the Maquas. After this exploit, the soldiers were rewarded for their services, and Director Kieft thanked them by taking them by the hand and congratulating them. At another place, on the same night, on Corler's Hook near Corler's plantation, forty Indians were in the same manner attacked in their sleep, and massacred there in the same manner. Did the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands ever do anything more cruel? This is indeed a disgrace to our nation, who have so generous a governor in our Fatherland as the Prince of Orange, who has always endeavored in his wars to spill as little blood as possible. As soon as the savages understood that the Swannekens had so treated them, all the men whom they could surprise on the farm-lands, they killed; but we have never heard that they have ever permitted women or children to be killed. They burned all the houses, farms, barns, grain, haystacks, and destroyed everything they could get hold of. So there was an open destructive war begun. They also burnt my farm, cattle, corn, bar, tobacco-house, and all the tobacco. My people saved themselves in the house where I alone lived, which was made with embrasures, through which they defended themselves. Whilst my people were in alarm the savage whom I had aided to escape from the fort in the night came there, and told the other Indians that I was a good chief, that I had helped him out of the fort, and the killing of the Indians took place contrary to my wish. Then they all cried out together to my people that they would not shoot them; that if they had not destroyed my cattle they would not do it, nor burn my house; that they would let my little brewery stand, though they wished to get the copper kettle, in order to make darts for their arrows; but hearing now that it had been done contrary to my wish, they all went away, and left my house unbesieged. When now the Indians had destroyed so many farms and men in revenge for their people, I went to Governor Willem Kieft, and asked him if it was not as I had said it would be, that he would only effect the spilling of Christian blood. Who would not compensate us for our losses? But he gave me no answer. He said he wondered that no Indians came to the fort. I told him that I did not wonder as it; "why should the Indians come here where you have so treated them?"

Source: J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909).

58. Virginia Peace Treaty with the Indians, October 5, 1646 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The native peoples of Virginia, ruled by Powhatan's half brother Opechancanough, had attacked the colonists in 1622. By killing more than 300 Virginians they sealed their own destruction. On April 17, 1644, angered by continuing encroachments on Indian land, the now old and ailing Opechancanough launched a final, allout attack on the English. He sent his warriors against frontier settlements, killing more than 400 English men, women, and children. However, by 1644 the colony had grown to a population of nearly 10,000, so the death toll of Opechancanough's last attack did not have as great an effect as that of the earlier massacre. In fact, the colonists now outnumbered the Indians. Exposure to European diseases and long years of warfare had reduced the Indian population of Virginia to barely half of what it had been when the first Englishmen arrived. In 1646, the English finally captured Opechancanough, but before he could be transported to England for trial an English hothead murdered him at Jamestown. This treaty with his successor, Necotowance, ended the war with Powhatan's people. The native peoples' territory and freedom of movement were severely restricted. They had to pay an annual tribute and they could be shot on sight for trespassing on English territory.

Primary Source

ACT I.

Art 1. *Be it enacted by this Grand Assembly*, that the articles of peace foll: between the inhabitants of this colony, and Necotowance King of the Indians bee duely & inviolably observed upon the penaltie within mentioned as followeth:

Imp. That Necotowance do acknowledge to hold his kingdome from the King's Ma'tie of England, and that his successors be appointed or confirmed by the King's Governours from time to time, And on the other side, This Assembly on the behalfe of this collony, doth, undertake to protect him or them against any rebells or other enemies whatsoever, and as an acknowledgment and tribute for such protection, the said Necotowance and his successors are to pay unto the King's Govern'r. the number of twenty beaver skins att the goeing away of Geese yearely.

Art. 2. That it shall be free for the said Necotowance and his people, to inhabit and hunt on the northside of Yorke River, without any interruption from the English. *Provided* that if hereafter, It shall be thought fitt by the Governor and council to permitt any English to

inhabitt from Poropotanke downewards, that first Necotowance be acquainted therewith.

Art. 3. That Necotowance and his people leave free that tract of land betweene Yorke river and James river, from the falls of both the rivers to Kequotan, to the English to inhabitt on, and that neither he the said Necotowance nor any Indians do repaire to or make any abode upon the said tract of land, upon paine of death, and it shall be lawfull for any person to kill any such Indian, And in case any such Indian or Indians being seen upon the said tract of land shall made an escape, That the said Necotowance shall upon demand deliver the said Indian or Indians to the Englishmen, upon knowledge had of him or them, unless such Indian or Indians be sent upon a message from the said Necotowance.

And to the intent to avoid all injury to such a messenger, and that no ignorance may be pretended to such as shall offer any outrage, *It is thought fitt and herby enacted*, That the badge worne by a messenger, or, in case there shall be more than one, by one of the company, be a coate of striped stuffe which is to be left by the messenger from time to time so often as he shall returne at the places appointed for coming in.

Art. 4 And it is further enacted, That in case any English shall repaire contrary to the articles agrees upon, to the said north side of Yorke river, such persons so offending, being lawfully convicted, be adjudged as felons; Provided that this article shall not extend to such persons who by stresse of weather are forced upon the said land, Provided alsoe and it is agreed by the said Necotowance, that it may be lawfull for any Englishman to goe over to the said north side haveing occasion to fall timber trees or cut sedge, soe as the said persons have warr't for theyre soe doeing under the hand of the Gov. Provided also notwitstandinge any thing in this act to the contrary, That it shall bee free and lawfull for any English whatsoever between this present day and the first of March next to kill and bring away what cattle or hoggs that they can by any meanes kill or take upon the said north side of the said river.

Art. 5. And it is further enacted that neither for the said Necotowance nor any of his people, do frequent come in to hunt or make any abode nearer the English plantations then the lymits of Yapin the black water, and from the head of the black water upon a straite line to the old Monakin Towne, upon such paine and penaltie as aforesaid.

Art. 6. And it is further ordered enacted that if any English do entertain any Indian or Indians or doe conceale any Indian or Indians that shall come within the said limits, such persons being lawfully convicted thereof shall suffer death as in the case of felony, without benefit of clergy, excepted such as shall be authorized thereto by virtue of this act.

Art. 7. And it is further enacted that the said Necotowance and his people upon all occasions of messages to the Gov'r. for trade, doe

repaire unto the ffort Royall onely on the north side, at which place they are to receive the aforesaid badges, which shall shew them to be messengers, and therefore to be freed from all injury in their passage to the Governor, upon payne of death to any person or persons whatsoever that shall kill them, the badge being worn by one of the company, And in case of any other affront, the offence to be punished according to the quality thereof, and the trade admitted as aforesaid to the said Necotowance and his people with the commander of the said ffort onely on the north side.

Art. 8. And it is further thought fitt and enacted, that upon any occasion of message to the Gov'r. or trade, The said Necotowance and his people the Indians doe repair to fforte Henery *alias* Appamattucke fforte, or to the house of Capt. John ffloud, and to no other place or places of the south side of the river, at which places the aforesaid badges of striped stuffe are to be and remaine.

Art. 9. And it is further thought fitt and enacted, That Necotowance doe with all convenience bring in the English prisoners, And all such negroes and guns which are yet remaining either in the possession of himselfe or any Indians, and that there deliver upon demand such Indian servants as have been taken prisoners and shall hereafter run away, In case such Indian or Indians shall be found within the limits of his dominions; provided that such Indian or Indians be under the age of twelve years at theire running away.

Art. 10. And it is further enacted & consented, That such Indian children as shall or will freely and voluntarily come in and live with the English, may remain without breach of the articles of peace provided they be not above twelve years old.

Art. 11. And it is further thought fitt and enacted That the several commanders of the fforts and places as aforesaid unto which the said Indians as aforesaid are admitted to repaire, In case of trade or Message doe forthwith provide the said coats in manner striped as aforesaid.

[…]

Source: William Waller Henning, *The Statutes at Large; Being A Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from . . . 1619*, vol. 1 (New York, 1823)

59. Treaty of Westphalia, 1648 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The Treaty of Westphalia brought to a close the Thirty Years' War, which had raged between the major European powers sporadically from 1618 to 1648. The war was both religious and territorial in nature, as Catholic and Protestant powers opposed one another.

Much of the war was fought on German territory, as Spain, France, Sweden, and Denmark vied for control of the German states. The treaty undermined the power of Catholicism in the German states while recognizing Protestantism as an official state religion. During this war, the provinces encompassing the modern Netherlands aided by Sweden-fought for and achieved independence from Spain. The shifting alliances of Europe influenced England, France, Spain, and the Netherlands as they established outposts and sought to control territory in the New World. The founding of New Netherland, for example, was motivated primarily by the desire to have a base for raiding Spanish shipping. Dutch merchants participated with their allies in the founding of New Sweden. After the end of the Thirty Years' War, New Netherland forces began encroaching on New Sweden's territory. As a Protestant nation, England supported the aims of the Netherlands, but only four years after the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia, the First Anglo-Dutch War broke out in 1652.

Primary Source

Peace Treaty between the Holy Roman Emperor and the King of France and their respective Allies.

[...]

I. That there shall be a Christian and Universal Peace, and a perpetual, true, and sincere Amity, between his Sacred Imperial Majesty, and his most Christian Majesty; as also, between all and each of the Allies, and Adherents of his said Imperial Majesty, the House of Austria, and its Heirs, and Successors; but chiefly between the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire on the one side; and all and each of the Allies of his said Christian Majesty, and all their Heirs and Successors, chiefly between the most Serene Queen and Kingdom of Swedeland, the Electors respectively, the Princes and States of the Empire, on the other part. That this Peace and Amity be observ'd and cultivated with such a Sincerity and Zeal, that each Party shall endeavour to procure the Benefit, Honour and Advantage of the other; that thus on all sides they may see this Peace and Friendship in the Roman Empire, and the Kingdom of France flourish, by entertaining a good and faithful Neighbourhood.

II. That there shall be on the one side and the other a perpetual Oblivion, Amnesty, or Pardon of all that has been committed since the beginning of these Troubles, in what place, or what manner soever the Hostilitys have been practis'd, in such a manner, that no body, under any pretext whatsoever, shall practice any Acts of Hostility, entertain any Enmity, or cause any Trouble to each other; neither as to Persons, Effects and Securitys, neither of themselves or by others, neither privately nor openly, neither directly nor indirectly, neither under the colour of Right, nor by the way of Deed, either within or without the extent of the Empire, notwithstanding all Covenants made before to the contrary: That they shall not act, or permit to be acted, any wrong or injury to any whatsoever; but

that all that has pass'd on the one side, and the other, as well before as during the War, in Words, Writings, and Outrageous Actions, in Violences, Hostilitys, Damages and Expences, without any respect to Persons or Things, shall be entirely abolish'd in such a manner that all that might be demanded of, or pretended to, by each other on that behalf, shall be bury'd in eternal Oblivion.

III. And that a reciprocal Amity between the Emperor, and the Most Christian King, the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire, may be maintain'd so much the more firm and sincere (to say nothing at present of the Article of Security, which will be mention'd hereafter) the one shall never assist the present or future Enemys of the other under any Title or Pretence whatsoever, either with Arms, Money, Soldiers, or any sort of Ammunition; nor no one, who is a Member of this Pacification, shall suffer any Enemys Troops to retire thro' or sojourn in his Country.

IV. That the Circle of Burgundy shall be and continue a Member of the Empire, after the Disputes between France and Spain (comprehended in this Treaty) shall be terminated. That nevertheless, neither the Emperor, nor any of the States of the Empire, shall meddle with the Wars which are now on foot between them. That if for the future any Dispute arises between these two Kingdoms, the abovesaid reciprocal Obligation of not aiding each others Enemys, shall always continue firm between the Empire and the Kingdom of France, but yet so as that it shall be free for the States to succour; without the bounds of the Empire, such or such Kingdoms, but still according to the Constitutions of the Empire.

 $[\ldots]$

XV. Secondly, that all the Lower Palatinate, with all and every the Ecclesiastical and Secular Lands, Rights and Appurtenances, which the Electors and Princes Palatine enjoy'd before the Troubles of Bohemia, shall be fully restor'd to him; as also all the Documents, Registers and Papers belonging thereto; annulling all that hath been done to the contrary. And the Emperor engages, that neither the Catholick King, nor any other who possess any thing thereof, shall any ways oppose this Restitution.

[...]

XLIX. And since for the greater Tranquillity of the Empire, in its general Assemblys of Peace, a certain Agreement has been made between the Emperor, Princes and States of the Empire, which has been inserted in the Instrument and Treaty of Peace, concluded with the Plenipotentiarys of the Queen and Crown of Swedeland, touching the Differences about Ecclesiastical Lands, and the Liberty of the Exercise of Religion; it has been found expedient to confirm, and ratify it by this present Treaty, in the same manner as the abovesaid Agreement has been made with the said Crown of Swedeland; also

with those call'd the Reformed, in the same manner, as if the words of the abovesaid Instrument were reported here verbatim.

[…]

Source: Treaty of Westphalia. *An electronic publication of the MUL-TILATERALS PROJECT*, The Fletcher School, Tufts University. http://fletcher.tufts.edu/multilaterals.html.

60. Agreement Setting the Boundary Between New Haven and New Netherland, September 19, 1650

Introduction

Dutch traders built Fort Good Hope, near present-day Hartford, Connecticut, in 1633. Soon after, English traders from Plymouth, Massachusetts, defied them and built a post of their own a few miles upriver. Both New England and New Netherland maintained their posts and claimed the Connecticut River Valley. The Dutch asserted that New Netherland included all of Connecticut. Meanwhile, Puritans from Massachusetts founded new settlements in Connecticut. As the English and Dutch vied for the lucrative Indian fur trade, relations deteriorated among all parties, culminating in the outbreak of the Pequot War. In 1647, New Netherland governor Petrus Stuyvesant wrote to the English governor of New Haven Colony and addressed the letter to New Haven, New Netherland. The English governor found this insulting and refused to answer. In September 1650, Stuyvesant traveled to Hartford to confer with New England officials and establish a border between the Dutch and English colonies. The resulting agreement gave Connecticut to the English. Shortly thereafter, word arrived of the outbreak of the Anglo-Dutch War in Europe. The Dutch maintained their post at Fort Good Hope until July 1653, at which time a New England force ejected them.

Primary Source

Copy of the determination of arbitrators for settling the line between New-Haven and the Dutch, in 1650.

ARTICLES of agreement made and concluded at Hartford, upon Connecticut, Sept. 19, 1650, betwixt the delegates of the honored commissioners of the united Englishe colonies, and the delegates of Peter Stuyvesant, governor generall of Newe-Netherlands.

Concerning the bounds and limits betwixt the Englishe united Collonies and the Dutch Province of Newe-Netherlands, wee agree and determine as followeth.

THAT upon Long-island, a Line, run from the westernmost part of Oyster-bay, and so in a straight and direct line to the sea, shall be the bounds betweene the Englishe and Dutch there; the easterly part to belonge to the English, the westernmost part to the Dutch.

- 1. THE bounds, upon the maine, to begin upon the west side of Greenwich bay, being about four miles from Stamford, and so to run a westerly line 20 miles up into the country, and after, as it shall be agreed by the two governments of the Dutch and Newe-Haven, provided the said line runn not within tenn miles of Hudson's river. And it is agreed, that the Dutch shall not, at any tyme hereafter, build any house or habitation within six miles of the said line, the inhabitants of Greenwich to remain (till further consideration thereof be had) under the government of the Dutch.
- 2. That the Dutch shall hould and enjoy all the lands in Hartford, that they are actually in possession off, knowne or sett out by certaine merkes and boundes, and all the remainder of said lands, on both sides of Connecticut river, to be and remaine to the English there.

AND is agreed, that the aforesaid bounds and lymyts, both upon the island and maine, shall be observed and kept inviolable, both by the Englishe of the united collonies and all the Dutch nation, without any encroachment or molestation, until a full determination be agreed upon in Europe, by mutual consent of the two states of England and Holland.

AND in testimony of our joint consent to the several foregoing conditions, wee have hereunto sett our hands this 19th day of 7ber, 1650.

Symon Bradstreete Tho: Willet Tho: Prence Theo: Baxter

Source: Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, ed. Lawrence Shaw Mayo (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936).

61. Exclusion of Jews from Military Service in New Amsterdam, 1655

Introduction

Like the home country, New Netherland tolerated people of various religions, although the Dutch Reformed Church enjoyed official favor. The authorities believed that welcoming all sorts of people was good for the colony and good for business. As a result, Jews and Protestants from other European countries such as Belgium and France settled in New Netherland. New Englanders fleeing the religious intolerance of the Puritans also found a haven in New Netherland. However, these minorities did not receive all the privileges of full citizenship. Under Director General Petrus Stuyvesant, New

Netherland went to war with the native Algonquians three times between 1655 and 1664. The Algonquians lost most of their land around New Amsterdam, but potential settlers feared to move there because of the nearly constant fighting. In 1655, a number of Jews living in New Amsterdam volunteered to join the city militia. New Amsterdam's council rejected them on the grounds that the other militiamen would object to their presence. However, the council ruled that Jewish men must pay for their "exemption" from service. The city could ill afford this exercise in prejudice. Only days later, the outnumbered militia struggled to repulse an Indian attack.

Primary Source

The captains and officers of the trainbands of this city, having asked the director general and Council whether the Jewish people who reside in this city should also train and mount guard with the citizens' bands, this was taken in consideration and deliberated upon. First, the disgust and unwillingness of these trainbands to be fellow soldiers with the aforesaid nation and to be on guard with them in the same guardhouse, and, on the other side, that the said nation was not admitted or counted among the citizens, as regards trainbands or common citizens' guards, neither in the illustrious city of Amsterdam nor (to our knowledge) in any city in Netherland. But in order that the said nation may honestly be taxed for their freedom in that respect, it is directed by the director general and Council, to prevent further discontent, that the aforesaid nation shall, according to the usages of the renowned city of Amsterdam, remain exempt from the general training and guard duty, on condition that each male person over sixteen and under sixty years contribute for the aforesaid freedom toward the relief of the general municipal taxes sixty-five stivers (one stiver equals two cents) every month. And the military council of the citizens is hereby authorized and charged to carry this into effect until our further orders, and to collect, pursuant of the above, the aforesaid contribution once in every month, and, in case of refusal, to collect it by legal process. Thus done in Council at Fort Amsterdam.

Source: Annals of America, vol. 1 (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1976).

62. Roger Williams, Liberty of Conscience Letter, 1655

Introduction

The most ardent proponent of religious freedom in colonial America, Roger Williams often wrote publicly about the importance of allowing people the freedom of their beliefs. Although Puritans came to America to gain religious liberty for themselves, most were not willing to extend such liberty to others. Williams, an English clergyman, came to America in 1631. His religious views were so noncon-

formist that he could get along with neither the Pilgrims of Plymouth nor the Puritans. Massachusetts Bay Colony banished him in 1635, in part for his view that civil authorities had no right to extend their control over religious matters. In 1636, Williams founded Providence Plantation in present-day Rhode Island on land purchased from the Narragansetts. The new settlement welcomed settlers of all religions, including Quakers and Jews. When Rhode Islanders debated in 1655 whether religious freedom could coexist with a lawabiding society, Williams wrote this open letter to the people of Providence. He argued, as he had in his previous works, that as long as people respect the laws of society and behave in a civil and orderly manner, they should be free to practice whatever religion they wish. He also expressed the hope that people permitted such religious freedom might voluntarily embrace Christianity.

Primary Source

That ever I should speak or write a tittle, that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience, is a mistake, and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I shall at present only propose this case:

There goes many a ship to sea, with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal or woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or a human combination or society. It has fallen out sometimes that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal I affirm that all the liberty of conscience that ever I pleaded for turns upon these two hinges—that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship, nor compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practice any.

I further add that I never denied that, notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course, yea, and also command that justice, peace, and sobriety be kept and practiced both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their services or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help, in person or purse, towards the common charges or defense; if any refuse to obey the common laws and order of the ship concerning their common peace or preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any should preach or write that there ought to be no commanders or officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters nor officers, no laws nor orders, nor corrections nor punishments—I say, I never denied, but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel, and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits.

This if seriously and honestly minded, may, if it so please the Father of lights, let in some light to such as willingly shut not their eyes.

I remain studious of your common peace and liberty.

Source: Williams, Roger. *The Complete Writings of Roger Williams*. Vol. 3. New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1963.

63. Johan Rising, Relation of the Surrender of New Sweden, 1655

Introduction

Swedish government officials and Dutch merchants formed the New Sweden Company in 1637, and the first colonists arrived in presentday Delaware the following year. New Sweden had a tenuous existence, challenged by encroaching neighbors and virtually abandoned by Sweden. When, after years of neglect, the Swedish government rekindled its interest in New Sweden, it sent Johan Rising and several hundred settlers to revive the colony. The expedition arrived in 1654. Rising's first act as governor, on May 21, 1654, was to capture nearby Fort Casimer from the Dutch. His rash act was contrary to his orders and gave Petrus Stuyvesant, governor of New Netherland, a rationale for invading New Sweden. Stuyvesant recaptured Fort Casimer on September 1, 1655, and then laid siege to Fort Christina. As he and Rising negotiated the terms for a Swedish surrender, news of an Indian uprising forced Stuyvesant to hurry back to New Netherland. He offered the Swedish a return to the situation as it had been before Rising had moved against Fort Casimer. Rising, however, cited various excuses and refused Stuyvesant's terms. Instead, he surrendered New Sweden to the Dutch on September 15, 1655, and embarked for Europe a few weeks later.

Primary Source

In the year 1655, on the 30th day of August, the Dutch from the North River, where Manhattan or New Amsterdam is situated, with seven ships or vessels, under command of the said P. Stüvesant, having on board 600 or 700 men, arrived in the South River, where N[ova] Suecia lieth, and anchored before the fortress of Elfsborg, which then lay in ruins; the next day, they passed Fort Casimir, and bringing to a little above, they landed, and immediately summoned Swen Sküthe, who was in command, to surrender the fort, enforcing their summons both with menaces and persuasion; and proceeded to throw up some works. And although some time before this, when we learned from the savages that the Dutch were about to assail us, we had caused Fort Casimir to be supplied with men and munitions to the best of our ability, and had drawn up a resolution in writing to defend the fort in case the Dutch should attack it, ordering Captain Schütte, the commandant, to send on board their ships, when they approached, and demand of them whether they came as friends, and in any case to warn them not to run by the said fort, upon pain of being fired upon, (which in such case they could not reckon an act of hostility); but if they were minded to treat with us as friends concerning our territory and boundaries, he should compliment them with a Swedish national salute, and assure them that we were well disposed to a fast friendship; nevertheless, Captain Swen Schüte not only suffered the Dutch ships to pass the fort without remonstrance or firing a gun, whereby they gained the command both of the fort and of the whole river, and cut off the communication between the forts, by posting troops between them, as high up as Christina Kill,

but also surrendered the fort to Stüvesant by a disadvantageous capitulation, in which he forgot to stipulate a place to which he, with his people and effects, might retire; he also subscribed the capitulation, not in the fort or in any indifferent place, but on board a Dutch ship, So Stüvesant detained the people, and transported most of them to Manahatans, whereby we were greatly reduced in strength and left destitute, and not even knowing as yet that Fort Casimir had so suddenly fallen into the enemy's hands, we had sent thither in the mean time, September 1, nine or ten of our best freemen to strengthen the garrison. This detachment, when they had crossed Christina Kill betimes in the morning, found the Dutch posted there, who immediately attacked them, fifty or sixty men strong, and summoned them to surrender; but they put themselves in posture of defence, and after a skirmish with the Dutch, were all taken prisoners, except two, who retreated to the boat, the Dutch firing many shots after them, but without hitting. Upon this we fired upon the Dutch from the sconce, with a gun, whereupon they retired into the woods, and afterwards treated harshly and cruelly such of our people as fell into their hands.

The same day the factor Hendr. Elzvii was sent down from Fort Christina to Stüvesant to obtain an explanation of his arrival and intention, and to dissuade him from further hostilities, as we could not be persuaded that he seriously purposed to disturb us in the lawful dominions of His Royal Majesty and our principals. But as Stüvesant had so cheaply obtained possession of Fort Casimir, whither we before had sent our best soldiers, thus depriving ourselves in a great measure both of men and munitions, he would give Elzvii no satisfaction, but claimed the whole river and all our territory, and had well nigh detained Elzvii as a spy. When we learned this we collected all the people we could for the defence of Fort Christina, and labored with all our might, by night and by day, on ramparts and gabions. The next day, being September 2, the Dutch shewed themselves in considerable strength on the upper bank of Christina Kill, but seemed to undertake nothing special. On the morning of the 3d, they hoisted a flag on our shallop, which lay drawn up on the beach, and appeared to be about establishing themselves in a house. We therefore sent over Lieutenant Swen Höök, with a drummer, to find out what they purposed, for what cause they posted themselves there, and for what we should hold them. When he had nearly crossed the creek, he asked them from the boat, whether he might freely go to them? They answered yes; and whether, after discharging his commission, he might freely return? to which also they answered yes, as we could all hear in Fort Christina, and can bear witness accordingly. So the drummer rowed the boat to the shore, without beat of drum, because the lieutenant already had their parole, and knowing no cause of hostility, he supposed this ceremony to be unnecessary. They then both went on shore, and an officer met them, and conducted them some distance to a house, where the enemy had already taken up a position. The Dutch then sent our lieutenant down to Stüvesant, pretending that he was a spy, and Stüvesant arrested him and threw him into the

ship's hold, but Captain Fridr. Könich detained the drummer and his drum in his own custody, and thus they treated our messengers, contrary to the laws and customs of all civilized nations.

On the night of the 4th they had planted gabions about the house on the opposite bank of Christina Kill, above [the fort], and afterwards threw up a battery under cover of them, and entrenched themselves there. Some of our people interpreted all this as indicating the purpose of the Dutch to be to claim and hold all our territory up to the creek, and to construct a fort there, not yet believing that they would, in contempt of public peace, and without any known cause, commence hostilities against us, until they had set up some claim, or promulgated some protest against us, whereas up to this time we had received from them neither message nor letter assigning any manner of cause or complaint.

On the 5th, the Dutch ships went up to Third Hook where they landed their men who then passed over to Timber Island, and thence over the great falls and so invested Fort Christina on all sides. They brought their ships into the mouth of the creek, and planted their great guns on the western side of the fort, and when we burnt a little powder in a couple of pieces to scale them, they fired several shots over our heads from Timber Island, where they had also taken post in a house, and announced to us, that they had taken up a position on the west side, by regular volleys. We continued to prepare ourselves to make the best defence which our strength would allow, if we should be attacked, for we were not yet satisfied what the Dutch intended; but in a short time an Indian came in to us with a letter from Stüvesant, in which he arrogantly demanded the surrender of the whole river, and required me and all the Swedes either to evacuate the country, or to remain there under Dutch protection, threatening with the consequences in case of refusal. Hereto I answered briefly, by letter, that, since so strange a demand was sent by him to me, I would reply by special messengers, and sent him my answer by the same Indian. We then held a general council of war, as to what should be done, if the Dutch assaulted us by storm or battery; and was determined that we should in any case maintain the defensive, and make the best resistance we could, but should not commence or provoke hostilities, on account of our weakness and want of supplies; that we should wait until they fired upon us, or began to storm the works, and then defend ourselves as long as we could, and leave the consequences to be redressed in the future by our gracious superiors.

The Dutch now began to encroach upon us more and more every day. They killed our cattle, goats, swine and poultry, broke open houses, pillaged the people outside the sconce of their property, and higher up the river they plundered many, and stripped them to the skin. At Gothenburg they robbed Mr. Papegoija's wife of all she had, with many others, who had collected their property together in the Hall there. They daily continued to advance their approaches to Fort Christina, (which was a small and feeble work, and lay upon low

ground, and could be commanded from the surrounding heights), and threw up two batteries besides those on the opposite bank and on Timber Island, and hoisted their flags on all of them, as well as on our ship in Fish Creek, all which hostile acts, injuries, and insults we were, to our great mortification, compelled to witness and suffer, being unable to resist them, by reason of our want of men and of powder, whereof our supply scarcely sufficed for a single round for our guns. Notwithstanding all this, we still trusted that they would at length be persuaded to hear reason, and accordingly on the 7th we sent messengers down to Stüvesant at Fort Casimir, with a written commission, whereby we sought to dissuade him from further hostilities, protesting against his invasion and disturbance of our proper territory without cause assigned, or declaration denying, as far as they could, our right of possession in the river; also suggesting to him the displeasure of our respective sovereigns, and other consequences of great moment which would ensue; that we were determined to defend our rights to the utmost of our strength, and that he must answer for all consequences, and finally required him to cease hostilities, and to retire with his people from Fort Christina. But all this availed nothing with him, and on the contrary he persisted in his claim to the whole river, and would listen to no terms of accommodation, declaring that such were his orders, and that those who had given them might answer for the consequences. He then wrote me a letter on the 9th, in which he anticipates all terms of accommodation, will not allow that we have any rights to the said river, seeks to refute our arguments, and styles our possession a usurpation, and so interprets every point to his own advantage.

As we still determined to maintain our own defence, and abide the result, the enemy continued to carryon their approaches day and night, and with our little force of about thirty men we could make no sorties, or prevent him from gaining positions from which he could command the sconce so completely, that there was not a spot on the ramparts where a man could stand in security, and as he now daily advanced his works, and summoned us to capitulate, with threats of giving no quarter, our men proposed to us to go out and try to bring Stüvesant to reason, both on account of our want of supplies, and the advanced condition of the enemy's works, and especially because our provisions were scanty and would soon be exhausted. Besides, our few and hastily collected people were getting worn out, partly sick, and partly ill disposed, and some had deserted. From these considerations, and the fear of a mutiny, it was agreed, that I and Elzvii should go out the next day and hold a parley with Stüvesant, and endeavor to restrain him from forcible measures, and to bring him to reason. We accordingly went out for this purpose on the 13th, and Stüvesant and Nicatius de Sylle met us between the sconce and their most advanced work. We solemnly protested against his procedure and his hostile conduct, and replied verbally to his last mentioned letter, confirmed our title with the best arguments we could, and held a long discussion with them; but all this produced no impression upon them, and they maintained their first ground, and insisted upon the surrender of Fort Christina and the whole river; to which we replied

that we would defend ourselves to the last and would await them, clearly showing them that they were unjustly invading our possessions, and declaring that we would appeal to our government to redress our wrongs, and protect our rights thus forcibly trenched upon, and so we went back to the sconce, exhorted our men to a manly defence, and encouraged them as well as we were able.

As soon as the Dutch had nearly completed their works, they brought the guns of all their batteries to bear upon us, and on the 14th instant, formally summoned Fort Christina, with harsh menaces, by a drummer and a messenger, to capitulate within twentyfour hours. We then assembled a general council of the whole garrison, and it was found to be their unanimous opinion, that inasmuch as we had not sufficient strength for our defence, (the Dutch having completed their works against the sconce, and neither the sconce nor the garrison being able to stand an assault), and were in want both of powder and other munitions, and had no hope of relief, therefore they were all of opinion, that we should make the best terms we could obtain with the Dutch; all which may be seen by the documents. So the next day we announced to the enemy, that we would consider their summons within the time prescribed, and being now reduced, by our want of supplies and weak condition, to yield to the violence practiced upon us, we concluded a capitulation with Stüvesant, as may be found by the original among the documents, and surrendered Fort Christina to him on the 15th instant, stipulating that the guns and all the effects belonging to the crown or the Company should be restored by the Dutch, according to the inventory, upon demand, and reserving the restitution of our sovereign's rights in time and manner fitting; providing also, that the Dutch should freely transport to Sweden both us, and as many Swedes as chose to accompany us, for we held it better that the people should be restored to their Fatherland's service than to leave them there in misery, without the necessaries of life, in which case they would have entered the service of the Dutch or English, and never again advantaged their country.

Source: Albert Cook Myers, ed., *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912)

64. Myles Standish, Last Will and Testament, 1655, 1657

Introduction

Myles Standish (ca. 1584–1656) served as military commander for the defense of Plymouth, but he never joined their church. His first wife died, along with half the first colonists, during the first winter at Plymouth. His second marriage produced seven children. Much of the law in the colonies, and later in the United States, reflected English law. Under English inheritance law, wives and daughters were bypassed, and eldest sons inherited the bulk of the estate. Accordingly, Bradford and Standish provide for the support of their widows, but the widows inherit no actual property. Standish's will also makes provision for an indentured servant and asserts that he has a claim to land in England that has been wrongly denied him. This land he leaves for his eldest son to try to recover.

Primary Source

The Last will and Testament of Captaine Myles Standish Exhibited before the court held att Plymouth (the 4th) of may 1657 on the oath of Captaine James Cudworth; and ordered to bee recorded as followeth;

Given under my hand this march the 7th 1655 Witnesseth these prsents that I Myles Standish senir of Duxburrow being in prfect memory yett Deseased in my body and knowing the fraile estate of man in his best estate I Doe make this to be my last will and Testament in manor and forme following;

1 my will is that out of my whole estate my funerall charges be taken out & my bod(y) to be buried in Decent manor and if I Die att Duxburrow my body to bee layed as neare as Conveniently may bee to my two Daughters Lora Standish my Daughter and Mary Standish my Daughterinlaw

2 my will is that that out of the remaining prte of my whole estate that all my jus(t) and lawful Debts which I now owe or att the Day of my Death may owe bee paied

3 out of what remaines according to the order of this Govrment: my will is that my Dear and loveing wife Barbara Standish shall have the third prte

4 I have given to my son Josias Standish upon his marriage one young horse five sheep and two heiffers which I must upon that contract of marriage make forty pounds yett not knowing whether the estate will bear it att prsent; my will is that the resedue remaine in the whole stocke and that every one of my four sons viz Allexander Standish Myles Standish Josias Standish and Charles Standish may have forty pounds appeec; if not that they may have proportionable to ye remaining prte bee it more or lesse

5 my will is that my eldest son Allexander shall have a Double share in land

6 my will is that soe long as they live single that the whole bee in prtenership betwix(t) them

7 I do ordaine and make my Dearly beloved wife Barbara Standish Allexander Standish Myles Standish and Josias Standish Joynt Exequitors of this my last will and Testament 8 I Doe by this my will make and appoint my loveing frinds mr Timothy hatherley and Capt: James Cudworth Supervissors of this my last will and that they wilbee pleased to Doe the office of Christian love to bee healpfull to my poor wife and Children by theire Christian Counsell and advisse; and if any Difference should arise which I hope will not; my will i(s) that my said Supervissors shall Determine the same and that they see that m(y) poor wife shall have as comfortable maintainance as my poor state will beare the whole time of her life which if you my loveing frinds pleasse to Doe though neither they nor I shalbee able to recompenc I Doe not Doubt but the Lord will; By mee Myles Standish

further my will is that marcye Robenson whome I tenderly love for her Grandfathers sacke shall have three pounds in somthing to goe forward for her two yeares after my Decease which my will is my overseers shall see prformed

further (m)y will is that my servant John Irish Junir have forty shillings more then his Covenant which will appear upon the towne booke alwaies provided that hee continew till the time hee covenanted bee expired in the service of my exequitors or any of them with theire Joynt Concent

March 7th 1655 By mee Myles Standish.

9 I give unto my son & heire aparent Allexander Standish all my lands as heire apparent by lawfull Decent in Ormistick Borsconge Wrightington Maudsley Newburrow Crawston and the Ile of man and given to me as right heire by lawful Decent but Surruptuously Detained from mee my great G(ran)dfather being a 2cond or younger brother from the house of Standish of Standish

March the 7th 1655 by mee Myles Standish

Witnessed by mee

James Cudworth

Source: http://etext.virginia.edu/users/deetz/Plymouth/standish-will.html; http://etext.virginia.edu/users/deetz/Plymouth/bradford-will.html.

65. John Hammond, *Leah and Rachel,* or, the Two Fruitfull Sisters Virginia and Maryland, 1656 [Excerpt]

Introduction

From the time Cecilius Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore, received a charter to establish a colony and a haven for Catholics in Maryland, he faced challenges on multiple fronts. In 1649, the year that Puri-

tans executed King Charles I, Maryland passed the Act Concerning Religion, which called for tolerance of all Christian religions, and Lord Baltimore appointed a Protestant governor, William Stone. Several hundred Puritans who had been expelled from Virginia settled in Maryland at Stone's invitation. By 1654, Maryland's legislature had a majority of Puritans. They repealed the Act Concerning Religion and banned both Catholic and Anglican worship. Puritan radicals drove priests from the colony and confiscated Catholic property. In the March 1655 Battle of the Severn, Governor Stone led a force to confront Puritan settlers but was defeated and captured. The author of this account fought on the governor's side and was captured and sentenced to death. He escaped to Virginia, but the Puritans executed four other participants. William Claiborne, mentioned in this account, had been an enemy of Maryland since the colony's beginning. Having been expelled in 1638, he returned to take advantage of the unrest. Lord Baltimore eventually worked out a compromise with Oliver Cromwell that allowed his family to regain control of Maryland in 1657.

Primary Source

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All was granted them, they had a whole County of the richest land in the province assigned them, and such as themselves made choyce of, the conditions of plantations (such as were common to all adventurers) were shewed and propounded to them, which they extreamly approved of, and nothing was in those conditions exacted from them, but appeales to the Provincial court, quit-rents, and an oath of fidelitie to the Proprietor: An assembly was called throughout the whole Country after their coming over (consisting as well of themselves as the rest) and because there were some few papists that first inhabited these themselves, and others being of different judgments, an act passed that all professing in Jesus Christ should have equall justice, priviledges and benefits in that province, and that none on penaltie (mentioned) should disturb each other in their several professions, nor give the urging termes, either of Roundheads, sectarie, Independent, Jesuit, Papist, etc., Intending an absolute peace and union; the Oath of Fidelitie (although none other then such as every Lord of a manner requires from his tenant) was over hauled, and this clause added to it (provided it infring not the libertie of the conscience.)

They sat downe joyfully, followed their vocations cheerfully, trade increased in their province, and divers others were by this incouraged and invited over from Virginia.

But these people finding themselves in a capacitie not only to capitulate, but to oversway, those had had so received and relieved them.

Began to pick quarrells, first with the Papists, next with the oath, and lastly declared their aversness to all conformalitie, wholly ayming (as themselves since confessed) to deprive the Lord propri-

etor of all his interest in that country, and make it their own: with [what] unworthiness? What ingratitude? with [what] unparalled inhumanitie was in these practices made obvious.

Amongst others that became tenants in this aforesaid distress was one Richard Bennett Merchant, who seated and settled amongst them, and so (not only owed obedience to that government, but) was obliged as a man received in his pretended distresse, to be gratfull benefactor. Upon the setting forth of a fleet intended for the reducement of Virginia, the said Bennett and one Claiborne, a pestilent enemie to the wel-faire of that province and the Lord proprietor, although he had formerly submissively acknowledge he owed his forfeited life to the said proprietor, for dealing so favorably with him for his misdemeanors, as by his treacherous letters under his hand (now in print) is manifest, and many other acts of grace conferred on him, having a commission directed to them and others (who miscarried by sea) to reduce Virginia (not Mary-land, for they were in obedience to the Common-wealth of England, and great assistance to the said fleet) although they knew Mary-land to be excluded and dasht out of their Commission, yet because the commission mentioned the Bay of Chesapeack, in which Maryland was (as well as Virginia) yet they were resolved to wreth and stretch their commission to the prejudice of Mary-land and becoming abbetters and confederats with those serpents that have been so taken in, presumed to alter the government and take away the governours Commission, putting in others in their place, viz. a Papist in cheife, and one more, who misgoverning the Country, they were excluded, and the former governor restored with an addition of Commissioners of their owne creatures, and as taking power from them, until further knowledge from England, driving herein at their own interest.

The governour (so restored) being truly informed that their proceedings were illegal, held Courts and proceeds as if no such alteration had been made, issues out Writs (according to order) In the name of the Lord proprietor, but they require and command them to do it in the name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England, according to act of Parliament, to which answer sufficient was given, that they never were in opposition to the present power, they had taken the Engagement, and for the tenure or form of writs, they were not compelled by virtue of that act to make them otherwise then they always had done, for by Patent from the late K. they had used the Kings name at all, therefore that act requiring all Writs formerly issuing out in the late Kings name, now to revolve to the Keepers of the Liberties of England, was no way binding to them, who had never used the kings name at all.

But it was not religion, it was not punctilios they stood upon, it was that sweete, that rich, that large Country they aimed at; and therefore agrees amongst themselves to frame petitions, complaints, and subscriptions from those bandetoes to themselves (the said Benner, and Claiborne) to ease them of their pretended sufferings, and

then come with arms, and againe make the province their own, exalting themselves in all places of trust and command, totally expulsing the Governer, and all the hospitable Proprietors, Officers out to their places.

But when his Highnesse (not acquired with these matchinations) had owned and under his hand and signet acknowledged Cap. Will. Stone (the former governor) Governor for the Lord Baltamore of his province of Mary-land, he again endeavored to reasume the government, and fetched away the records from those usurpers, proclaimed peace to all not obstinate, and favorably received many submissives, who with seeming joy returned, bewailing their unworthy ingratitude and inhumanitie, blaming the unbridled ambition and base avarice of those that had misled them.

The province consists of foure Counties already inhabited, *viz.* St. Maries, Calverton, An Arundal and Kent. St. Maries and Calverton submitted, An Arundall and part of Kent opposed.

The Governor desirous to reclaim those opposing, takes a partie about 130 persons with him, and sailes into those parts, one Roger Heamans who lad a great ship under him, and who had promised to be instrumentall to the governor, to wind up those differences (being Judas-like, hired to joyn with those opposing Countries, and having the Governour and his vessels within reach of his Ordnance, perfidiously and contrary to his undertaking and ingagments, fires at them and enforces them to the first shore to prevent that mischief.

The next morning he sends messengers to those of An Arundall to treat, and messengers aboard that Shittlecock Heamans, but all were detained; and on 25 of March last (being the next day and the Lords day) about 170 and odd of Kent and Anne Arundall came marching against them. Heaman fires a pace at them, and a small vessel of New-England under the command of one John Cutts comes neere the shore and seazes the boats, provision and ammunition be longing to the Governour and his partie, and so in a nick, in a straight were they fallen upon.

The Governour being shot in many places yields on quarter, which was granted; but being in hold, was threatned (notwithstanding that quarter given) to be immediately executed, unlesse he would writ to the rest to take quarter, which upon his request they did, twentie odd were killed in this skirmish, and all the rest prisoners on quarter, who were disarmed and taken into custodie.

But these formerly distressed supplicants for admittance, being now become High and Might States, and supposing their Conquest unquestionable, consult with themselves (notwithstanding their quarter given) to make their Conquest more absolute, by cutting off the heads of the Province, *viz.* the Governor, the Counsel and Commanders thereof: And so make themselves a Counsel of War, and condemn them to death: Foure were presently executed, *scilicet*,

Mr. William Eltonhead, one of the Councel; Capt. William Lewis, Mr. John Legate Gentleman, and John Pedro; the rest at the importunity of some women, and resolution of some of their souldiers (who would not suffer their designe to take thorough effect, as being pricked in Conscience for their ingratitudes) were saved, but were Amerced, Fined and Plundred at their pleasures. And although this was prophetiquely foreseen by diverse eminent Merchants of London, who Petitioned his Highnesse for prevention, and that his Highnesse sent a gracious command to Bennet, and all others, not to disturb the Lord Baltamores Officers, nor People in Mary-land, but recalled all Power or pretence of Power from them; yet they still hold, and possess (in defiance of so sacred a mandate) the said province of Maryland, and sent an impious Agent home to Parlie whilest they plundred; but he hath long since given up his account to the great avenger of all injuries: Although sticklers (somewhat more powerfull, but by many degrees more brazen fac't then his spirit could bare him forth to appear) Now labour to justifie these inhumanities, disorders, contempts, and rebellious; so that I may say with the Prophet Jeremiah; How doth the Citty sit solitary that was full of people? How is she become as a widdow? She that was great amongst the Nations, and Princesse amongst the Provinces? How is she become tributary? Thus have they brought to desolation, one of the happiest Plantations that ever Englishmen set foot in, and such a Country (that if it were again made formall) might harbor in peace and plenty all such as England shall have occasion to disburthen, or desire to forsake England.

A pious consideration of these distractions is by his Highnesse taking notice of, and these controversies are by him referred to the Hearing, and Report of those two Honourable and judicious Gentlemen the Lords Whitlock and Widdrington, whose Pains and Moderation in Hearing, and mildly disputing indifferently the condition of these uproars, gives not onely hopes of relief, but have added to their renowns, by all those that (so observed) have been present at the severall Hearings, an account whereof will ere long be published in print.

Upon determination whereof, it must be concluded that a settlement will follow, and then many families will flock over to in habit these ruines, the fertility of the Province will (in short time) make good (excepting the blood split which can never be recalled nor satisfied for.)

Let this be no discouragement to any to goe over, for it will not be more firmly settled then ever, and so thoroughly settled that neither envy nor deceipt can again ever shake it.

And being so setled, I know no country (although I have travelled many) that I more affect, more esteem; that which profits delights, and here is both absolute profit, reall delight; I shall forget my undertaking in the beginning of my booke, which was not to over extall the Country: for should I indeed give it its due commenda-

tions, I should seem to be suborn'd' but in few words, it is that Country in which I desire to spend the remnant of my dayes, in which I covert to make my grave.

This I have not written for profit, for it is known I have given away the copy, and therefore am the less to be mistrusted for a deluder, for popular applause I did it not, for in this pregnant age, my lines appear so harsh and disordered, that I would not have affixed my name to it, but in obedience to those commands that so require it, and to prevent the imputation of a libeller. The maine drift and scope I have herein aimed at, is to discover Virginia and Mary-land, and stand up in their just defences when calumniated, to let many that pine in England know, they are to their ruines deluded, that are frighted from going thither, if their wayes of livelihood be not certaine in England.

POST-SCRIPT.

A Word to the Governour and Counsell in Virginia.

Gentlemen,

As I have done your country of Virginia justice in standing up in its defence, so I expect and entreat the like from you: I know ye are honest and understand your selves; I cannot except nor speake against any of ye, but Will. Claiborne, whom ye all know to be a Villaine, but it is no more blemish to your degree, to have him of your societie, then it was to the Apostles to have Judas of theirs. I have had injury by him by palpable cousinages done me, as I shal one day demonstrate. But for the decree of your court against one Captaine Thomas Thoroughgood, late Commander of the ship *Cressent*, I desire you to consider of it again and reverse it for these reasons following.

I was an inhabitant of Mary-land of two years standing, proscribe to die by the rebels of the Bay. I fled disguised to Virginia, came a bord his Ship by an unknowne name, made my condition, not my person, known to him, and he charitably brought me for England, otherewise I had causelessly been put to death.

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Source: Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910).

66. Navigation Acts, 1660, 1663, and 1696 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Parliament passed a series of navigation acts to control the movement of trade goods by sea. The intended effect of these acts was to

reserve to English shipping interests and businesses the ability to make money from trade with England and its colonies. The 1660 act provided that only English ships could carry goods to or from the colonies, and that the colonies could ship their tobacco and other crops only to England. Among the provisions of the 1663 act was the requirement that any finished goods sold in the colonies had to be shipped from England in English ships. Thus, European goods, such as fabrics, had to first go to England, thus adding to their price when they were eventually sold in the colonies. The acts also set customs duties on a range of commodities and established penalties for noncompliance. In so protecting English interests, the acts had a detrimental effect on colonial economies. They prevented colonists from shipping their goods to wherever prices were highest, and artificially inflated the prices colonists paid for finished goods. The 1696 navigation act was even stricter and fartherreaching than the earlier acts. The navigation acts prompted many traders to turn to smuggling in order to ship goods to and from the American colonies.

Primary Source

Navigation Act (1660)

An act for the encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation.

FOR the increase of shipping and encouragement of the navigation of this nation, wherein, under the good providence and protection of God, the wealth, safety and strength of this kingdom is so much concerned; (2) be it enacted by the Kings' most excellent majesty, and by the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority thereof, That from and after the first day of December one thousand six hundred and sixty, and from thenceforward, no goods or commodities whatsoever shall be imported into or exported of any lands, islands, plantations or territories to this Majesty belonging or in his possession, or which may hereafter belong unto or be in the possession his Majesty, his heirs and successors, in Asia, Africa, America, in any other ship or ships, vessel or vessels whatsoever, but in such ships or vessels as do truly and without fraud belong only to the people of England or Ireland, dominion of Wales or town or Berwick upon Tweed, or are of the built of and belonging to any the said lands islands, plantations or territories, as the proprietors and right owners thereof, and whereof the master and three fourths of the mariners at least are English; (3) under the penalty of the forfeiture and loss of all the goods and commodities which shall be imported into or exported out of any the aforesaid places in any other ship or vessel, as also of the ship or vessel, with all its guns, furniture, tackle, ammunition and apparel; one third part thereof to his Majesty, his heirs and successors; one third part to the governor of such land, plantation, island or territory where such default shall be committed, in case the said ship or goods be there seized, or otherwise that third part also to his Majesty, his heirs and successors; and the other third part to him

or them who shall seize, inform or sue for the same in any court of record, by bill, information, plaint or other action, wherein no essoin, protection or wager of law shall be allowed; (4) and all admirals and other commanders at sea of any the ships of war or other ship having commission from his Majesty or from his heirs and successors, are hereby authorized and strictly required to seize and bring in as prize all such ships or vessels as shall have offended contrary hereunto, and deliver them to the court of admiralty, there to be proceeded against; and in case of condemnation, one moiety of such forfeitures shall be to the use of such admirals and commands and their companies, to be divided and proportioned amongst them according to the rules and orders of the sea in case of ships taken prize; and the other moiety to the use of his Majesty, his heirs and successors.

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XVIII. And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the first day of April, which shall be in the year of our Lord one Thousand six hundred sixty-one, no sugars, tobacco, cotton-wool, indicoes, ginger, fustick, or other dying wood, of the growth, production or manufacture of any English plantations in America, Asia or Africa, shall be shipped, carried conveyed or transported from any of the said English plantations to any land, island, territory, dominion, port or place whatsoever, other than to such other English plantations as do belong to his majesty, his heirs and successors, or to the kingdom of England or Ireland, or principality of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, there to be laid on shore, (2) under the penalty of the forfeiture of the said goods, or the full value thereof, as also of the ship, with all her guns, tackle, apparel, ammunition and furniture; the one moiety to the King's majesty, his heirs and successors, and the other moiety to him or them that shall seize, inform or sue for the same in any court of record, by bill, plaint, or information, wherein no essoin, protection or wager of law shall be allowed.

[...]

Navigation Act (1663)

An act for the encouragement of trade.

FORASMUCH as the encouraging of tillage ought to be in a especial manner regarded and endeavourer; and the surest and effectuallest means of promoting and advancing any trade, occupation, mystery, being by rendring it profitable to the users thereof; (2) and great quantities of land within this kingdom for the present lying in manner waste, and yielding little, which might thereby be improved considerable profit and advantage (if sufficient encouragement were given for the laying out of cost and labour on the same) and thereby much more corn produced, great numbers of people, horses and cattle imployed, and other lands also rendred more valuable:

II. Be it enacted by the King's most excellent majesty, with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority thereof,; and it is hereby enacted, That from and after the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred sixty and three, and from thenceforward, when the prices of corn and grain Winchester measure do not exceed the rates hereafter following, at the havens or places where the same shall be shipped or loaden, (viz.) The quarter of whereto eight and forty shillings; the quarter of barley or malt, eight and twenty shillings; the quarter of buck-wheat, eight and twenty shillings; the quarter of oats, thirteen shillings and four pence; the quarter of rye, two and thirty shillings; the quarter of pease or beans, two and thirty shillings current English money; that then it shall be lawful for all and every person and persons to ship, load, carry and transport any of the said corn or grains from the havens or places where they shall be of such prices, unto any parts beyond the seas as merchandize; and law, stature or usage to the contrary notwithstanding; paying such rates for the same, and none other, as are to be paid when the same might have been transported by one of passed this present parliament, intituled. A subsidy grated to the King of tonnage and poundage.

III. And it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That when the prices of the aforesaid corns and grains do not exceed the rates above-mentioned, respectively *Winchester* measure, at the haven or place into which any of them shall be imported from any parts beyond the seas, there shall be paid for the custom and poundage of every quarter of wheat, five shillings and four pence; and for every quarter of rye, four shillings; and for every quarter of barley or malt, two shillings and eight pence; and for every quarter of buckwheat, two shillings; and for every quarter of oats, one shilling four pence; and for every quarter of pease or beans, four shillings.

IV. And it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That when the prices of corn or grain Winchester measure do not exceed the rates following at the markets, havens or places where the same shall be bought, (viz.) the quarter of wheat, eight and forty shillings; the quarter of rye, two and thirty shillings; the quarter of barley or malt, eight and twenty shillings; the quarter of buck-wheat, eight and twenty shillings; the quarter of oats, thirteen shillings and four pence; the quarter of pease or beans, two and thirty shillings; that then it shall be lawful for all and every person and persons (not forestalling nor selling the same in the same market within three months after the buying thereof) to buy in open market, and to lay upon and keep in his or their granaries or houses, and to sell again, such corn or grain of the kinds aforesaid, as without fraud or covin shall have been bought at or under the prices before expressed, without incurring any penalty; any law, statute or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

V. And in regard to his Majesty's plantations beyond the seas are inhabited and peopled by his subjects of this his kingdom of England;

for the maintaining a greater correspondence and kindness between them, and keeping them in a firmer dependence upon it, and rendring them at more beneficial and advantageous unto it in the further imployment and increase of English shipping and seamen, vent of English woolen and other manufactures and commodities, rendring the navigation to and from the same more safe and cheap, and making this kingdom a staple, not only of the commodities of those plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries and places, for the supplying of them; and it being the usage of other nations to keep their plantations trade to themselves.

VI. Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted, That from and after the five and twentieth day of March one thousand six hundred sixtyfour, no commodity of the growth, production or manufacture of Europe, shall be imported into any land, island, plantation, colony, territory or place to his majesty belonging, of which shall hereafter belong unto or be in the possession his Majesty, his heirs and successors, in Asia, Africa or America, (Tangier only excepted) but what shall be bona fide, and without fraud, laden and shipped in England, Wales, or the town of Berwick upon Tweed, and in English built shipping, or which were bona fide bought before the first day of October one thousand six hundred sixty and two, and had such certificate thereof as is directed in one act passed the last sessions of this present parliament, intituled, An act for preventing frauds, and regulating abuses in his Majesty's customs; and whereof the master and three fourths of the mariners at least are English, and which shall be carried directly thence to the said lands, islands, plantations, colonies, territories or places, and from no other place or places whatsoever; any law, statute or usage to the contrary notwithstanding; (2) under the penalty of the loss of all such commodities of the growth, production or manufacture of Europe, and shall be imported into any of them from any other place whatsoever, by land or water; and if by water, of the ship or vessel also in which they were imported, with all her guns, tackle, furniture, ammunition and apparel; one third part to his Majesty, his heirs and successors; one third part to the governor of such land, island, plantation, colony, territory or place, into which such goods were imported, if the said ship, vessel or goods be there seized or informed against and sued for; or otherwise that third part also to his Majesty's courts in such of the said lands, islands, colonies, plantations, territories or places where the offence was committed, or in any court of record in England, by bill, information, plaint or other action, wherein no essoin, protection or wager of law shall be allowed.

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VIII. And for the better prevention of frauds, be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted, That from and after the five and twentieth of *March* one thousand six hundred sixty and four, every person or persons importing by land any goods or commodities whatsoever into any the said lands, islands, plantation, colonies, territories or places,

shall deliver to the governor of such land, island, plantation, colony, territory or place, or to such person or officer as shall be by him thereunto authorized and appointed, within four and twenty hours after such importation, his or their names and surnames, and a true inventory and particular of all such goods or commodities: (2) and no ship or vessel coming to any such land, island, plantation, colony, territory or place, shall lade or unlade any goods or commodities whatsoever, until the master or commander of such ship or vessel shall first have made known to the governor of such land, island, plantation, colony, territory or place, or such other person or officer as shall be by him thereunto authorized and appointed, the arrival of the said ship or vessel, with her name, and the name and surname of her master or commander, and have shewn to him that she is an English-built ship, or made good by producing such certificate, as abovesaid, that she is a ship or vessel bona fide belonging to England, Wales, or the town of Berwick, and navigated with an English master, and three fourth parts of the mariners at least Englishmen, and have delivered to such governor or other person or officer a true and perfect inventory or invoice of her lading, together with the place or places in which the said goods were laden or taken into the said ship or vessel: (3) under the pain of the loss of the ship or vessel, with all her guns, ammunition, tackle, furniture and apparel, and of all such goods of the growth, production or manufacture of Europe, as were not bona fide laden and taken in England, Wales, or the town of Berwick, to be recovered and divided in manner aforesaid: (4) and all such as are governor or commanders of any the said lands, islands, plantations, colonies, territories or places (Tangier only excepted) shall before the five and twentieth day of March one thousand six hundred sixty and four, and all such as shall hereafter be made governors or commanders of any of them, shall before their entrance upon the execution of such trust or charge, take a solemn oath before such person or persons as shall be authorized by his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to administer the same, to do their utmost within their respective governments or commands, to cause to be well and truly observed what is in this act enacted, in relation to the trade of such lands, islands, plantations, colonies, territories and places, under the penalty of being removed out of their respective government and commands: (5) and if any of them shall be found, after the taking of such oath, to have wittingly and willingly offended contrary to what is by this act required of them, that they shall for such offence be turned out of their governments, and be uncapable of the government of any other land, island, plantation or colony; and moreover, forfeit the sum of one thousand pounds of lawful money of England; the one moiety to his majesty, his heirs and successors; and the other moitey to him or them that shall inform or sue for the same in any of his Majesty's courts in any of the said plantation, or in any court of record in England, wherein no essoin, protection or wager of law shall be allowed.

IX. And it is herby further enacted, That if any officer of the customs in *England*, *Wales*, or town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, shall give

any warrant for, or suffer any sugar, tobacco, ginger, cotton-wool, indigo, speckle-wood or *Jamaica*-wood, fustick or other dying-wood of the growth of any of the said lands, islands, colonies, plantations, territories or places, to be carried into any other country or place whatsoever, until they have been first unladen *bona fide* and put on shore in some port or haven in *England* or *Wales*, or in the town of *Berwick*; the value of such of the said goods as he shall give warrant for, or suffer to pass into any other country or place; the one moiety to his Majesty, his heirs and successors; and the other moiety to him or them that shall inform or sue for the same in any court of record in *England* or *Wales*, wherein no essoin, protection or wager in law shall be allowed.

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XIX. And it is hereby further enacted, That in case any person or persons shall resist or make forcible opposition against any person or persons in the due and through execution of the said act of the twelfth of this said Majesty's reign, that he, she or they, so resisting and making forcible opposition, shall over and above the penalties therein mentioned for such offences, be committed to the common gaol of the county where such offence shall be committed, there to remain without bail or main-prize, until he, she or they, have entred into a recognizance to his majesty, his heirs and successors, with two sufficient sureties, of ten pounds penalty, not to do or commit the like offence again.

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Navigation Act (1696)

[…]

II. Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted and ordained by the Kings' most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That after the five and twentieth day of March, one thousand six hundred ninety eight, no good or merchancizes whatsoever shall be imported into, or exported out of any colony or plantation to his Majesty, in Asia, Africa or America, belonging, or in his possession, or which may hereafter belong unto, or be in the possession of his Majesty, his heirs or successors, or shall be laden in, or carried from any one ort or place in the said colonies or plantations to any other port or place in the fame, the kingdom of England, domino of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, in any ship or bottom, but what is shall be of the built of England, or of the built of Ireland, or the said colonies or plantations, and wholly owned by the people thereof, or any of them, and navigated with the masters and three fourths of the mariners of the said places only (except such ship only as are or shall be taken as prize, and condemnation thereof made in one of the courts of admiralty in England, Ireland, or the said colonies or plantation, to be navigated by the master and three fourths of the mariners *English*, or of the said plantations are aforesaid, and whereof the property doth belong to *English* men; and also except for the space of three years, such foreign built ships as shall be employed by the commissioners of his Majesty' navy for the time being, or upon contract with them, in bringing only masts, timber, and other naval stores for the Kings' service from his Majesty's colonies or plantations to this kingdom, to be navigated as aforesaid, and where of the property doth belong *English* men) under pain of forfeiture of ship and goods; one third part whereof to be to the use of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, one third part to the governor of the said colonies or plantations, and the other third part to the person who shall inform and sue for the same, by bill, plaint or information, in any of his Majesty's courts of record at *Westminster*, or in any court in his Majesty's plantations, where such offence shall be committed.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid That (from and after the said five and twentieth day of *March*) good or merchandizes may be exported or imported to and from this kingdom, the colonies, plantations and places aforesaid, in any such ships as are or shall be taken as prize, and whereof condemnation shall be made in one of the courts of admiralty aforesaid, and shall be navigated as aforesaid, by the master, three fourths of the mariners *English*, and whereof the property shall belong to *English* men, and also masts, timber, and other naval stores for his Majesty's service, for the space of three years, may be imported from his Majesty's colonies or plantations to this kingdom, in such foreign built ships as shall be employed by the commissioners of the navy for the time being, or by contract with them; any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

[…]

VI. And for the most effectual preventing of frauds, and regulation abuses in the plantation trade in America, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all ships coming into, or going out of, any of the said plantations, and landing or unlading any good or commodities, whether the same be his Majesty's ships of war, or merchants ships, and the masters and commanders thereof, and their ladings, shall be subject and liable to the same rules, visitations, searches, penalties and forfeitures, as to the entering, lading or discharging their respective ships and ladings, as ships and their ladings, and the commanders and matters of ships, are subject and liable unto in this kingdom, by virtue of an act of parliament made in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, intituled, An act for preventing frauds, and regulating abuses in his Majesty's customs: and that the officer for collecting and managing his Majesty's revenue, and inspecting the plantation trade, in any of the said plantation, shall have the same powers and authorities, for visiting and searching of ships, and taking their entries, and for seizing and securing or binging on shore any of the goods prohibited to be imported or exported into or out of any the said planta-

tions, or for which any duties are payable, or ought to have been paid, by any of the before mentioned acts, as are provided for the officers of the customs in England by the said last mentioned act made in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, and also to enter houses or warehouses, to search for and seize any such good; and that all the wharfingers, and owners of keys and wharfs, or any lightermen, bargemen, watermen, porters or other persons assisting in the conveyance, concealment or rescue of any of the said good, or in the hindring or resistance of any of the said officers in the performance of their duty, and the boats, barges, lighters or other vessels, employed in the conveyance of such goods, shall be subject to the like pains and penalties as are provided by the same act made in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, in relation to prohibited or uncustomed good in this kingdom; and that the like assistance shall be given to the said officers in the execution of their office, as by the said last mentioned act is provided for the officers in England; and also that the said officers shall be subject to the same penalties and forfeitures, for any corruptions, frauds, connivances, or concealments, in violation of any the before mentioned laws, as any officers of the customs in England are liable to, by virtue of the said last mentioned act; and also that in case any officer or officers in the plantations shall be sued or molested for any thing done in the execution of their office, the said officer shall and may plead the general issue, and shall give this or other custom acts in evidence, and the judge to allow thereof, have and enjoy the like privileges and advantages, as are allowed by law to the officers of his Majesty's customs in England.

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XIV. And whereas several ships and vessels laden with tobacco, sugars, and other goods of the growth and product of his Majesty's plantations in America, have been discharged in several ports of the kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland, contrary to the laws and statutes now in being, under pretence that the said ships and vessels were driven in thither by stress of weather, or for want of provision, and other disabilities could not proceed on their voyage; for remedy whereof be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the first day of December, one thousand six hundred ninety six, it shall not be lawful, on any pretence whatsoever, to put on shore in the said kingdoms of Scotland or Ireland, any good or merchandize of the growth or product of any of his Majesty's plantations aforesaid, unless the same have been first landed in the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, and paid the rates and duties wherewith they are chargeable by law, under the penalty of the forfeiture of the ship and goods; three fourths without composition to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and the other fourth to him or them that shall sue for the same.

[...]

XVII. And for a more effectual prevention of frauds which may be used to elude the intention of this act, by colouring foreign ships under English names; be it further enacted the authority aforesaid, That from and after the five and twentieth day of March, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred ninety eight, no ship or vessel whatsoever shall be deemed or pass as a ship of the built of England, Ireland, Wales, Berwick, Guernsey, Jersey, or any of his Majesty's plantations in *America*, so as to be qualified to trade to, from or in any of the plantations, until the person or persons claiming property in such ship or vessel shall register the same as followeth, that is to say, if the ship at the time of such register doth belong to any port in England, Ireland, Wales, or to the town of Berwick upon Tweed, then proof shall be made upon oath of one or more of the owners of such ship or vessel, before the collector and controller of his Majesty's customs in such port; or if at the time of such register that ship belong to any of his Majesty's plantation in America, or to the islands of Guernsey or Jersey, then the like proof to be made before the governor, together with the principal officer of his Majesty's revenue residing on such plantation or island, which oath the said governors and officers of the customs respectively are hereby authorized to administer in the tenor following, viz.

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Source: Danby Pickering, ed., Statutes at Large, vols. 7, 8 (Cambridge, England, 1763).

67. Accounts of the Loss of New Amsterdam, 1664–1665 [Excerpts]

Introduction

New Netherland's location between New England and Maryland prevented either from expanding. Also, the Dutch competed with the English colonies for trade. During the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1654-1667), a fleet of English ships, commanded by Richard Nicholls, sailed into New Amsterdam's harbor and demanded surrender. On August 27, 1664, Petrus Stuyvesant, pressed by New Amsterdam's town council, surrendered New Netherland to the English without firing a shot. So certain was King Charles II of an English victory that he had, months earlier, already given his brother, the Duke of York, a charter for New York. Members of the New Amsterdam town council wrote to the directors of the Dutch West India Company to explain the surrender. In their letter they blamed the company for neglecting the colony. Dutch authorities recalled Stuyvesant home in 1665 to explain the loss of New Netherland. The second document is the report he presented to his superiors. He too blamed official neglect and sought to present evidence that he had had no other choice. At the end of the war, Stuyvesant returned to his farm in New York and remained there until his death in 1672. In 1673, during the Third Anglo-Dutch War, a small Dutch

naval force recaptured New York. It was returned to England by treaty in 1674.

Primary Source

LETTER OF THE TOWN COUNCIL OF NEW AMSTERDAM, 1664

Right Honorable Lords:

We, your Honors' loyal, sorrowful and desolate subjects, cannot neglect nor keep from relating the event, which through God's pleasure thus unexpectedly happened to us in consequence of your Honors' neglect and forgetfulness of your promise—to wit, the arrival here, of late, of four King's frigates from England, sent hither by His Majesty and his brother, the Duke of York, with commission to reduce not only this place, but also the whole New Netherland under His Majesty's authority, whereunto they brought with them a large body of soldiers, provided with considerable ammunition, On board one of the frigates were about four hundred and fifty as well soldiers as seamen, and the others in proportion.

The frigates being come together in front of Najac in the Bay, Richard Nicolls, the admiral, who is ruling here at present as Governor, sent a letter to our Director General, communicating therein the cause of his coming and his wish. On this unexpected letter the General sent for us to determine what was to be done herein. Whereupon it was resolved and decided to send some commissioners thither, to argue the matter with the General and his three commissioners, who were so sent for this purpose twice, but received no answer, than that they were not come here to dispute about it, but to execute their order and commission without fail, either peaceably or by force, and if they had anything to dispute about it, it must be done with His Majesty of England, as we could do nothing here in the premises. Three days' delay was demanded for consultation; that was duly allowed. But meanwhile they were not idle; they approached with their four frigates, two of which passed in front of the fort, the other anchored about Nooten Island and with five companies of soldiers encamped themselves at the ferry, opposite this place, together with a newly raised company of horse and a party of new soldiers, both from the North and from Long Island, mostly our deadly enemies, who expected nothing else than pillage, plunder and bloodshed, as men could perceive by their cursing and talking, when mention was made of a capitulation.

Finally, being then surrounded, we saw little means of deliverance; we resolved what ought to be here done, and after we had well enquired into our strength and had found it to be full fifteen hundred souls strong in this place, but of whom not two hundred and fifty men are capable of bearing arms exclusive of the soldiers, who were about one hundred and fifty strong, wholly unprovided with powder both in the city and in the fort; yea, not more than six hundred pounds were found in the fort besides seven hundred pounds unserviceable; also because the farmers, the third man of whom was

called out, refused, we with the greater portion of the inhabitants considered it necessary to remonstrate with our Director General and Council, that their Honors might consent to a capitulation, whereunto we labored according to our duty and had much trouble; and laid down and considered all the difficulties, which should arise from our not being able to resist such an enemy, as they besides could receive a much greater force than they had under their command.

The Director General and Council at length consented thereunto, whereto commissioners were sent to the admiral, who notified him that it was resolved to come to terms in order to prevent the shedding of blood, if a good agreement could be concluded.

Six persons were commissioned on each side for this purpose to treat on this matter, as they have done and concluded in manner as appears by the articles annexed. How that will result, time shall tell.

[...]

REPORT ON THE SURRENDER OF NEW NETHERLAND PETER STUYVESANT, 1665

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I dare not interrupt your Illustrious High Mightinesses' most important business by a lengthy narrative of the poor condition in which I found New Netherland on my assuming its government. The open country was stripped of inhabitants to such a degree that, with the exception of the three English villages of Heemstede, New Flushing and Gravesend, there were not fifty bouweriers and plantations on it, and the whole province could not muster 250, at most 300 men capable of bearing arms.

Which was caused, first, (in default of a settlement of the boundary so repeatedly requested) by the troublesome neighbors of New England, who numbered full fifty to our one, continually encroaching on lands within established bounds, possessed and cultivated in fact by your Illustrious High Mightinesses' subjects.

Secondly, by the exceedingly detrimental, land-destroying and people-expelling wars with the cruel barbarians, which endured two years before my arrival there, whereby many subjects who possessed means were necessitated to depart, others to retreat under the crumbling fortress of New Amsterdam, which, on my arrival, I found resembling more a molehill than a fortress, without gates, the walls and bastions trodden under foot by men and cattle.

Less dare I, to avoid self-glorification, encumber your weighty occupations, Illustrious, High and Mighty, with the trouble, care, solicitude and continual zeal with which I have endeavored to promote the increase of population, agriculture and commerce; the

flourishing condition whereunto they were brought, not through any wisdom of mine, but through God's special blessing, and which might have been more flourishing if your formerly dutiful, but now afflicted, inhabitants of that conquest had been, Illustrious, High and Mighty, protected and remained protected by a suitable garrison, as necessity demanded, against the deplorable and tragical massacres by the barbarians, whereby (in addition to ten private murders) we were plunged three times into perilous wars, through want of sufficient garrisons; especially had they, on the supplicatory remonstrances of the people and our own so iterated entreaties, which must be considered almost innumerable, been helped with the long sought for settlement of the boundary, or in default thereof had they been seconded with the oft besought reinforcement of men and ships against the continual troubles, threats, encroachments and invasions of the English neighbors and government of Hartford Colony, our too powerful enemies.

That assistance, nevertheless, appears to have been retarded so long (wherefore and by what unpropitious circumstances the Hon. Directors best know) that our abovementioned too powerful neighbors and enemies found themselves reinforced by four royal ships, crammed full with an extraordinary amount of men and warlike stores. Our ancient enemies throughout the whole of Long Island, both from the east end and from the villages belonging to us united with them, hemmed us by water and by land, and cut off all supplies. Powder and provisions failing, and no relief nor reinforcement being expected, we were necessitated to come to terms with the enemy, not through neglect of duty or cowardice, as many, more from passion than knowledge of the facts, have decided, but in consequence of an absolute impossibility to defend the fort, much less the city of New Amsterdam, and still less the country. As you, Illustrious, High and Mighty, in your more profound and more discreet wisdom, will be able to judge from the following:

First, in regard to want of powder: The annexed account shows what had been received during the last four years and what was left over, from which it appears that there were not 2000 pounds in store in the city and fort; of that quantity there were not 600 pounds good and fit for muskets; the remainder damaged by age, so that when used for artillery, the cannon required a double charge or weight.

If necessary and you, Illustrious High and Mighty, demand it, the truth hereof can be sought from the gunner, who accompanies me hither, and who will not deny having said in the presence of divers persons and at various times: "What can my lord do? he knows well that there is no powder, and that the most of it is good for nothing; there is powder enough to do harm to the enemy, but 'tis no good; were I to commence firing in the morning, I should have all used up by noon."

What efforts we have employed to receive this and some other reinforcements and assistance may appear from the copies of two let-

ters sent to the colonie of Renselaerswyck and village of Beverwyck, marked No. A.

Whose answers intimate, that we could not be assisted by either the one or the other, because of the difficulties into which they had just then fallen with the northern Indians owing to the killing of three or four Christians and some cows, whether urged to do so by evil disposed neighbors, I submit to wiser opinions.

In regard to provisions: Although our stores were reasonably well supplied with them the whole fore part of the summer, even more than ever heretofore, the falling off being commonly caused by the want of credit or ready money to lay up an abundant stock of provisions;

Nevertheless our supplies became, from various accidents, so much diminished that on capitulating to the enemy, not 120 *skepels* of breadstuffs, and much less of peas and meat were remaining in store,

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The asserted scarcity of provisions is proved by the annexed declaration of the commissary himself, and of Sergeant Harmen Martensen, and moreover by the efforts we employed to obtain a greater quantity of these, were that possible. No. B.

Provisions were likewise so few and scarce in the city, in consequence of the approaching harvest, for the inhabitants are not in the habit of laying up more provisions than they have need of, that about eight days after the surrender of the place, there was not in the city of New Amsterdam enough of provisions, beef, pork and peas, to be obtained for the transportation of the military, about ninety strong, and the new grain had to be thrashed.

In addition to the want of the abovementioned necessaries, and many other minor articles, a general discontent and unwillingness to assist in defending the place became manifest among the people,

Which unwillingness was occasioned and caused in no small degree, first among the people living out of the city, and next among the burghers, by the attempts and encroachments experienced at the hands of the English in the preceding year, 1663.

First, through Captain John Talcot's reducing Eastdorp, situate on the main, not two leagues from New Amsterdam, by order and commission of the government of Hartford.

Next, through Captain Co's later invasion and subjugation of all the English villages and plantations on Long Island, which were under oath and obedience to you, Illustrious, High and Mighty, and the Hon. Company, with an armed troop of about 150 to 160 of John Schott's horse and foot. That this was done also by the order of Hartford's Colony

appears from the fact that in the following year, 1664, Governor Winthrop himself came with two commissioners from Hartford, and one from the east end of Long Island, with a considerable number of people on foot and on horseback, to the reduced English towns, in order to get the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance in the King's name.

Owing to the very serious war with the Esopus Indians and their confederates, in consequence of a third deplorable massacre perpetrated there on the good inhabitants, we could not at the time do anything against such violent attempts and encroachments, except to protest against them verbally and in writing.

All this, recorded fully in the form of a journal, was, on November 10, 1663, and last of February, 1664, transmitted to the Honorable Directors, together with our, and the entire commonalty's grievances, remonstrances and humble petitions for redress, either by means of a settlement of the boundary, or else by an effective reinforcement of men and ships.

I could and should lay the authenticated copies before you, Illustrious, High and Mighty, were it not that I am apprehensive of incumbering thereby your present much more important business. On that account, therefore, in verification of what is set forth, are most humbly submitted to you, Illustrious, High and Mighty, only.

No. 1. An humble remonstrance of the country people on Long Island, whereof the original was sent on the last of February to the Honorable Directors, setting forth the threats and importunity made use of towards them by the English troop aforesaid, with a request for redress; otherwise, in default thereof, they shall be under the necessity of abandoning their lands or submitting to another government.

No. 2. is a copy of a letter sent to all the Dutch villages for a reinforcement, whence can be inferred our good inclination to defend the city and fort as long as possible. The answer thereto intimates their refusal, as they, living in the open country unprotected, could not abandon their lands, wives and children.

No. 3. The burghers' petition and protest exhibits their uneasiness; wherein they set forth at length the very urgent necessity to which they were reduced in consequence of the overwhelming power of the enemy; the impossibility, owing to want of provisions and munitions of war, especially powder, of defending the city one, and the fort three, days; and the absence of any relief to be expected or reinforcement to be secured, certainly not within six months; whereas by effective resistance everything would be ruined and plundered, and themselves, with wives and children, more than 1,500 in number, reduced to the direst poverty.

This dissatisfaction and unwillingness on the part of burgher and farmer were called forth by the abovementioned and other frequently

bruited threats, by the hostile invasions and encroachments that had been experienced and the inability to oppose them for want of power and reinforcements; but mainly by the sending of proclamations and open letters containing promises, in the King's name, to burgher and farmer, of free and peaceable possession of their property, unobstructed trade and navigation, not only to the King's dominions, but also to the Netherlands with their own ships and people.

Besides the abovementioned reasons for dissatisfaction and unwillingness, the former as well as the ruling burgomasters and schepens, and principal citizens, complained that their iterated remonstrances, letters and petitions, especially the last, of the 10th of November, wherein they had informed the Hon. Directors of the dire extremity of the country both in regard to the war with the barbarians and to the hostile attacks of the English, had not been deemed worthy of any answer; publicly declaring, "If the Hon. Company give themselves so little concern about the safety of the country and its inhabitants as not to be willing to send a ship of war to its succor in such pressing necessity, nor even a letter of advice as to what we may depend on and what succor we have to expect, we are utterly powerless, and, therefore, not bound to defend the city, to imperil our lives, properly, wives and children without hope of any succor or relief, and to lose all after two or three days' resistance."

Your patience would fail you, Illustrious, High and Mighty, if I should continue to relate all the disrespectful speeches and treatment which, Illustrious, High and Mighty, your servants of the Superior Government have been obliged to listen to and patiently to bear, during the approach of the frigates, whenever they sought to encourage the burghers and inhabitants to their duty, as could be verified by credible witnesses.

This further difficulty was made by the burghers that they were not certain of their lives and properties on account of the threats of plundering heard from some of the soldiers, who had their minds fixed more on plunder than on defence; giving utterance, among other things, to the following: We now hope to find an opportunity to pepper the devilish Chinese, who have made us smart so much; we know well where booty is to be got and where the young ladies reside who wear chains of gold. In verification whereof, it was alleged and proved, that a troop of soldiers had collected in front of one Nicolaus Meyer's house in order to plunder it, which was prevented by the burghers.

In addition to the preceding, many verbal warnings came from divers country people on Long Island, who daily noticed the growing and increasing strength of the English, and gathered from their talk that their business was not only with New Netherland but with the booty and plunder, and for these were they called out and enrolled. Which was afterwards confirmed not only by the dissolute English soldiery, but even by the most steady officers and by a striking example exhibited to the colonists of New Amstel on the South River, who, notwithstanding they had offered no resistance, but requested good terms,

could not obtain them, but were invaded, stripped, utterly plundered and many of them sold as slaves to Virginia.

To prevent these and many other misfortunes, calamities and mischiefs overtaking evidently and assuredly the honest inhabitants, owing to the aforesaid untenableness of the place and fort without assistance from Fatherland, which was not to be expected for six months, we and the Council, on the presentation of so many remonstrances, complaints and warnings, were under the necessity, God and the entire community know without any other object than the welfare of the public and the Company, to come to terms with the enemy and neighbors whose previous hostile invasions and encroachments neither we nor our predecessors have been able to oppose or prevent.

And, even if the good God had, for the moment, been pleased to avert the misfortune from us, to delay or prevent the arrival of those frigates, yet had we, through want of the reinforcements of men and ships from Fatherland so repeatedly demanded but not come, shortly after fallen, by this war with England, into a worse state and condition, in consequence of the overpowering might of the neighbors. This is sufficiently evident and plain from their hostile acts and encroachments against the inhabitants in a season of profound peace; being, as already stated, fifty to our one, they would afterwards, jure belli, have attacked, overwhelmed, plundered us and the good inhabitants whom they would have utterly expelled out of the country.

[...]

Source: J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909).

68. Daniel Denton, Description of the Indians of Long Island, 1670 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The Dutch West India Company established New Netherland in 1624. At first, the Dutch took great care to avoid conflict with the Indians. They purchased all the land on which they settled and refused to be drawn into the rivalry between the Algonquian and Iroquoian peoples. As the town of New Amsterdam grew, the colonists and the Algonquians living nearby came into increasing conflict. During the 1640s, Director General Willem Kieft launched a ruthless war against them, ordering massacres of men, women, and children on the flimsiest of pretexts. Between 1655 and 1664, New Netherland, under Director General Petrus Stuyvesant, went to war against the Algonquians three more times. By the time England took over the colony and renamed it New York, years of warfare and disease had taken their toll on the native population. In this account, an English official credits divine providence with "remov-

ing" the native population to make way for the English. Of the six Indian villages that had existed on Long Island when Denton arrived, only two remained by 1670. As part of a pamphlet intended to attract English colonists, Denton describes the survivors' customs, religion, and way of conducting intertribal warfare.

Primary Source

[…]

To say something of the *Indians* there is now but few upon the island, and those few no ways hurtful but rather serviceable to the *English*, and it is to be admired, how strangely they have decreased by the Hand of God, since the *English* first feeling of those pars; for since my time, where there were six town, they are reduced to two small Villages, and it hath been generally observed, that where the *English* come to settle, a Divine hand makes way for them, by removing or cutting off the *Indians*, either by Wars one with the other, or by some raging moral Disease.

The live principally by Hunting, fowling, and fishing; their Wives being the Husbandmen to till the Land, and plant their corn.

The meat they live most upon is Fish, fowl, and Venison; they eat likewise Polecats, Skunks, Racoon, Possum, Turtles, and the like.

They build small moveable Tents, which they remove two or three times a year, having their principal quarters where they plant their Corn: Their Hunting quarters, and their Fishing quarters: Their Recreations are chiefly Foot-ball and Cards, at which they will play away all they have, excepting a Flap to cover their nakedness: They are great lovers of strong drink, yet do not car for drinking, unless they have enough to make themselves drunk; and if there be so many in their company, that there is not sufficient to make them all drunk, they usually select so many out of their Company, proportionable to the quantity of drink, and the rest must be Spectators. And if any one chance to be drunk before he hath finish his proportion, (which is ordinarily a quart of Brandy, Rum or strong-waters) the rest will pour the rest of his part down his throat.

They often kill one another at these drunken Matches, which the friends of the murdered person, do revenge upon the Murderer unless he purchase his life with money, which they sometimes do: Their money is made of Periwinkle shell of which there is black and white, made much like unto beads and put upon strings.

For their worship which is diabolical, it is performed usually but once or twice a year, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, as upon making of War or the like; their usual time is about *Micbaelmass*, when their corn is first ripe, the day being appointed by their chief Priest or pawaw, most of them go to a hunting for venison: When they are all congregated, their Priest tells them if he want money, there God will accept of no other offering, which the people beleeving, every one gives money according to their ability. The

Priest take the money, and putting it into some dishes, sets them upon the top of their low flat-roofed houses, and falls to invocating their God to come and receive it, which with a many loud hallows and outcries, knocking the ground with sticks, and beating themselves, is performed by the priest, and seconded by the people.

After they have thus a while wearied, themselves, the priest by his Conjuration bring in a devil amongst them, in the shape sometimes of a fowl, sometimes of a beast, and sometimes of a man, at which the people being amazed, not daring to stir, he improves the opportunity, steps out, and makes sure of the money, and then returns to lay the spirit, who in the mean time is sometimes gone, and takes some of the Company along with him: but if any *English* at such times do come amongst them, it puts a period to their proceeding, and they will desire their absence, telling them their God will not come whilst they are there.

In their wars they fight no pitcht fields, but when they have notice of an enemies approach, they endeavor to secure their wives and children upon some Island, or in some thick swamp, and then with their guns and hatchets they way-lay their enemies, some lying behind one, some another, and it is a great fight where seven or eight is slain.

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Source: Daniel Denton, *A Brief Description of New York* (London, 1670). Daniel Denton, *A Brief Description of New York*, facsimile of original (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937).

69. Royal Instructions Concerning Privateering, 1670–1674 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Privateering was essentially a legal form of piracy—attacking ships at sea and confiscating the vessels and their cargo. Governments licensed privateers, commanders of privately owned vessels, to attack the ships of enemy nations during times of war, and so enrich themselves. During the colonial period, English privateers operated against a changing cast of enemies—Spanish, Dutch, and French. The long time required for news from Europe to reach the Americas meant that privateers continued to attack shipping for months after the signing of a peace treaty. Many privateers stretched the rules by ignoring news of treaties and continuing to raid ships during times of peace, crossing the thin line into piracy. As independent operators, they were difficult to control. This official order addresses the problem of continued privateering after the signing of a 1670 treaty with Spain that gave England freedom to sail the Caribbean. It was issued to the governor of Jamaica, as many privateers operated out of Caribbean ports. It aimed to end raids on shipping by offering pardons and land grants to privateers who gave up raiding to either become planters or use their ships for trading.

Primary Source

MEASURES FOR SUPPRESSION OF PRIVATEERING

And for the better encouraging of all captains, officers, and seamen belonging to any of the privateer ships now plying in the seas of America to come in and apply themselves unto planting and merchandizing, you shall immediately after the publication of the said peace proclaim a general pardon and indemnity unto such of them as shall come in and submit themselves unto our government (within such reasonable time as you shall with the advice of the council limit) after the said proclamation, and betake themselves to planting or merchandizing, for all crimes and offenses committed by them since the month of June, 1660, and before the publication of the said peace, in which proclamation you are to assure those that shall come in and enter their submission within the time you shall prefix and settle as aforesaid, that they shall quietly enjoy all such goods as they shall be possessed of at the time of the publication of the said peace except the tenths and fifteenths; that if they will betake themselves to plant they shall have thirty and five acres of land by the head granted unto them and every of them, their heirs, and assigns forever; that if they will employ their ships in trade or merchandizing, they shall be admitted to trade in them with the same freedom as if they were English built; that if any of them shall desire to serve on board our ships of war, they shall be received into our service and pay. But notwithstanding the latitude given you to appoint such time for the coming in of the privateers as you with the council shall think fit, yet our will and pleasure is that you shall set as short a time as the nature of that affair will bear. And in relation to the tenths and fifteenths you are to take them from such as are in port and otherwise in your power, but not to insist so positively upon their payments as to discourage their submission.

And in case that you shall find that the encouragement beforementioned shall not have the effect we desire in persuading the privateers to some other course of life than that which of late they have practiced, you are to use all other means you shall judge necessary by force or persuasion to make them submit to and continue under our obedience.

 $[\ldots]$

Source: Leonard Woods Labaree, ed., Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670–1776, vol. 1 (New York: Octagon Books, 1967.

70. John Eliot, Account of New England Indians' Conversion to Christianity, ca. 1671

Introduction

As increasing numbers of English colonists came to Massachusetts, white settlements grew up around native villages. Most of the Puritan

colonists wanted to drive off or kill the Indians. Beginning in the 1640s, Rev. John Eliot and fellow missionaries strove to convert the Indians to Christianity, as well as to the English way of life. Eliot wrote this fictitious dialogue to illustrate the Indians' spiritual concerns to other missionaries working to convert them. With funding from a missionary society in England, Eliot produced a native-language translation of the Bible and trained native teachers and missionaries. By 1675, more than 1,500 Indians had converted and lived in 14 "praying towns." When King Philip's War broke out in 1675, the Christian Indians were caught between their two worlds. Some colonists accused them of being spies, while others simply slaughtered them because they made an easy target. Both to protect them from the English and to keep them from aiding their own people, Massachusetts authorities placed them on two islands in Boston Harbor. There they died by the hundreds of exposure and starvation. The shot that killed King Philip and ended the war was fired by a Christian Indian.

Primary Source

Kinsman: I had rather that my actions of love should testifie how welcome you are, and how glad I am of this your kinde visitation, then that I should say it in a multitude of words. But in one word, You are very welcome to my hearts; and I account it among the best of the joyes of this day, that I see your face, and enjoy your company in my habitation.

Kinswoman: It is an addition to the joyes of this day, to see the face of my loving Kinsman: and I wish you had come a little earlier, that you might have taken part with us in the joyes of this day, wherein we have had all the delights that could be desired, in our merry meeting, and Dancing.

And I pray Cousin how doth your Wife, my loving Kinswoman, is she yet living? and is she not weary of your new way of praying to God? And what pleasure have you in those ways?

Piumbukhou: My wife doth remember her love to you, she is in good health of body, and her Soul is in a good condition, she is entered into the light of the knowledge of God, and of Christ; she is entered into the narrow way of heavenly joyes, and she doth greatly desire that you would turn from these ways of darkness in which you so much delight, and come taste and see how good the Lord is.

And whereas you wish I had come sooner, to have shared with you in your delights of this day; Alas, they are no delights, but griefs to me, to see that you do still delight in them. I am like a man that have tasted of sweet Wine and Honey, which have so altered the taste of my mouth, that I abhor to taste of your sinful and foolish pleasures, as the mouth doth abhor to taste the most filthy and stinking dung, the most sour grapes, or most bitter gall. Our joyes in the knowledge of God, and of Jesus Christ, which we are taught in the Book of God, and feel in our heart, is sweeter to our soul, than honey is unto the mouth and taste.

Kinswoman: We have all the delights that the flesh and blood of man can devise and delight in, and we taste and feel the delights of them, and would you make us believe that you have found out new joyes and delights, in comparison of which all our delights do stink like dung? Would you make us believe that we have neither eyes to see, nor ears to hear, nor mouthes to taste? Ha, ha, he! I appeal to the sense and sight and feeling of the Company present, whether this be so.

All. You say very true. Ha, ha, he!

Piumbukhou: Hearken to me, my friends, and see if I do not give a clear answer unto this seeming difficulty. Your dogs take as much delight in these Meetings, and the same kindes of delight as you do. They delight in each others company; they provoke each other to lust, and enjoy the pleasures of lust as you do; they eat and play and sleep as you do; what joys have you more than dogs have? to delight the body of flesh and blood.

But all mankinde have an higher and better part than the body, we have a Soul, and that Soul shall never die. Our soul is to converse with God, and to converse in such things as do concern God, and Heaven, and an eternal estate, either in happiness with God, if we walk with him and serve him in this life, or in misery and torment with the Devil, if we serve him in this life. The service of God doth consist in virtue, and wisdom, and delights of the soul, which will reach to heaven, and abide forever.

But the service of the Devil is in committing sins of the flesh, which defile both body and soul, and reach to Hell, and will turn all to fire and flame to torment your souls and bodies in all eternity.

Now consider, all your pleasures and delights are such as defile you with sin, and will turn to flame, to burn and torment you; they provoke God to wrath, who hath created the prison of hell to torment you, and the more you have took pleasure in sin, the greater are your offences against God, and the greater shall be your torments.

But we that pray to God repent of our old sins, and by faith in Christ we seek for, and find a pardon for what is past, and grace and strength to reform for time to come. So that our joyes are Soul-joyes in godliness, and virtue, and hope of glory in another world when we die.

Your joyes are bodily, fleshly, such as dogs have, and will all turn to flames in hell to torment you.

Kinsman. If these things be so, we had need to cease laughing, and fall to weeping, and see if we can draw water from our mournful eyes to quench these tormenting flames. My heart trembles to hear these things: I never heard so much before, nor have I any thing to say to the contrary, but that these things may be so. But how shall I know that you say true? Our forefathers were (many of them) wise men, and we have wise men now living, they all delight in these our

Delights: they have taught us nothing about our Soul, and God, and Heaven, and Hell, and joy and torment in the life to come. Are you wiser than our fathers? May not we rather think that English men have invented these stories to amaze us and fear us out of our old customs, and bring us to stand in awe of them, that they might wipe us of our lands, and drive us into corners, to seek new ways of living, and new places too? And be beholding to them for that which is our own, and was ours, before we knew them.

All. You say right.

Piumbukhou: The Book of God is no invention of Englishmen. It is the holy law of God himself, which was given unto man by God, before Englishmen had any knowledge of God; and all the knowledge which they have, they have it out of the Book of God: and this Book is given to us as well as to them, and it is as free for us to search the Scriptures as for them. So that we have our instruction from a higher hand, then the hand of man. It is the great Lord God of Heaven and Earth, who teacheth us these great things of which we speak. Yet this is also true, that we have great cause to be thankful to the English, and to thank God for them, for they had a good Country of their own, but by ships sailing into these parts of the world, they heard of us, and of our country, and of our nakedness, ignorance of God, and wild condition; God put it into their hearts to desire to come hither, and teach us the good knowledge of God; and their King gave them leave so to do, and in our country to have their liberty to serve God according to the word of God. And being come hither, we gave them leave freely to live among us. They have purchased of us a great part of those lands which they possess; they love us, they do us right, and no wrong willingly; if any do us wrong, it is without the consent of their Rulers, and upon our Complaints our wrongs are righted. They are (many of them, especially the Ruling part) good men, and desire to do us good. God put it into the heart of one of their ministers (as you all know) to teach us the knowledge of God, by the word of God, and hath translated the holy Book of God into our Language, so that we can perfectly know the mind and counsel of God; and out of this book have I learned all that I say unto you, and therefore you need no more doubt of the truth of it, then you have cause to doubt that the Heaven is over our head, the Sun shineth, the earth is under our feet, we walk and live upon it, and breathe in the air; for as we see with our eyes these things to be so, so we read with our own eyes these things which I speak of, to be written in God's own Book, and we feel the truth thereof in our own hearts.

Kinswoman. Cousin, you have wearied your legs this day with a long journey to come and visit us, and you weary your tongue with long discourses. I am willing to comfort and refresh you with a short supper.

All. Ha, ha, he. Though short, if sweet, that has good favor to a man that is weary. Ha, ha, he.

Kinswoman. You make long and learned discourses to us which we do not well understand. I think our best answer is to stop your mouth, and fill your belly with a good supper, and when your belly is full you will be content to take rest yourself, and give us leave to be at rest from these gastering and heart-trembling discourses. We are well as we are, and desire not to be troubled with these new wise sayings.

Source: Colin G. Calloway, ed., The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America (Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

71. William Berkeley, Report on the Dutch Burning of the Tobacco Fleet, July 1673

Introduction

England and the Netherlands went to war three times during the colonial period: 1652-1654, 1664-1667, and 1672-1674. When European wars extended across the Atlantic to America, their burdens fell heavily on the colonists. Isolated from England and clinging to a tenuous existence, the colonists could ill afford the economic losses caused by warfare. During the Third Anglo-Dutch War, in July 1673, a fleet of Dutch warships appeared off the coast of Virginia. The Virginians, seeing a vulnerable fleet of Maryland vessels in the Chesapeake Bay, sent out a hastily assembled force of merchant ships to confront the Dutch. The colonists lost a total of 11 vessels to the Dutch. In this letter to the King Charles II, Virginia governor William Berkeley and members of his council point out that they can ill afford such a loss, nor can they defend such an extensive coastline. In addition, they have to defend their western frontier against Indians, and frontiersmen are understandably reluctant to leave their families to protect the coast. Pleading lack of food, loss of cattle to disease, and the need to sell the tobacco crop, the Virginians humbly request convoys to protect the tobacco shipments on their way to England.

Primary Source

Governor's Report The Dutch Burn Tobacco Fleet, July 1673

To the Kings Most Excellent Majestie and the Lords of Your Majesties most Honorable Privy Councell

The Governor and Councell of his Majesties Collony of Virginia In all Humility Present

That on Fryday the 11th of this Instant July (which was foure Dayes before the fleet was ordered to Saile from hence) To our very great Griefe and Damage, arrived on Our Coast Foure Saile of Holland Men of Warr from above thirty to Fourty foure Gunns Under the Command of Jacob Bincke and as many Flushingers one of Six

Gunns and three from thirty to Fourty Six Gunns With one Fire Ship, under the Command of Cornelius Everson Junior, and on Sarurday the 12th anchor'd in Lynhaven Bay within Our Capes; That upon their first Arrivall on Fryday they were discovered by Our Centinalls on the Coasts, . . . advice Given to Capt. Gardner and Capt. Cotterell, who Commanded your Majesties Shipps here, Who presently Commanded Severall Masters of the abler Merchants Shipps in James River on Board, and ordered them to Cleare their Shipps for fight, and Press'd as many men as they thought fitt out of the Weaker Shipps, But may it Please Your Majestie and your Most Honorable Councell, before that could be Done Capt. Gardner Saw Eight Shipps of Maryland under Saile in the Bay who he judged would fall A Prey to the Enemy for Want of Advice, and with Capt. Cotterell weighed Ancher, and with them Six Merchant Shipps to Engage the Enemy thereby to Save the Marylanders, Butt before they came within Reach of Gunn Shott foure of the Merchant Shipps came on Ground One Stood backe and one Commanded by Capt. Grove in Fighting came on Ground Soe the Two men of Warr were left to encounter Six of their biggest Ships. The two Smaller with the Fire Shipps being not yett come upp to them, The Fight Continued with Great resolution about three houres, After which Capt. Gardner Supposeing Capt. Grove (who fought well Whilest on float) to be gotten off the Ground resolved not to lose him, and Judging that the Enemy (if hee Checkt them not) would be in with our Merchant shipps Rideing in James River before they could Get from them, Hee tacked alone upon them with Exterordinary Courage, and for at least one houre fought them all, But findeing himselfe mistaken in the Condition of Groves his Shipp, and the night in hand, it being A Quarter past Eight before the fight ended, Hee with as much Courage and Conduct (and beyond the hopes Or expectation of those who saw that brave Action) disingaged himselfe from them, as he had before ingaged them, and brought off all the Marylanders but one and foure of ours which were on Ground, and Gave the rest, which Were nere fourty Saile almost A Tides Way before the Enemy, Which Undoubtedly Saved Many who otherwise Would have bin lost, Butt haveing all his Great Masts and his Fore topmast desperately wounded, and most of his Rigging Shott, he was forced with Capt. Cotterell to goe into Elizabeth River to Refitt with Roapes and Sailes Which brought the Enemy to Anchor, not Dareing to Persue the James River Fleet in a Strange Channell, and Leave your Majesties Friggetts behind them, Two and twenty of Our Shipps Stood upp James River and the Rest went under the Fort at Nansemond, Where the Enemy looked on them five Dayes but Attempted them not; Five of those which stood upp James River Comeing on Ground, They Sent upp three of their Smallest Shipps to them And Gott off one, and burnt the other foure, the rest Getting above the Fort at James Towne were Safe; And here wee expect it will be Objected that had not Soe long A Time bene given for the Departure of our Fleet this Misfortune had bin Avoided; To Which wee humbly Offer this answer That Capt. Cotterell arriveing here neere the 20th of June and representing to us Some Dayes after (in presence of all the Masters) that for want of Wood and water and other necessaries, he could not be ready before the 15th of July, was the Reason for the appointing that Day; Next the Masters of the Yorke Shipps were not ready till then, and the Enemy was within our Capes before the most Considerable Shipps of Maryland came to us besides Five Saile in Rappahannocke not Ready and two upp the Bay which in all two and twenty Saile, A Number Too Considerable to be left behind by your Majesties Convoy; This May it please your Majestie and your most Honorable Councell being the true State of our Misfortune in the present losse of Eleaven Shipps and Goods (wherein the Inhabitants of James River bore A very Great Share) Wee thought it Our Duty, for the Better Vindication of our Selves from Such Injuries as the Mallice of Some may indeavor to fix on us, by Misrepresenting us and our indeavors to your Majestie and most Honorable Councell, to Sett forth in this our Declaration, the true State and Condition of this Country in Generall and our particular disadvantages and disabilities to entenaine A Warr at the time of this Invasion, And therefore doe most humbly beseech your Majesty and your most Honorable Councell to Consider that though all that Land which now bares the name of Virginia be Reduced to little more than sixty Miles in breadth towards the Sea, Yet that Small Tract is intersected by Soe many Vast Rivers as makes more Miles to Defend, then wee have men of trust to Defend them, For by our neerest computation Wee leave at our backs as Many Servants (besides Negroes as their are freemen to defend the Shoars and all our Frontiers, [against] the Indians) Both which gives men fearfull apprehentions of the dainger they Leave their Estates and Families in, Whilest they are drawne from their houses to defend the Borders, Of which number alsoe at least one third are Single freemen (whose labour Will hardly maintaine them) or men much in debt, both which Wee may reasonably expect upon any Small advantage the Enemy may gaine upon us, would revolt to them in hopes of bettering their Condition by Shareing the Plunder of the Countrey with them, Nor can wee Keepe any number of Soldiers long together in A Place for Want of Provissions, For the aire being hott and Moist wee could never yett find the way of keeping any Sort of Corne A Yeare from Being eaten our by Vermine Which hinders our haveing Publique Magazines of Provisions necessary for Such occations, and our men (though their has bin Great Care taken in Exercizing them) haveing for Many yeares bene unacquainted with dainger, wee cannot with much Confidence rely on their Courage against an Enemy better practiced in the Hazards of Warr; But may it please your most Sacred Majestie and your most Honorable Councell, Their were many more difficulties from this last attempt, for diseases this Winter before haveing destroyed at least fifty thousand Cattell and their Owners to preserve them haveing given them almost all their Corne Brought Soe great A Scarcety of Provision amongst us as men Could not have bene keept long together, and the Enemies Arrivall being in A time when all mens Cropps both of tobacco and corne lay hardest upon their hands (being much in the weeds by reason of the great Raine which fell Sometime before) It Troubled them much to be drawne away from their Worke (though for their Common defense) Yen notwithstanding these and many more disadvantages they appeared Soe ready in

Every place that the Enemy desended not on the Land though they wanted water to great Extremety, The losse then being wholy on the Shipps and Loading (Except some fugative Servants who escapeing our dilligence gott to them and were Carryed away) Our industry for their defense wee humbly hope will appeare in this that their was not A Shipp lost which run not on Ground before She gott within the protection of one or other of our Forts, Nor did Your Majesties Shipps or any of the Merchant men want any Assistance wee could possibly helpe them too, Though in this alsoe their lay very great difficulty, For In these times of warr, the Merchant gives our Inhabitants Soe very little for their Labour as will not Cloath them and their Famelies, which Soe disasorts them as they rather rejoyce at their loss, then Shew any desire to defend them nor would they have bene brought to appeare for them by any other Motive then the affection they have to the Gentleness and Justice of the Government they have Soe long lived under, Yet though wee have Certainly done our Utmost for them to our very great expense and hazard of our Cropps Wee expect A Complaint against us for not haveing A Fort at Point Comfort, which Some Suppose would have prevented all this losse, though the Considerable part of it happened farr off in the Bay beyond the reach of any Gunn; To which Objection for our Justification Wee doe humbly Offer our Reasons to your most Excellent Majestie and most Honorable Councell against A Fort there, because it being A direct Chanell and A great Tide, A Shipp may ride in Safety in the Bay till it hath A Good Wind and upon A Tide may runn by A better Fort then all the Wealth and Skill of this Countrey can build. Especially Considering the distance they may goe from it, which were it but halfe A Mile would be too farr for us to depend Certainly on its defense; Then, the time of Loading being five or Six Monthes in every River, wee thought it best to build Forts in the most Convenient places for their defense, during their stay, Rather then one at Point Comfort, which at best Could but Secure James River, Butt by these two losses Receaved the last Warr [ie. the Second Anglo-Dutch War] and now they doe conceade it necessary that Point Comfort werr fortified Soe as to Secure their Comeing together, and wee doe truely wish Soe too, But Since wee beleive the doeing or nor doeing of it will Something depend upon our advice to Your Majestie Wee dare nor propose A battery of lesse then fourty or fifty dimmy [demi] cannon and Culvarine of A Good length, And that will Cost Considering the inconveniency of the place (which affoards not Soe much as A Foundation to build on, much less any Materialls) at least Fifteene thousand pounds sterling, which being A Some wee have not in our Power The Publique revenue not exceeding two and twenty hundred pounds A yeare of which the Governor has twelve hundred, The Councell two hundred and the rest expended in necessary workes, and the labour of our Inhabitants Scarcely Cloathing them, Wee humbly hope Your Majestie will nor expect it From us, Nor Dare wee propose lesse Strength, least A Weaker defense Should leave the Shipps (by depending too much upon it) more open to the Attempts of the Enemy then hither to they bin; And if your Majestie Shall be graciously pleased to build such A Fort as wee propose, Wee are nor able to maintaine A Garrison in it unlesse their be Such duties laid on Shipps through the whole Countrey as may Support the Charge For Soldiers will not Serve for tobacco, because the Merchants (working on their necessities) give them Soe little for it as A Yeares Sallery will hardly Clothe them, And the present Fort duties are Soe Small as not to Pay the Gunners finde Powder and repaire them but Most of that Charge lies upon the Countrey But Wee Doe most Humbly Offer it to your Majestie and your most Honorable Councells Consideration, Wether it may not be better to Send a Convoy proportioned to Such Strength as the Enemy may bring against us, Which may in Some Measure be knowne, by advice of their first setting out, And that the Charge of Such Convoy be upon the Fraight of the Merchant men, And to ease them of part of the Charge every hired man of Warr may be permitted to take two teire of tobacco in the hoald which would Serve to ballast them and not hinder their workeing Such A Convoy would Secure the Shipps and us who dare nor be Soe confident in Our defense (the dainger of our Servants and the Indians Considered) as not to give your Majestie This State of our present condition and to implead Your Assistance; And haveing thus in all humillity laid our cause before your Majestie and your Most Honorable Councell Wee appeale to your Goodness and Justice to Determine of it Most Heartily Praiseing God for his favour to us in giveing your Majestie Soe discerning A Judgment and Soe tender A heart cowards all Your Subjects And for Assisting you with Soe wise A Councell As wee doubt nor Will direct all your great and Royall Undertakings to A Glorious end Which is the earnest Desire of Your Majesties Most Loyall and Obedient Subject and Servants

William Berkeley Henry Chicheley Edward Digges Thomas Ludwell Nathaniel Bacon Augustine Warner Henry Corbin Daniel Parke Thomas Ballard Nicholas Spencer

Source: Warren M. Billings, ed., *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia*, 1606–1689 (Chapel Hill, Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1975).

72. John Gerrard, *An Account of the Attack on the Susquehannock Stronghold*, 1675

Introduction

The Susquehannocks lived along the Susquehanna River in present-day New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Maryland first declared war on the Susquehannocks in 1642. Ten years later, the

Susquehannocks made peace with Maryland and gave the colony large tracts of land. The Susquehannocks had suffered huge losses in their ongoing war with the Iroquois and could no longer fight two wars at once. The peace endured for more than 20 years. In 1674, the Maryland government ordered the Susquehannocks, who were weakened by decades of warfare, to move to a settlement on the banks of the Potomac River. The next year, an argument ended in the murder of a Virginian and some 20 Susquehannocks. Fearing reprisals, more than 1,000 Virginia and Maryland militia surrounded the Susquehannock town. Militiamen murdered five Susquehannock chiefs. In this report, a Virginia militiaman attributes the killing to Marylanders. The Susquehannocks fled to southern Virginia, and then took revenge by attacking and killing settlers on the frontiers of both colonies. They remained at war with the English for another 15 years, until they were reduced to scattered remnants. The Maryland Assembly tried and convicted the militia commander for the murder, but he was not punished.

Primary Source

A narrative of the transactions of the Susquehannock Fort. Soe fare as I know concerning the Killing of the five Indians Assoone as our Virginia forces were landed in Maryland wee found five susquehannock Indians, under a guard and inquireing the reason of theire restraint, where i.e., were answered they endeavoured an escape and thereof were secured till our comeing in order to a treaty wee informing the Marylanders our businesse was first to treat and require satisfaction for the murder perpetrated before wee declared ourselves open enimies and proceeded to hostile actions Lt. Col. John Washington and Major Isaac Allerton upon this information thought it convenient to have them stronger guarded and themselves alsoe dureing the treaty which being donne and Col. Washington and Major Alerton accordingly treating there first demand was Satisfaction for the murder and spoyles committed on Virginia Shore Major Tilghman in the interim remaining silent: after long debate word illegible therein made by Col. Washington and Major Alerton the Indians disowned all that was Aledged to them and imputed it all to the senacas[.] Col Washington and Major Alerton urged that severall Cannoes loaded with beefe and pork had bin carried into theire fort alleadging that theire enimyes would not be soe kinde as to supply them with provisions and farther that some of their men had a little before been taken on Virginia side who had the Cloathes of such as had bin a little before murdered, upon there backes which made it appeare that they had bin the murderers: for these reasons Major Alerton and Col. Washington demanded Satisfaction or else they must proceed against them as enimyes and storme there fort and accordingly commanded the interpreter to bid them defiance[.] dureing the time of their Treaty Major Thomas Trewman came and asked the Gentlemen wheather they had finished, saying when you have donne I will Say something to them: And when col. Washington and Major Alerton had ended there treatie he went and commanded his interpreter John shanks to ask them how theire Indians came to be buried at Hutsons? and after a little further discourse caused them to be bound and told them he would Carry them to the place and show them theire owne Indians where they lay dead: Major Alerton asked him what he did intend to doe with them afterwards[.] Major Trewman answered he thought they deserved the like to which Major Alerton replyed I doe not thinke soe[.] noe sooner was this discourse ended between Major Allerton and Major Trewman than the Marylanders carried away those five Indians and before they had got five hundred yards distance from the place of this discourse and treaty spoken of, the Marylanders killed them and further saith not

John Gerrard

Sworne before us by virtue of an order to us from the right Honorable the Governor
Nicholas Spencer June the 13th 1677 recorded
Richard Lee

Source: Warren M. Billings, ed., *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606–1689* (Chapel Hill, Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1975).

73. Nathaniel Saltonstall, Accounts of King Philip's War, 1675–1676 [Excerpts]

Introduction

These excerpts from a series of letters—sent to London by a Boston merchant, Nathaniel Saltonstall-recount episodes in King Philip's War. The Wampanoag Indians had lived in peace with the English ever since 1620 when their leader, Massasoit, had made a treaty of friendship with the Pilgrims. Massasoit's son, Metacom, called King Philip by the English, organized an Indian confederacy to resist English expansion. A June 1675 attack on a village in Plymouth Colony set off the hugely destructive war. The United Colonies of New England joined forces against the Narragansetts, Pocumtucs, Nipmucs, and Wampanoags. The Indians destroyed numerous Massachusetts villages, making life on the frontier intolerable for the colonists. The first excerpt demonstrates how the English treated their Indian allies. The second describes the Great Swamp Fight. In December 1675, Plymouth governor Josiah Winslow led his militia into Rhode Island to attack the Narragansetts. Winslow found the Narragansetts camped on high ground in the middle of a vast swamp. The battle inflicted 240 English casualties and more than 900 on the Narragansetts. The war crushed Indian resistance but utterly destroyed parts of New England and killed 1 out of every 16 English fighting men.

Primary Source

[…]

This Unkus, and all his Subjects professing Christianity, are called Praying Indians. In the first Week in August, the Authority of Boston sent an Express to him, to require him to come in and Surrender himself, Men, and Arms, to the English; Whereupon, he sent along with the Messenger his three Sons, and about Sixty of his Men, with his Arms, to be thus disposed of, viz. His two youngest sons, (about thirty Years old) to remain as Hostages (as now they do at Cambridg) and his Eldest Son to go Captain of the Men as Assistants to the English against the Heathens, which accordingly they did. And the English not thinking themselves yet secure enough, because they cannot know a Heathen from a Christian by his Visage, nor Apparel: The Authority of Boston, at a Council held there the 30th of August, Published this following Order.

At a Council held in Boston, August 30, 1675.

The Council judging it of absolute Necessity for the Security of the English, and the Indians that are in Amity with us, that they be Restrained their usual commerce with the English, and Hunting in the Woods, during the Time of Hostility with those that are our Enemies.

Do Order, that all those Indians that are desirous to Approve themselves Faithful to the English, be Confined to their several Plantations under-written, until the council shall take further Order; and that they so order the setting of their Wigwams, that they may stand Compact in some one Part of their Plantations respectively, where it may be best for their own Provision and Defence. And that none of them do presume to Travel above one Mile from the Center of such their Dwelling, unless in Company with some English, or in their Service near their Dwellings; and excepting for gathering and fetching in their Corn with one Englishman, on peril of being taken as our Enemies, or their Abettors: And in Case that any of them shall be taken without the Limits abovesaid, except as abovesaid, and do lose their Lives, or be otherwise damnified, by English or Indians; The Council do hereby Declare, that they shall account themselves wholly Innocent, and their Blood or other Dammage (by them sustained) will be upon their own Heads. Also it shall not be lawful for any Indians that are in Amity with us, to entertain any strange Indians, or receive any of our Enemies Plunder, but shall from Time to Time make Discovery thereof to some English, that shall be Appointed for that End to sojourn among them, on Penalty of being reputed our Enemies, and of being liable to be proceeded against as such.

Also, whereas it is the Manner of the Heathen that are now in Hostility with us, contrary to the Practice of all Civil nations, to Execute their bloody Insolencies by Stealth, and Sculking in small Parties, declining all open Decision of their Controversie, either by Treaty or by the Sword.

The Council do therefore Order, That after the Publication of the Provision aforesaid, It shall be lawful for any Person, whether Eng-

lish or Indian, that shall find any Indians Travelling or Sculking in any of our Towns or Woods, contrary to the Limits above-named, to command them under their Guard and Examination, or to Kill and destroy them as they best may or can. The Council hereby declaring, That it will be most acceptable to them that none be Killed or Wounded that are Willing to surrender themselves into Custody.

The Places of the Indians Residencies are, Natick, Punquapaog, Nashoba, Wamesit, and Hassanemesit: And if there be any that belong to any other Plantations, they are to Repair to some one of these.

By the Council EDWARD RAWSON, Secr.

[...]

In the Afternoon of that Saturday, some of the Souldiers accidently espied an Indian alone, whom they took and carried to the General, who upon his Refusal to answer to those Questions demanded, was ordered to be Hanged forthwith; Whereupon the Indian to save his Life, told them where the whole Body of the Indians were together, as well King Philip, and all other confederate Sagamores and Sachems with their whole Retinue, as also the whole body of the Narragansets, being joined all in a body in November, about 4500 Indian Men, besides Wives and Children: Whereupon, keeping this Indian for their Guide, they having Provisions with them, marched all Night, the Indians being then 16 Miles distant from them, and that Night there fell a very hard Snow two or three Foot deep, and withal an extream hard Frost, so that some of our Men were frozen in their Hands and Feet, and thereby disabled for Service. The next Day, about Noon, they come to a large Swamp, which by Reasons of the Frost all the Night before, they were capable of going over (which else they could not have done). They forthwith in one Body entered the said Swamp, and in the Midst thereof was a Piece of firm Land, of about three or four Acres of Ground, whereon the Indians had built a Kind of Fort, being palisado'd round, and within that a Clay Wall, as also felled down Abundance of Trees to Lay quite round the said Fort, but they had not quite finished the said Work.

The General placed Capt. Moseley in the Front, to enter the Fort, and the Rest of the Companies were placed according to discretion. In their march they met with three Indians sent out as Scouts, whom they shot dead at Sight thereof: as soon as ever the Indians saw our Army coming, they shot as fast as ever they could, and so our men did the like. Before our men could come up to take Possession of the Fort, the Indians had shot three Bullets through Capt. Davenport, whereupon he bled extreamly, and immediately called for his Lieutenant, Mr. Edward Ting, and committed the Charge of the Company to him, and desire him to take care of his Gun, and deliver it according to Order, and immediately died in the Place; his Company were extreamly grieved at his Death, in Regard he was so courteous to them; for he being Commander of that Company,

belonging to Cambridge and Watertown etc. was a Stranger to most of them; and at the same Time that he came to take Possession of his Company, he made a very civil Speech to them, and also gave them free Liberty to choose their Serjeants themselves, which pleased them very well, and accordingly did so; and it is very probable the Indians might think that Capt. Davenport was the General, because he had a very good Buff Suit on at that Time, and therefore might shoot at him. In a short Time our Forces entered the fort, Captain Moseley being in the Front, the Indians knowing him very well, many directed their shot to him, as he afterwards told the General that he believed he saw 50 aim at him: As soon as he and they had entred the Fort, he espied a Heap of above 50 Indians lay dead in a Corner, which the Indians had gathered together; as soon as ever our Men had entred the Fort, the Indians fled, our Men killed many of them, as also of their Wives and Children, amongst which an Indian Black-Smith (the only Man amongst them that fitted their Guns and Arrow-heads;) and amongst many other Houses burnt his, as also demolished his Forge, and carried away his tools; they fought with the Indians, and pursued them so long as was advantageous to them; then the General gave Order to sound a Retreat, which was done according to Order. The Retreat was no sooner beaten, and the Souldiers were in a Marching Posture, before they were got all out of the Fort, a thousand fresh Indians set on our Men, but in an Hour's Time the Indians were forced to Retreat and Flie. Our Men as near as they can judge, may have killed about 600 Indian Men, besides Women and Children. Many more Indians were killed which we could have no Account of, by Reason that they would carry away as many dead Indians as they could. Our Men before they had been set on by the fresh Indians, had set fire to most of the Wigwams in and about the Fort (which were near 1000 in all,) how many were burnt down they could not tell positively, only thus; That they marched above three Miles from the Fort by the Light of the Fires.

Source: Charles H. Lincoln, ed., *Narratives of the Indian Wars* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913).

74. Nathaniel Bacon, "Declaration in the Name of the People of Virginia," 1676

Introduction

William Berkeley governed Virginia from 1642 to 1652 and again from 1660 to 1677. His administration favored the interests of the wealthy upper class. He imposed heavy taxes on struggling farmers while paying himself a high salary, and in 1660 he canceled elections for more than 15 years. He granted the best land to his favorites, forcing former indentured servants to wrestland from the Indians on the western frontier. Nathaniel Bacon, an upper-class 29-year-old distantly related to the governor, had served on Vir-

ginia's council. He took up the cause of the struggling frontier dwellers and led an attack on the Indians. Berkeley opposed the expedition and accused Bacon of treason. Bacon and his men then occupied Jamestown, forcing the governor to flee, and burned the capital to the ground. This declaration contains a list of grievances against the governor, accusing him of favoritism, corruption, and treachery. The rebellion came to a halt when Bacon suddenly fell ill and died in October 1676. After Bacon's death, the governor returned to the capital and hanged 23 of Bacon's rebels, seizing their property for his friends. King Charles II recalled Berkeley to London to explain his actions. Ultimately, Bacon's Rebellion brought about reform in Virginia, including a reduction in taxes and availability of land for freed servants.

Primary Source

- 1. For having, upon specious pretenses of public works, raised great unjust taxes upon the commonalty for the advancement of private favorites and other sinister ends, but no visible effects in any measure adequate; for not having, during this long time of his government, in any measure advanced this hopeful colony either by fortifications, towns, or trade.
- 2. For having abused and rendered contemptible the magistrates of justice by advancing to places of judicature scandalous and ignorant favorites.
- 3. For having wronged his Majesty's prerogative and interest by assuming monopoly of the beaver trade and for having in it unjust gain betrayed and sold his Majesty's country and the lives of his loyal subjects to the barbarous heathen.
- 4. For having protected, favored, and emboldened the Indians against his Majesty's loyal subjects, never contriving, requiring, or appointing any due or proper means of satisfaction for their many invasions, robberies, and murders committed upon us.
- 5. For having, when the army of English was just upon the track of those Indians, who now in all places burn, spoil, murder and when we might with ease have destroyed them who then were in open hostility, for then having expressly countermanded and sent back our army by passing his word for the peaceable demeanor of the said Indians, who immediately prosecuted their evil intentions, committing horrid murders and robberies in all places, being protected by the said engagement and word past of him the said Sir William Berkeley, having ruined and laid desolate a great part of his Majesty's country, and have now drawn themselves into such obscure and remote places and are by their success so emboldened and confirmed by their confederacy so strengthened that the cries of blood are in all places, and the terror and consternation of the people so great, are now become not only difficult but a very formidable enemy who might at first with ease have been destroyed.

6. And lately, when, upon the loud outcries of blood, the assembly had, with all care, raised and framed an army for the preventing of further mischief and safeguard of this his Majesty's colony.

7. For having, with only the privacy of some few favorites without acquainting the people, only by the alteration of a figure, forged a commission, by we know not what hand, not only without but even against the consent of the people, for the raising and effecting civil war and destruction, which being happily and without bloodshed prevented; for having the second time attempted the same, thereby calling down our forces from the defense of the frontiers and most weakly exposed places.

8. For the prevention of civil mischief and ruin amongst ourselves while the barbarous enemy in all places did invade, murder, and spoil us, his Majesty's most faithful subjects.

Of this and the aforesaid articles we accuse Sir William Berkeley as guilty of each and every one of the same, and as one who has traitorously attempted, violated, and injured his Majesty's interest here by a loss of a great part of this his colony and many of his faithful loyal subjects by him betrayed and in a barbarous and shameful manner exposed to the incursions and murder of the heathen. And we do further declare these the ensuing persons in this list to have been his wicked and pernicious councilors, confederates, aiders, and assisters against the commonalty in these our civil commotions.

Sir Henry Chichley Richard Whitacre Lt. Col. ChristopherWormeleyNicholas SpencerPhillip Ludwell Joseph Bridger Robt. Beverley William Claiburne, Jr. Ri. Lee Thomas Hawkins Thomas Ballard William Sherwood William Cole John Page ClerkeJohn Clauffe Clerk

John West, Hubert Farrell, Thomas Reade, Math. Kempe

And we do further demand that the said Sir William Berkeley with all the persons in this list be forthwith delivered up or surrender themselves within four days after the notice hereof, or otherwise we declare as follows.

That in whatsoever place, house, or ship, any of the said persons shall reside, be hid, or protected, we declare the owners, masters, or inhabitants of the said places to be confederates and traitors to the people and the estates of them is also of all the aforesaid persons to be confiscated. And this we, the commons of Virginia, do declare, desiring a firm union amongst ourselves that we may jointly and with one accord defend ourselves against the common enemy. And let not the faults of the guilty be the reproach of the innocent, or the faults or crimes of the oppressors divide and separate us who have suffered by their oppressions.

These are, therefore, in his Majesty's name, to command you forthwith to seize the persons abovementioned as traitors to the King and country and them to bring to Middle Plantation and there to secure them until further order, and, in case of opposition, if you want any further assistance you are forthwith to demand it in the name of the people in all the counties of Virginia.

Source: *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* 4th Ser., vol 9. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1871.

75. William Berkeley, Declaration on Bacon's Rebellion, 1676

Introduction

William Berkeley governed Virginia from 1642 to 1652 and again from 1660 to 1677. His administration favored the interests of the wealthy upper class. He imposed heavy taxes on struggling farmers while paying himself a high salary, and in 1660 he canceled elections for more than 15 years. He granted the best land to his favorites, forcing former indentured servants to wrest land from the Indians on the western frontier. Nathaniel Bacon, an upper-class 29-year-old distantly related to the governor, had served on Virginia's council. He took up the cause of the struggling frontier dwellers and led an attack on the Indians. Berkeley opposed the expedition and accused Bacon of treason. This declaration was Berkeley's attempt to rally support. Bacon and his men then occupied Jamestown, forcing the governor to flee, and burned the capital to the ground. The rebellion came to a halt when Bacon suddenly fell ill and died in October 1676. After Bacon's death, the governor returned to the capital and hanged 23 of Bacon's rebels, seizing their property for his friends. King Charles II recalled the governor to London to explain his actions, but Berkeley died shortly after his arrival. Ultimately, Bacon's Rebellion brought about reform in Virginia, including a reduction in taxes and availability of land for freed servants.

Primary Source

The declaration and Remonstrance of Sir William Berkeley his most sacred Majesties Governor and Captain Generall of Virginia

Sheweth That about the yeare 1660 Coll. Mathews the then Governor dyed and then in consideration of the service I had don the Country, in defending them from, and destroying great numbers of the Indians, without the loss of three men, in all the time that warr lasted, and in contemplation of the equal and uncorrupt Justice I had distributed to all men, Not onely the Assembly but the unanimous votes of all the Country, concurred to make me Governor in a time, when if the Rebells in England had prevailed, I had certainely dyed for accepting itt, 'twas Gentlemen an unfortunate Love, shewed to me, for to shew myselfe gratefull for this, I was willing to accept of this Government againe, when by my gracious Kings favour I might have had other places much more proffitable, and lesse toylesome then this hath beene. Since that time that I returned into the Country, I call the great God Judge of all things in heaven and earth to wittness, that I doe not know of any thing relateive to this Country wherein I have acted unjustly, corruptly, or negligently in distributeing equall Justice to all men, and takeing all possible care to preserve their proprietys, and defend the from their barbarous enimies.

But for all this, perhapps I have erred in things I know not of, if I have I am soe conscious of humane frailty, and my owne defects,

that I will not onely acknowledge them, but repent of, and amend them, and not like the Rebell Bacon persist in an error, onely because I have comitted itt, and tells me in diverse of his Letters that itt is not for his honnor to confess a fault, but I am of opinion that itt is onely for divells to be incorrigable, and men of principles like the worst of divells, and these he hath, if truth be reported to me, of diverse of his expressions of Atheisme, tending to take away all Religion and Laws.

And now I will state the Question betwixt me as a Governor and Mr. Bacon, and say that if any enimies should invade England, any Councellor Justice of peace or other inferiour officer, might raise what forces they could to protect his Majesties subjects, But I say againe, if after the Kings knowledge of this invasion, any the greatest peere of England, should raise forces against the kings prohibition this would be now, and ever was in all ages and Nations accompted treason. Nay I will goe further, that though this peere was truly zealous for the preservation of his King, and subjects, and had better and greater abillitys then all the rest of his fellow subjects, doe his King and Country service, yett if the King (though by false information) should suspect the contrary, itt were treason in this Noble peere to proceed after the King's prohibition, and for the truth of this I appeale to all the laws of England, and the Laws and constitutions of all other Nations in the world, And yett further itt is declaired by this Parliament that the takeing up Armes for the King and Parliament is treason, for the event shewed that what ever the pretence was to seduce ignorant and well affected people, yett the end was ruinous both to King and people, as this will be if not prevented, I doe therefore againe declair that Bacon proceeding against all Laws of all Nations modern and ancient, is Rebell to his sacred Majesty and this Country, nor will I insist upon the sweareing of men to live and dye togeather, which is treason by the very words of the Law.

Now my friends I have lived 34 yeares amongst you, as uncorrupt and dilligent as ever Governor was, Bacon is a man of two yeares amongst you, his person and qualities unknowne to most of you, and to all men else, by any vertuous action that ever I heard of, And that very action which he boasts of, was sickly and fooleishly, and as I am informed treacherously carried to the dishonnor of the English Nation, yett in itt, he lost more men then I did in three yeares Warr, and by the grace of God will putt myselfe to the same daingers and troubles againe when I have brought Bacon to acknowledge the Laws are above him, and I doubt not but by God's assistance to have better success then Bacon hath had, the reason of my hopes are, that I will take Councell of wiser men then my selfe, but Mr. Bacon hath none about him, but the lowest of the people.

Yett I must further enlarge, that I cannot without your helpe, doe any thinge in this but dye in defence of my King, his laws, and subjects, which I will cheerefully doe, though alone I doe itt, and considering my poore fortunes, I can not leave my poore Wife and friends a better legacy then by dyeing for my King and you: for his sacred Majesty will easeily distinguish betweene Mr. Bacons actions and myne, and Kinges have long Armes, either to reward or punish.

Now after all this, if Mr. Bacon can shew one precedens or example where such actings in any Nation what ever, was approved of, I will mediate with the King and you for a pardon, and excuce for him, but I can shew him an hundred examples where brave and great men have beene putt to death for gaineing Victorys against the Comand of their Superiors.

Lastly my most assured friends I would have preserved those Indians that I knew were howerly att our mercy, to have beene our spyes and intelligence, to finde out our bloody enimies, but as soone as I had the least intelligence that they alsoe were trecherous enimies, I gave out Commissions to distroy them all as the Commissions themselves will speake itt.

To conclude, I have don what was possible both to friend and enimy, have granted Mr. Bacon three pardons, which he hath scornefully rejected, suppoaseing himselfe stronger to subvert then I and you to maineteyne the Laws, by which onely and Gods assisting grace and mercy, all men mwt hope for peace and safety. I will add noe more though much more is still remaineing to Justifie me and condemne Mr. Bacon, but to desier that this declaration may be read in every County Court in the Country, and that a Court be presently called to doe itt, before the Assembly meet, That your approbation or dissattisfaction of this declaration may be knowne to all the Country, and the Kings Councell to whose most revered Judgments itt is submitted, Given the xxixth day of May, a happy day in the xxv'ith yeare of his most sacred Majesties Reigne, Charles the second, who God grant long and prosperously to Reigne, and lett all his good subjects say Amen.

Source: Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. 4th Ser., vol 9. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1871.

76. First Thanksgiving Proclamation, June 20, 1676

Introduction

The Pilgrims gave thanks for their survival at two Plymouth celebrations, in 1621 and 1623. The first official Thanksgiving, however, was proclaimed by the town council of Charlestown, Massachusetts (now part of Boston), on June 20, 1676, in response to the turn of the tide in King Philip's War. The Wampanoag Indians had lived in peace with the English ever since 1620 when their leader, Massasoit, had made a treaty of friendship with the Pilgrims. Massasoit's son, Metacom, called King Philip by the English, organized an Indian confederacy to resist English expansion. A June 1675 attack on a village in Plymouth Colony set off the hugely destructive war. An alliance of Wampanoags, Narragansetts, Pocumtucs, and Nipmucs destroyed numerous Massachusetts and Rhode Island villages, making life on the frontier intolerable for the colonists. Although the Indians lost hundreds in the Great Swamp Fight of December 1675, they continued their raids through the winter. They even attacked a

town only 18 miles west of Boston. However, the Indian offensive began to dissipate by spring. In June 1676, Massachusetts leaders offered amnesty to Indians who surrendered, and hundreds accepted the offer. After several failed attempts, Thanksgiving became an annual American celebration beginning in 1863.

Primary Source

The Holy God having by a long and Continual Series of his Afflictive dispensations in and by the present Warr with the Heathen Natives of this land, written and brought to pass bitter things against his own Covenant people in this wilderness, yet so that we evidently discern that in the midst of his judgements he hath remembered mercy, having remembered his Footstool in the day of his sore displeasure against us for our sins, with many singular Intimations of his Fatherly Compassion, and regard; reserving many of our Towns from Desolation Threatened, and attempted by the Enemy, and giving us especially of late with many of our Confederates many signal Advantages against them, without such Disadvantage to ourselves as formerly we have been sensible of, if it be the Lord's mercy that we are not consumed, It certainly bespeaks our positive Thankfulness, when our Enemies are in any measure disappointed or destroyed; and fearing the Lord should take notice under so many Intimations of his returning mercy, we should be found an Insensible people, as not standing before Him with Thanksgiving, as well as lading him with our Complaints in the time of pressing Afflictions:

The Council has thought meet to appoint and set apart the 29th day of this instant June, as a day of Solemn Thanksgiving and praise to God for such his Goodness and Favour, many Particulars of which mercy might be Instanced, but we doubt not those who are sensible of God's Afflictions, have been as diligent to espy him returning to us; and that the Lord may behold us as a People offering Praise and thereby glorifying Him; the Council doth commend it to the Respective Ministers, Elders and people of this Jurisdiction; Solemnly and seriously to keep the same Beseeching that being perswaded by the mercies of God we may all, even this whole people offer up our bodies and soulds as a living and acceptable Service unto God by Jesus Christ.

Source: http://www.law.ou.edu/ushistory/thanksgiv.shtml.

77. Mary Rowlandson, *A Narrative* of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, 1682 [Excerpt]

Introduction

At sunrise on February 10, 1676, Narragansett Indians attacked and destroyed Lancaster, Massachusetts. The attackers killed 12 men,

women, and children and took 24 captives. Among those taken were Mary Rowlandson, wife of the town's Puritan minister, and her 3 children. Her wounded 6-year-old daughter died 9 days after their capture. The Indians took Rowlandson with them as they moved their village from place to place, covering some 150 miles. Rowlandson and her surviving 2 children, a girl of 10 and a boy of 14, were sold to separate owners among the Indians. Rowlandson, taking strength from her religious faith, used her wits to survive. She met King Philip himself, and sewed some clothing for his son, for which he paid her. Others then gave her food in return for sewing. Some Indians in the village treated her with kindness, others with cruelty. After 11 weeks of captivity among the Indians, Rowlandson was ransomed and released on May 3, 1676. Several months passed before her children were freed. Rowlandson wrote A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, and it was published in Boston in 1682. The first of its kind, the book sold well, and stories of captivity among the Indians became a popular form of American literature. This excerpt recounts the day of the attack.

Primary Source

On the tenth of February 1675, Came the Indians with great numbers upon Lancaster: Their first coming was about Sun-rising; hearing the noise of some guns, we looked out; several Houses were burning, and the smoke ascending to Heaven. There were five persons taken in one house, the Father, and the Mother and a sucking Child, they knockt on the head; the other two they took and carried away alive. Their were two others, who being out of their Garison upon some occasion were set upon; one was knockt on the head, the other escaped: Another their was who running along was shot and wounded, and fell down; he begged of them his life promising them Money (as they told) but they would not hearken to him but knockt him in head, and stript him naked, and split open his Bowels. Another seeing many of the Indians about his Barn, ventured and went out, but was quickly shot down. There were three others belonging to the same Garison who were killed; the Indians getting up upon the roof of the Barn, had advantage to shoot down upon them over their Fortification. Thus these murderous wretches went on, burning and destroying before them.

At length they came and beset our house, and quickly it was the dole-fullest day that ever min eyes saw. The House stood upon the edg of a hill; some of the Indians got behind the hill, others into the Barn, and others behind any thing that could shelter them; from all which places they shot against the House, so that the Bullets seemed to fly like hail; and quickly they wounded one man among us, then another, and then a third, About two hours (according to my observation, in that amazing time) they had been about the house before they prevailed to fire it (which they did with Flax and Hemp, which they brought out of the Barn, and there being no defence about the House, only two flankers at two opposite corners and one of them not finished) they fired it once and one ventured out and quenched it, but they quickly fired it again, and that took. Now is the dreadfull hour come, that I have often heard of (in time of War, as it was the case of

others) but now mine eyes see it. Some in our house were fighting for their lives, others wallowing in their blood, the House on fire over our heads, and the bloody Heathen ready to knock us on the head, if we stirred out. Now might we hear Mothers and Children crying out for themselves, and one another, Lord, What shall we do? Then I took my Children (and one of my sisters, hers) to go forth and leave the house: but as soon as we came to the dore and appeared, the Indians shot so thick that the bullets rattled against the House, as if one had taken an handful of stones and threw them, so that we were fain to give back. We had six stout dogs belonging to our Garrison, but none of them would stir, though another time, if any Indian had come to the door, they were ready to fly upon him and tear him down. The Lord hereby would make us the more to acknowledge his hand, and to see that our help is always in him. But out we must go, the fire increasing, and coming along behind us, roaring, and the Indians gaping before us with their Guns, Spears and Hatchets to devour us. No sooner were we out of the House, but my Brother in Law (being before wounded, in defending the house, in or near the throat) fell down dead, wherat the Indians scornfully shouted, and hallowed, and were presently upon him, stripping off his cloaths, the bullets flying thick, one went through my side, and the same (as would seem through the bowels and hand of my dear Child in my arms. One of my elder sisters Children, named William, had then his Leg broken, which the Indians perceiving, they knockt him on head. Thus were we butchered by those merciless Heathen standing amazed, with the blood running down to our heels. My eldest Sister being yet in the House, and seeing those woful sights, the Infidels haling Mothers one way, and children another, and some wallowing in their blood: and her eldest Son telling her that her son William was dead, and my self was wounded, she said, And, Lord, let me dy with them, which was no sooner said, but she was struck with a Bullet and fell down dead over the threshold. I hope she is reaping the fruit of her good labours, being faithfull to the service of God in her place. In her younger years she lay under much trouble upon spiritual accounts, till it pleased God to make that precious Scripture take hold of her heart, 2 Cor 12.9: and he said unto me, my Grace is sufficient for thee. More then twenty years after I have heard her tell how sweet and comfortable that place was to her. But to return: The Indians laid hold of us, pulling me one way, and the Children another and said, Come go along with us: I told them they would kill me: they answered, If I were willing to go along with them, they would not hurt me.

Oh the dolefull sight that now was to behold at this House, *Come, behold the works of the Lord, what disolations he has made in the Earth.* Of thirty seven persons who were in this one House, none escaped either present death, or a bitter captivity, save only one, who might say as he, Job 1.15, *And I only am escaped alone to tell the News.* There were twelve killed, some shot, some stab'd with their Spears, some knock'd down with their hatchets. When we are in prosperity, Oh the little that we think of dreadfull sights, and to see our dear Friends, and Relations ly bleeding out their heart-blood upon the ground. There was one who was chopt into the head with a hatchet,

and stript naked, and yet was crawling up and down. It is a solemn sight to see so many Christians lying in their blood, some here, and some there, like a company of Sheep torn by Wolves, All of them stript naked by a company of hell-hounds, roaring, singing, ranting and insulting, as if they would have torn our very hearts out; yet, the Lord by his Almighty power preserved a number of us from death, for there were twenty-four of us taken alive and carried Captive.

I had often before this said, that if the Indians should come, I should chuse rather to be killed by them then taken alive but when it came to the tryal my mind changed; their glittering weapons so daunted my spirit, that I chose rather to go along with those (as I may say) ravenous Beasts, then that moment to end my dayes; and that I may the better declare what happened to me during that grievous Captivity, I shall particularly speak of the severall Removes we had up and down the Wilderness.

The first Remove.

Now away we must go with those Barbarous Creatures, with our bodies wounded and bleeding, and our hearts no less than our bodies. About a mile we went that night, up upon a hill within sight of the Town, where they intended to lodge. There was hard by a vacant house (deserted by the English before, for fear of the Indians). I asked them whither I might no lodge in the house that night to which they answered, what will you love English men still? This was the dolefullest night that ever my eyes saw. Oh the roaring, and singing and dancing, and yelling of those black creatures in the night, which made the place a lively resemblance of hell.

[...]

Source: Charles H. Lincoln, ed., *Narratives of the Indian Wars* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913).

78. Accounts of Culpeper's Rebellion, 1679, 1680

Introduction

The tobacco growers of Carolina (North and South Carolina were at that time a single colony) objected to a 1672 law that levied a tax whenever a ship bearing tobacco stopped at another colonial port before crossing to England. Much of Carolina's tobacco was carried by New England ships, which stopped at Massachusetts ports on the way to England. This law was widely ignored in the colonies until the king issued a proclamation calling for its strict enforcement. In 1676, the proprietors of Carolina appointed Thomas Miller to collect the taxes. When Miller arrived in Carolina the following year, his opponents tried to prevent him from taking office, but the militia came to his assistance. In December 1677, an armed rebellion broke out, led by Carolina planters—John Culpeper among

them—and New England ship captains. The revolt became known as Culpeper's Rebellion. The rebels arrested and jailed Miller and brought him to trial. The rebels also sent armed men to the Virginia border to prevent Miller's replacement from entering Carolina. Miller escaped in 1679 and fled to England, where he sued Culpeper and other conspirators. These documents contain the information collected for the trial of Culpeper.

Primary Source

MR CARTWRIGHT (who was related to Mr Vice Chamberlaine, one of the Proprietors) being governor of the Northern part of Carolina and being returned for England and having left the Governm't there in ill order and worse hands, the Proprietors resolved to send another Governor and such a one, if they could be fortunate in their choice, as would put in execution their Instruction orders and designes, The former Governor having very much failed them especially in 2 poynts—The 2d was their discouraging the planting on the south side of the river Albemarle. The latter was extreamely the interest of the Proprietors, but crost allwayes by the Governnors and some of the cheife fo the Country, who had ingrosit the Indian trade to themselves and feared that it would be intercepted by those that should plant farther amongst them. The illness of the harbours was the cause that this Northern part of Carolina had no other vent for their Comodityes but either by Virginia, where they paid dutyes to the Governm't, or to New England, who were the onely immediate Traders with them; And ventur'd in, in small Vessells, and had soe manadg'd their affayres that they brought their goods att very lowe rates, eate outand ruin'd the place, defrauded the King of his Customes and yet govern'd the people ag't their owne Interest. To cure those evils the Prop'rs made choice of one Mr Eastchurch to be their Governor, a Gent'n of a good fame and related to the Lord Trea'r Clifford, who had recommended him to the Prop'rs formerly for that place and had the promise of severall of us. In Summer 1677 we dispatched away the sd Mr Eastchurch, together with Mr Miller, who was the Kings officer and made by us one of our Deputyes, It happen'd soe that they went not directly for Virginia, but took their passage in a ship bould for Nevis, where Mr Eastchurch, lighting upon a woman that was a considerable fortune, took hold of the oppertunity, marryed her, and dispatch away Mr Miller for Carolina to settle affayres against his comeing, who carried with him the Commission of the Lds prop'rs to their Deputyes and Commission from Mr Eastchurch himself that made Miller Presid't of the Councill until his arrival and gave him very full and ample powers. Miller, arriveing in Carolina with these commissions, is quietly received into the Governm't, and submitted to not onely as Gov'r but the King's Collector, in the discharge of w'ch duty as Collector he made a very considerable progress. But as Governor he did many extravagant things, making strange limitations for the choice of the Parliam't, gitting power in his hands of laying fynes, w'ch tis to be feared he neither did nor meant to use moderately, sending out strange warrants to bring some of the most considerable men of the Country alive or dead before him, setting summe of money upon their

1032 78. Accounts of Culpeper's Rebellion

heads: these proceedings having started and disaffected the people towards him, there arrives Capt. Zachariah Gilham with a very pretty vessel of some force, and together with him Durant, and about the same time Culpeper. They brought with them severall Armes, w'ch were for Trade in the Country, and finding that Miller had lost his reputation and interest amongst the people, stirr'd up a Commotion, seized him and all the writing belonging to the Prop'rs, and all the Tobacco and writing belonging to Kings Customes, imploying the Kings Tobacco towards the charge of maintaining and supporting their unlawful actions, And, w'ch aggravated the matter very much, Durant had in England sometime before this Voyage declared to some of the Prop'rs that Eastchurch should not be Governor and threatened to revolt. Capt. Gilham was a fitt man for his turn, having been turn'd out by some of the prop'rs of a considerable imploym't in Hudson Bay, wherein he had very much abused them.

Culpeper was a very ill man, having some tyme before fled from South Carolina, where he was in danger of hanging for laying the designe and indeavouring to sett the poore people to plunder the rich. These, with Crafurd and some other New England men, had a designe (as we conceive) to gitt the trade of this part of the Country into their hands for some years att least, And not onely defraud the King of all his Customes but buy the goods of the Inhabitants att their owne rates, for they gave not to them above halfe the vallue for their goods of w'ch the Virginians sold their for.

Not long after this imprisonment of Miller and that these generall men had formed themselves into what Mr Culpeper calls the Govern't of the Country by their owne authority and according to their owne model, Mr East church arrives in Virginia, who authority and commission they had not the least colour to dispute and yet they kept him out by force of armes, soe that he was forced to apply to the then governr of Virginia for aid and assistance from him to reduce them, w'ch had been accordingly donne, but that Eastchurch unfortunately dyes of a feavour. Presently after this these Gentlemen that had usurped the Govern't and cast of and imprisoned Deputyes that would not comply with them, sends over 2 Commiss're in their names to promise all obedience to the Lds Prop's, but insisting very highly for right againt Miller. The prop're perswaded one of their owne Members, Mr Southwell, to goe over and be Governor himselfe, to whome they promised the utmost submission (he being a very sober discreet gentleman) and was allsoe authorized from the commiss'rs of the customes to take care of the Kings concerns there, which wee conceive he would have settle in very good order but that he was unfortunately taken by the Turks in his passage thither, And upon whome the settlem't of the place very much, depends, it being a very difficult matter to gitt a man of worth and trust to go thither. His redemption is very day expected, and in the meanewhile we have dispatched one Mr Holden with Comissions and Deputations for the Governor to those that we did imadgine would manage it with most moderation, who sens us work that all is not quyett and peaceable. But his maj'ty ought to have an

exact acc't and reparation for the damadges donne in his Customes, and his officers repayed, the charge of w'ch ought in reason to fall principally upon those that have been the cheife Actors in it.

Indorsed:] The Case of T. Miller, Z. Gilham, etc concerning The Rebellion of Carolina. Rec'd from Sir P. Colleton the 9th of Feb'ry, 1679–80.

Answer of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, read the 20 Nov. 1680.

In obedience to your Ld'ps command in your order of the 19th of July we have perused the petitions of Mr Thomas Miller and Mr Timothy Biggs and some of the Inhabitants of Albemarle in Carolina, and according to the best information we can att present get finde the matter of face they complaine of to be as followeth:

Mr Thomas Miller without any legall authority gott possession of the government of the County of Albermarle in Carolina in the yeare 1677, and was for a tyme quyetly obeyed, but doeing many illegall and arbitrary things and drinking often to excess and putting the people in generall by his threats and actions in great dread of their lives and estates, and they as we suppose getting some knowledge that he had no legal authority, tumultuously and disorderly imprison him and suddainly after Mr Biggs and Mr Nixon, for adhering to Mr Miller and abetting him in some of his actions, and revive an accusation against Mr Miller of treasonable words for which he had been formerly imprison'd but never tryed, And appoynt Mr Culpeper to receive the Kings Customes during the imprisonment of Mr Miller, and did many other tumultuous and irregular things. Mr Bigs makes his escape and comes home to England and gives us information of these disorders, upon w'ch we gott one Mr Seth Sothell, who is interested with us, to undertake the Government, who being a sober moderate man and no way concerned in the factions and animosityes of the place, we doubt not but would settle all things well there, and to whome we gave Instructions to examie ito the past disorders and punish the offenders. And the Comiss'rs of his Maj'ts Customes gave him also a Commission to be Collector of his Maj'ts Customes in Albemarle, but Mr Southhell in his voyage thither was taken by the Turks and carried into Argiers.

As soone as we heard of Mr Sothell's misfortune we sent a Commission to one Mr Harvey to be Gov'r until Mr Sothel's arrival there, whose release we speedily expected. With this Comission went Mr Robert Holden, whoome the Comissioners of the customes had appointed Collector of his Maj'tes Customes in Albemarle in the roome of Mr Sothell; both these Comissions as we are informed were quyetly and cheerfully obeyed by the people, and Mr Holden hath without any disturbance from the People collected his Mahj'tes Customes there and sent part of it home to the Comissioners here, and part of the Customes having been made use of by the people in the tyme of the disorders, they have laid a Taxe upon themselves for the repaying it to Mr Holden the present Collector.

Not long after the settlem't of the Governm't in Mr Harvey, he and the Council (as we are informed) did commit Mr Miller againe, in order to the bringing him to a Tryall for the treasonable words he had formerly spoken, But Mr Miller breakes prison and comes for England. And not long after Mr Bigs (who is by the Comissioners of the Customes appointed Surveyor of his Ma'tys dues in Albemarle) and Mr Holden the Collector quarrel among themselves, and Mr Bigs withdrawes himself from the Councill and perswades James Hill, the Duke of Albemarle's Deputy, to doe the same, hopeing thereby as we conceive to make a disturbance in the Governm't. Since then Mr Harvey is dead, and the Councill have chosen Col. Jenkins to execute the place of Governor until we shall appoint another, and all things, as we are informed by letters from thence beareing date May, June, and July last, are in quyet, and his Maj'tyes Customes quyetly paid by the People, though Mr Bigs hath endeavoured to interrupt the same together with some others, who being, as we are informed, prosecuted for ayding Mr Miller in his escape and other misdemeanors, are withdrawn into Virginia, and which we conceive are the persons whose names are to the Petition presented to his majesty. And this is the truest acc'tt we are able to give your Lordships, how the cases of Mr Miller and Mr Bigs appears to us. And to prevent the like disorders for the future, which hath been in great measure occasioned by factions and animosityes, in which most or all of the Inhabitants have been engaged.

We are sending Capt. Wilkinson thither Governor, to whoome we shall give Instructions to examine into the past disorders, and who being a Stranger and not concerned in the factions and animosityes, we have reason to hope will manage things with moderation and doe equall justice to all parties, and we undertake will take care so to settle all things that his Maj'tes Customes shall be duely paid to whomsoever shall be appointed to collect the same.

Notwithstanding, we think it our dutye to informe your Lordships that we are of opinion Mr Miller, being deeply ingaged in the Animosityes of the place and having by divers unjustifiable actions as we are informed (besides Indictments found against him) rendered himself liable to the sutes of particular persons for Injuryes donne them, from which he cannot by Law be protected, That a Stranger will doe his Maj'tye better service in that Imployment than Mr Miller, and more conduce to the continuation of the quyet of the place, which we submit to your Lord'ps great prudent and rest

Your L'd'ps most humble Serv'ts

CRAVEN.

SHAFTESBURY.

P. COLLETON.

Source: Charles M. Andrews, ed., *Narratives of the Insurrections* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915).

79. Antonio de Otermin, Report on the Pueblo Uprising in New Mexico, 1680 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Don Juan de Oñate led the Spanish expedition to colonize New Mexico, a land of scarce resources populated by pueblo-dwelling natives. In 1598 he entered the territory with several hundred colonists. His soldiers rampaged through the country plundering the natives. In January 1599, Oñate brutally suppressed a revolt by Acoma Pueblo, killing 800 men, women, and children and enslaving hundreds of captives. Oñate then led several futile expeditions in search of fabled riches. Oñate's colonists gave up and returned to Mexico, complaining of Oñate's conduct, so the governor recalled and prosecuted him. Not until 1610 did the Spanish establish a permanent settlement in New Mexico, at Santa Fe. As the colony expanded, the Spanish tried to convert the Indians to Christianity and suppress native religious practices. Although not as brutal as Oñate and his men, they earned the natives' resentment. The Spaniards were shocked in 1680 when even their converts rose up against them in a surprise attack on multiple settlements. The Pueblos killed some 400 Spaniards, burning their towns and churches. The attack drove the Spanish from New Mexico, and they did not return until 1692.

Primary Source

The time has come when, with tears in my eyes and deep sorrow in my heart, I commence to give an account of the lamentable tragedy, such as has never before happened in the world, which has occurred in this miserable kingdom and holy custodia. His divine Majesty having thus permitted it because of my grievous sins. . . .

... I received information that a plot for a general uprising of the Christian Indians was being formed and was spreading rapidly. This was wholly contrary to the existing peace and tranquility in this miserable kingdom, not only among the Spaniards and natives, but even on the part of the heathen enemy, for it had been a long time since they had done us any considerable damage. It was my misfortune that I learned of it on the eve of the day set for the beginning of the said uprising, and though I immediately, at that instant, notified the lieutenant-general on the lower river and all the other alcaldes mayores—so that they could take every care and precaution against whatever might occur, and so that they could make every effort to guard and protect the religious ministers and the temples—the cunning and cleverness of the rebels was such, and so great, that my efforts were of little avail. . . .

On Tuesday, the thirteenth of the said month, [August 13,1680] at about nine o'clock in the morning, there came in sight of us in the suburb of Analco, in the cultivated field of the hermitage of San

Miguel, and on the other side of the river from the villa, all the Indians of the Tanos and Pecos nations and the Queres of San Marcos, armed and giving war whoops. . . .

With this, seeing after a short time that they not only did not cease the pillage but were advancing toward the villa with shamelessness and mockery, I ordered all the soldiers to go out and attack them until they succeeded in dislodging them from the place. Advancing for this purpose, they joined battle, killing some at the first encounter. Finding themselves repulsed, they took shelter and fortified themselves in the said hermitage and the houses of the Mexicans, from which they defended themselves a part of the day with the firearms they had and with arrows. . . . Many of the rebels remained dead and wounded, and our men retired to the *casas reales* with one soldier killed and the *maese de campo*, Francisco Gómez, and some fourteen or fifteen soldiers wounded, to attend them and entrench and fortify ourselves as best we could.

[...]

On the next Friday, the nations of the Taos, Pecuries, Jemez, and Queres having assembled during the past night, when dawn came more than 2,500 Indians fell upon us in the villa, fortifying and intrenching themselves in all its houses and at the entrances of all the streets, and cutting off our water, which comes through the *arroyo* and the irrigation canal in front of the *casas reales*. They burned the holy temple and many houses in the villa. . . .

On the next day, Saturday, they began at dawn to press us harder and more closely with gunshots, arrows, and stones, saying to us that now we should not escape them, and that, besides their own numbers, they were expecting help from the Apaches whom they had already summoned. They fatigued us greatly on this day, because all was fighting, and above all we suffered from thirst, as we were already oppressed by it. At nightfall, because of the evident peril in which we found ourselves by their gaining the two stations where the cannon were mounted, which we had at the doors of the casas reales, aimed at the entrances of the streets, in order to bring them inside it was necessary to assemble all the forces that I had with me, because we realized that this was their [the Indians'] intention. Instantly all the said Indian rebels began a chant of victory and raised war whoops, burning all the houses of the villa, and they kept us in this position the entire night, which I assure your reverence was the most horrible that could be thought of or imagined, because the whole villa was a torch and everywhere were war chants and shouts. What grieved us most were the dreadful flames from the church and the scoffing and ridicule which the wretched and miserable Indian rebels made of the sacred things, intoning the alabado and the other prayers of the church with jeers.

Finding myself in this state, with the church and the villa burned, and with the few horses, sheep, goats, and cattle which we had with-

out feed or water for so long that many had already died, and the rest were about to do so, and with such a multitude of people, most of them children and women, so that our numbers in all came to about a thousand persons, perishing with thirst—for we had nothing to drink during these two days except what had been kept in some jars and pitchers that were in the casas reales—surrounded by such a wailing of women and children, with confusion everywhere, I determined to take the resolution of going out in the morning to fight with the enemy until dying or conquering. Considering that the best strength and armor were prayers to appease the Divine wrath, though on the preceding days the poor women had made them with such fervor, that night I charged them to do so increasingly, and told the father guardian and the other two religious to say mass for us at dawn, and exhort all alike to repentance for their sins and to conformance with the Divine will, and to absolve us from guilt and punishment. These things being done, all of us who could mounted our horses, and the rest on foot with their arquebuses, and some Indians who were in our service with their bows and arrows, and in the best order possible we directed our course toward the house of the maese de campo, Francisco Xavier, which was the place where there were the most people and where they had been most active and boldest. On coming out of the entrance to the street it was seen that there was a great number of Indians. They were attacked in force, and though they resisted the first charge bravely, finally they were put to flight, many of them being overtaken and killed. Then turning at once upon those who were in the streets leading to the convent, they also were put to flight with little resistance.... The deaths of both parties in this and the other encounters exceeded three hundred Indians.

Finding myself a little relieved by this miraculous event, though I had lost much blood from two arrow wounds which I had received in the face and from a remarkable gunshot wound in the chest on the day before, I immediately had water given to the cattle, the horses, and the people. . . .

Source: Christopher Waldrep and Michael Bellesiles, *Documenting American Violence: A Sourcebook* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

80. Count Frontenac, Report on War with the Iroquois, November 2, 1681 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The French and the Iroquois had a long history of hostility, dating back to the 1530s, when Jacques Cartier abducted several Iroquois chiefs. During the late 1500s, the five Iroquois nations formed a confederacy that featured the most sophisticated native government in North America. The existence of New France began with

Samuel de Champlain's founding of a settlement at Quebec in 1608. In 1609 Champlain perpetuated French-Iroquois enmity when he attacked the Iroquois on the shore of present-day Lake Champlain. Over the ensuing decades, the Iroquois acquired firearms from Dutch traders and grew more powerful and numerous, extending their influence far beyond their home territory. Iroquois country lay between English New York and New France, and the Iroquois allied themselves with the English. New France and the Iroquois fought a brutal war during the 1650s and 1660s. The Comte de Frontenac served as governor of New France from 1672 to 1682 and again from 1689 to 1698. In this letter he asks the king for a greater military presence to deter the Iroquois from renewing hostilities against New France. However, war resumed in 1683 and continued until 1698. During this period England and France also went to war against one another.

Primary Source

Frontenac to the King November 2, 1681

... I have resolved to invite them (the Iroquois) to come next summer to Fort Frontenac to explain their conduct to me.

They have, Sire, become so insolent since this expedition against the Illinois, although they are of no consideration, and they are being so much strengthened in these sentiments in order to induce them to carry on the war, in the belief it will embarrass the explorations of Sieur de la Salle, that it is to be feared that they will push their boldness still further and that, after having seen that we give no support to our allies, will attribute it to a weakness which will give birth to the desire to come to attack us.

[...]

I pray you very humbly, to consider that for ten years I alone have kept these Indians in a spirit of obedience, of quiet, and of peace, by a little skill and tact—it is difficult, when one is deprived of everything, to do more, or to anticipate things which could easily be prevented if one had a little help; to consider that the Indians are becoming inured to all I can say to them to hold them in allegiance; and that all these journeys which they see me make almost every to Fort Frontenac, no longer give them the same cause of amazement as they did at the beginning.

$[\ldots]$

Five or six hundred regular soldiers would soon dispel all these various ideas and it would be necessary only to show them and to march them through their lakes, without any other hostile act, to ensure peace for ten years.

Source: Leopold Lamontagne, ed. And Richard A. Preston, trans, Royal Fort Frontenac (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958).

81. Anne Bradstreet, A Dialogue between Old England and New, Concerning their Present Troubles, 1642

Introduction

King Charles I granted the Massachusetts Bay Company a charter for a New England colony in 1629. The following year saw a mass migration of English Puritans to the newly-established Massachusetts Bay Colony. Among them was the 18-year-old Anne Bradstreet and her extended family. Born in England around 1612, Anne Dudley married Simon Bradstreet at the age of 16. Mrs. Bradstreet was a devout Puritan, a mother of eight, and one of colonial America's earliest and most prolific English-language poets. Her poems were first published in 1650 when her brother-in-law took copies of them to England. She wrote on both religious and personal subjects. This poem concerns the beginning of the English Civil War in 1642. In it Bradstreet expresses her scorn for Catholicism, or "dark Popery." The English Civil War ended with the overthrow and execution of King Charles I in 1649. Suspicion that Charles was moving the Church of England in the direction of Catholicism had contributed to his unpopularity. After his execution, Parliament ruled England as a Puritan Commonwealth under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell and worked to reform the Church of England. Puritandominated Massachusetts rejoiced in the establishment of the Commonwealth, which persisted until 1660, when Charles II regained his late father's throne.

Primary Source

NEW ENGLAND.

Alas, dear mother, fairest queen and best,
With honour, wealth, and peace happy and blest,
What ails thee hang thy head, and cross thine arms,?
And sit i'th dust, to sigh these sad alarms?
What deluge of new woes thus overwhelm
The glories of thy ever famous realm?
What means this wailing tone, this mournful guise?
Ah, tell thy daughter, she may sympathize.

OLD ENGLAND.

Art ignorant indeed of these my woes?
Or must my forced tongue these griefs disclose?
And must myself dissect my tattered state,
Which 'mazed Christendom stands wondering at?
And thou a child, a limb, and dost not feel
My fainting, weakened body now to reel?
This physick purging potion, I have taken,
Will bring consumption or an ague quaking,

1036 81. Anne Bradstreet, A Dialogue between Old England and New, Concerning their Present Troubles

Unless some cordial thou fetch from high, Which present help may ease my malady. If I decease, dost think thou shalt survive? Or by my wasting state dost think to thrive? Then weigh our case, if't be not justly sad, Let me lament alone, while thou art glad.

NEW ENGLAND.

And thus (alas) your state you much deplore In general terms, but will not say wherefore: What medicine shall I seek to cure this woe, If the wound so dangerous I may not know. But you, perhaps, would have me guess it out: What, hath some Hengist like that Saxon stout By fraud or force usurp'd thy flowering crown, Or by tempestuous wars thy fields trod down? Or hath Canutus, that brave valiant Dane, The regal peaceful sceptre from thee ta'en? Or is't a Norman, whose victorious hand With English blood bedews thy conquered land? Or is't intestine wars that thus offend? Do Maud and Stephen for the crown contend? Do barons rise and side against their king, And call in foreign aid to help the thing? Must Edward be depos'd? or is it the hour That second Richard must be clapped i'th' tower? Or is't the fatal jarr, again begun, That from the red-white pricking roses sprung? Must Richmond's aid, the nobles now implore To come and break the tushes of the boar, If none of these, dear mother, what's your woe? Pray, do you fear Spain's bragging Armado? Doth your ally, fair France, conspire your wreck, Or do the Scots play false, behind your back? Doth Holland quit you ill for all your love? Whence is the storm from earth or heaven above? Is't drought, is't famine, or is't pestilence? Dost feel the smart, or fear the consequence? Your humble child intreats you show your grief. Though arms nor purse she hath for your relief, Such is her poverty: yet shall be found A suppliant for your help, as she is bound.

OLD ENGLAND.

I must confess some of those sores you name My beauteous body at this present maim; But foreign foe nor feigned friend I fear, For they have work enough (thou knowest) elsewhere. Nor is it Alcie's son, nor Henry's daughter; Whose proud contentions cause this slaughter;

Nor nobles siding, to make John no king, French Jews unjustly to the crown to bring; No Edward, Richard, to lose rule and life, Nor no Lancastrians to renew old strife; No Duke of York nor Earl of March to soile Their hands in kindreds blood whom they did foil; No crafty tyrant now usurps the Seat Who nephews slew that so he might be great; No need of Tudor roses to unite; None knows which is the red or which the white; Spain's braving fleet a second time is sunk, France knows how oft my fury she hath drunk. By Edward Third and Henry Fifth of fame; Her lilies in my arms avouch the same. My sister Scotland hurts me now no more, Though she hath been injurious heretofore; What Holland is I am in some suspense, But trust not much unto his excellence. For wants, sure some I feel, but more I fear, And for the pestilence, who knows how near; Famine and plague, two sisters of the sword, Destruction to a land doth soon afford: They're for my punishment ordain'd on high, Unless our tears prevent it speedily. But yet I answer not what you demand, To show the grievance of my troubled land; Before I tell the effect, I'll show the cause, Which are my sins the breach of sacred laws, Idolatry, supplanter of a nation, With foolish superstitious adoration, Are lik'd and countenanc'd by men of might, The gospel trodden down and hath no right: Church offices were sold and bought for gain, That Pope had hope to find Rome here again, For oaths and blasphemies did ever ear From Beelzebub himself such language hear; What scorning of the saints of the most high? What injuries did daily on them lie? What false reports, what nicknames did they take Not for their own, but for their Master's sake! And thou, poor soul, wert jeer'd among the rest; Thy flying for the truth was made a jest. For Sabbath-breaking and for drunkenness Did ever land profaneness more express? From crying blood yet cleansed am not I, Martyrs and others dying causelessly. How many princely heads on blocks laid down For naught but title to a fading crown? 'Mongst all the cruelties by great ones done, O Edward's youths, and Clarence hapless son, O Jane, why didst thou die in flowering prime? Because of royal stem, that was thy crime.

For bribery, adultery, and lyes, Where is the nation I can't parallize, With usury, extortion, and oppression, These be the Hydras of my stout transgression; These be the bitter fountains, heads, and roots, Whence flow'd the source, the sprigs, the boughs, and fruits. Of more than thou canst hear or I relate, That with high hand I still did perpetrate. For these were threatened the wofull day. I mockt the preachers, put it far away; The sermons yet upon record do stand That cry'd destruction to my wicked land. I then believ'd not, now I feel and see The plague of stubborn incredulity. Some lost their livings, some in prison pent, Some, fin'd, from house and friends to exile went. Their silent tongues to heaven did vengeance cry, Who saw their wrongs, and hath judg'd righteously, And will repay it sevenfold in my lap: This is forerunner of my afterclap. Nor took I warning by my neighbour's falls: I saw sad Germany's dismantled walls, I saw her people famished, nobles slain, Her fruitful land a barren heath remain. I saw, unmov'd, her armies foiled and fled, Wives forced, babes tossed, her houses calcined. I saw strong Rochel yielded to her foe, Thousands of starved Christians, there also. I saw poor Ireland bleeding out her last, Such cruelties as all reports have passed; Mine heart obdurate stood not yet aghast. Now sip I of that cup, and just it may be The bottom dregs reserved are for me.

NEW ENGLAND.

To all you've said, sad mother, I assent,
Your fearful sins great cause there's to lament.
My guilty hands in part hold up with you,
A sharer in your punishment's my due.
But all you say amounts to this effect,
Not what you feel, but what you do expect,
Pray, in plain terms, what is your present grief?
Then let's join heads and hearts for your relief.

OLD ENGLAND.

Well, to the matter, then. There's grown of late 'Twixt king and peers a question of state, Which is the chief, the law, or else the king: One said, it's he; the other, no such thing. 'Tis said my better part in parliament

To ease my groaning land showed their intent, To crush the proud, and right to each man deal, To help the church, and stay the commonweal. So many obstacles came in their way, As puts me to a stand what I should say; Old customs new prerogatives stood on; Had they not held law fast, all had been gone, Which by their prudence stood them in such stead They took high Strafford lower by the head. And to their Laud be it spoke, they held in the tower All England's metropolitan that hour; This done, an act they would have passed fain No prelate should his bishoprick retain; Here tugged they hard (indeed) for all men saw This must be done by gospel not by law. Next the militia they urged sore, This was deny'd, (I need not say wherefore) The king, displeased, at York himself absents. They humbly beg his return, show their intents; The writing, printing, posting to and fro, Show all was done, I'll therefore let it go. But now I come to speak of my disaster. Contention grown 'twixt subjects and their master; They worded it so long, they fell to blows, That thousands lay on heaps, here bleed my woes, I that no wars so many years have known, Am now destroy'd and slaughter'd by my own. But could the field alone this strife decide? One battle, two, or three I might abide: But these may be beginnings of more woe; Who knows but this may be my overthrow. Oh, pity me in this sad perturbation, My plundered towns, my houses devastation, My weeping virgins, and my young men slain, My wealthy trading fallen, my dearth of grain. The seed-times come, but ploughman hath no hope Because he knows not who shall in his crop: The poor they want their pay, their children bread, Their woful mothers' tears unpitied, If any pity in thy heart remain, Or any child-like love thou dost retain, For my relief, do what there lies in thee, And recompense that good I've done to thee.

NEW ENGLAND.

Dear mother, cease complaints, and wipe your eyes, Shake off your dust, cheer up, and now arise; You are my mother nurse, and I, your flesh, Your sunken bowels gladly would refresh: Your griefs I pity, but soon hope to see, Out of your troubles much good fruit to be; To see those latter days of hop'd-for good, Though now beclouded all with tears and blood: After dark Popery the day did clear; But now the sun in his brightness shall appear. Blest be the nobles of thy noble land, With ventured lives for truth's defence that stand. Blest be thy Commons, who for common good, And thy infringed laws have boldly stood. Blest be thy counties, who did aid thee still With hearts and states to testify their will. Blest be thy preachers, who do cheer thee on; Oh, cry the sword of God and Gideon; And shall I not on them wish Mero's curse That help thee not with prayers, arms and purse? And for myself let miseries abound, If mindless of thy state I e'er be found. These are the days the church's foes to crush, To root out Popeling's head, tail, branch, and rush; Let's bring Baal's vestments forth to make a fire, Their mitres, surplices, and all their attire, Copes, rochets, crossiers, and such empty trash, And let their names consume, but let the flash Light Christendom, and all the world to see We hate Rome's whore, with all her trumpery. Go on, brave Essex, with a loyal heart, Not false to king, nor to the better part; But those that hurt his people and his crown, As duty binds expel and tread them down. And ye brave nobles, chase away all fear, And to this hopeful cause closely adhere; O mother, can you weep, and have such peers? When they are gone, then drown yourself in tears, If now you weep so much, that then no more The briny ocean will o'erflow your shore. These, these are they, I trust, with Charles our King, Out of all mists such glorious days shall bring, That dazzled eyes, beholding, much shall wonder At that thy settled peace, thy wealth, and splendor, Thy church and weal established in such manner, That all shall joy that thou display'dst thy banner; And discipline erected so, I trust, That nursing kings shall come and lick thy dust: Then justice shall in all thy courts take place, Without respect of person or of case; Then bribes shall cease, and suits shall not stick long, Patience and purse of clients oft to wrong; Then high commissions shall fall to decay, And pursuivants and catchpoles want their pay. So shall thy happy nation ever flourish, When truth and righteousness they thus shall nourish. When thus in peace, thine armies brave send out To sack proud Rome, and all her vassals rout;

There let thy name, thy fame, and glory shine, As did thine ancestors in Palestine, And let her spoils full pay with interest be Of what unjustly once she poll'd from thee. Of all the woes thou canst let her be sped, And on her pour the vengeance threatened; Bring forth the beast that ruled the world with his beck, And tear his flesh, and set your feet on's neck, And make his filthy den so desolate, To the astonishment of all that knew his state: This done, with brandished swords to Turkey go, For then what is it but English blades dare do? And lay her waste for so's the sacred doom, And do to Gog as thou hast done to Rome. O Abraham's seed, lift up your heads on high, For sure the day of your Redemption's nigh; The scales shall fall from your long blinded eyes, And him you shall adore who now despise. Then fulness of the nations in shall flow, And Jew and Gentile to one worship go; Then follow days of happiness and rest. Whose lot doth fall to live therein is blest. No Canaanite shall then be found in the land, And holiness on horses bells shall stand. If this make way thereto, then sigh no more, But if at all thou didst not see it before. Farewell, dear mother; rightest cause prevail, And in a while you'll tell another tale.

Source: Joseph R. McElrath, Jr., and Allan P. Robb, eds., *The Complete Works of Anne Bradstreet* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981).

82. John Barbot, "A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea," 1682 [Excerpt]

Introduction

As an agent for the French Royal African Company, John Barbot made at least two voyages to the west coast of Africa, one in 1678 and the other in 1682. In this excerpt below, published as "A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea" in 1732, he describes the effects of slavery on the region, which supplied most of Africa's slaves throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. Barbot details the extent to which West Africans had long participated in slavery and the slave trade. This they did by enslaving and selling their enemies, sentencing offenders to slavery, and even selling themselves for food in times of famine. He also argues that slaves were so ill-treated in Africa that they were better off being transported to America. Thus did Europeans, and later, Americans attempt to justify slavery. By the late 1600s, indentured servitude had become less economically

viable in England's southern American colonies, and slavery began taking its place as a source of labor. Trading ships from America regularly sailed to the West African coast to buy slaves.

Primary Source

John Barbot, an agent for the French Royal African Company, made at least two voyages to the West Coast of Africa, in 1678 and 1682.

Those sold by the Blacks are for the most part prisoners of war, taken either in fight, or pursuit, or in the incursions they make into their enemies territories; others stolen away by their own countrymen; and some there are, who will sell their own children, kindred, or neighbours. This has been often seen, and to compass it, they desire the person they intend to sell, to help them in carrying something to the factory by way of trade, and when there, the person so deluded, not understanding the language, is old and deliver'd up as a slave, notwithstanding all his resistance, and exclaiming against the treachery. . . .

The kings are so absolute, that upon any slight pretense of offences committed by their subjects, they order them to be sold for slaves, without regard to rank, or possession....

Abundance of little Blacks of both sexes are also stolen away by their neighbours, when found abroad on the roads, or in the woods; or else in the Cougans, or corn-fields, at the time of the year, when their parents keep them there all day, to scare away the devouring small birds, that come to feed on the millet, in swarms, as has been said above.

In times of dearth and famine, abundance of those people will sell themselves, for a maintenance, and to prevent starving. When I first arriv'd at Goerree, in December, 1681, I could have bought a great number, at very easy rates, if I could have found provisions to subsist them; so great was the dearth then, in that part of Nigritia.

To conclude, some slaves are also brought to these Blacks, from very remote inland countries, by way of trade, and sold for things of very inconsiderable value; but these slaves are generally poor and weak, by reason of the barbarous usage they have had in traveling so far, being continually beaten, and almost famish'd; so inhuman are the Blacks to one another....

The trade of slaves is in a more peculiar manner the business of kings, rich men, and prime merchants, exclusive of the inferior sort of Blacks.

These slaves are severely and barbarously treated by their masters, who subsist them poorly, and beat them inhumanly, as may be seen by the scabs and wounds on the bodies of many of them when sold to us. They scarce allow them the least rag to cover their nakedness, which they also take off from them when sold to Europeans; and they always go bare-headed. The wives and children of slaves, are also slaves to the master under whom they are married; and when dead, they never bury them, but cast out the bodies into some by place, to be devoured by birds, or beasts of prey.

This barbarous usage of those unfortunate wretches, makes it appear, that the fate of such as are bought and transported from the

coast to America, or other parts of the world, by Europeans, is less deplorable, than that of those who end their days in their native country; for aboard ships all possible care is taken to preserve and subsist them for the interest of the owners, and when sold in America, the same motive ought to prevail with their masters to use them well, that they may live the longer, and do them more service. Not to mention the inestimable advantage they may reap, of becoming christians, and saving their souls, if they make a true use of their condition. . . .

Many of those slaves we transport from Guinea to America are prepossessed with the opinion, that they are carried like sheep to the slaughter, and that the Europeans are fond of their flesh; which notion so far prevails with some, as to make them fall into a deep melancholy and despair, and to refuse all sustenance, tho' never so much compelled and even beaten to oblige them to take some nourishment: notwithstanding all which, they will starve to death; whereof I have had several instances in my own slaves both aboard and at Guadalupe. And tho' I must say I am naturally compassionate, yet have I been necessitated sometimes to cause the teeth of those wretches to be broken, because they would not open their mouths, or be prevailed upon by any entreaties to feed themselves; and thus have forced some sustenance into their throats....

As the slaves come down to Fida from the inland country, they are put into a booth, or prison, built for that purpose, near the beach, all of them together; and when the Europeans are to receive them, every part of every one of them, to the smallest member, men and women being all stark naked. Such as are allowed good and sound, are set on one side, and the others by themselves; which slaves so rejected are there called Mackrons, being above thirty five years of age, or defective in their limbs, eyes or teeth; or grown grey, or that have the venereal disease, or any other imperfection. These being set aside, each of the others, which have passed as good, is marked on the breast, with a red- hot iron, imprinting the mark of the French, English, or Dutch companies, that so each nation may distinguish their own, and to prevent their being chang'd by the natives for worse, as they are apt enough to do. In this particular, care is taken that the women, as tenderest, be not burnt too hard.

The branded slaves, after this, are returned to their former booth, where the factor is to subsist them at his own charge, which amounts to about two-pence a day for each of them, with bread and water, which is all their allowance. There they continue sometimes ten or fifteen days, till the sea is still enough to send them aboard; for very often it continues too boisterous for so long a time, unless in January, February and March, which is commonly the calmest season: and when it is so, the slaves are carried off by parcels, in barcanoes, and put aboard the ships in the road. Before they enter the canoes, or come out of the booth, their former Black masters strip them of every rag they have, without distinction of men or women; to supply which, in orderly ships, each of them as they come aboard is allowed a piece of canvas, to wrap around their waist, which is very acceptable to those poor wretches. . . .

If there happens to be no stock of slaves at Fida, the factor must trust the Blacks with his goods, to the value of a hundred and fifty, or two hundred slaves; which goods they carry up into the inland, to buy slaves, at all the markets, for above two hundred leagues up the country, where they are kept like cattle in Europe; the slaves sold there being generally prisoners of war, taken from their enemies, like other booty, and perhaps some few sold by their own countrymen, in extreme want, or upon a famine; as also some as a punishment of heinous crimes: tho' many Europeans believe that parents sell their own children, men their wives and relations, which, if it ever happens, is so seldom, that it cannot justly be charged upon a whole nation, as a custom and common practice. . . .

One thing is to be taken notice of by sea-faring men, that this Fida and Ardra slaves are of all the others, the most apt to revolt aboard ships, by a conspiracy carried on amongst themselves; especially such as are brought down to Fida, from very remote inland countries, who easily draw others into their plot: for being used to see men's flesh eaten in their own country, and publick markets held for the purpose, they are very full of the notion, that we buy and transport them to the same purpose; and will therefore watch all opportunities to deliver themselves, by assaulting a ship's crew, and murdering them all, if possible: whereof, we have almost every year some instances, in one European ship or other, that is filled with slaves.

Source: Churchill, John. *A Collection of Voyages and Travels.* London: Printed for Awnsham and John Churchill, 1704–1732.

83. William Penn, Pennsylvania Charter of Liberties and Pennsylvania Frame of Government, 1682 [Excerpt]

Introduction

William Penn (1644–1701) joined the Society of Friends at the age of 22. He was expelled from Oxford for his religious disobedience and jailed several times for seeking converts to his faith. Penn's father, meanwhile, had a close friendship with England's royal family and had loaned the king a large sum of money. When William Penn wanted to found a colony in America, Charles II repaid his debt to the family by granting him about 45,000 square miles of land, and a charter to colonize it, in 1681. The next year, Penn published the documents excerpted here to serve as the foundation of government in Pennsylvania. The Charter of Liberties specified the structure and operation of the colonial government. The Frame of Government guaranteed broad political participation, prohibited taxation except according to law, provided for bail and trial by jury, and protected religious freedom for all who believed in God. It also prohibited stage plays, cards, and cockfighting. Although the documents were never officially affirmed, residents regarded them as law. With these documents, Penn introduced ideas of representative government and religious tolerance into the New World. Not until the United States passed the Bill of Rights in 1791 did religious freedom become law throughout the country.

Primary Source

[...]

"IMPRIMIS"—THAT the Government of this Province shall according to the Powers of the Patent consist of the Governour and ffreemen of the said Province in the fform of a Provincial Council and General Assembly by whom all Laws Shall be made Officers Chosen and publick affairs Transacted and is hereafter Respectively declared That is to say

- 2. THAT the ffreemen of the said Province shall on the Twentieth day of the Twelfth Month which shall be in this present year One Thousand Six hundred Eighty and two Meet and Assemble in some fit place of which timely notice shall be beforehand given by the Governour or his deputies and then and there shall chuse of themselvs Seventy-Two persons of most note for their Wisdom Virtue and Ability who shall meet on the Tenth day of the ffirst month next ensuing and always be called and act as the Provincial Councill of the said province.
- 3. THAT at the ffirst Choice of such Provincial Council One Third part of the said Provincial Council shall be Chosen to serve for Three years then next ensuing one Third part for Two years then next ensuing and one Third part for one year then next following such Election and no longer and that the said Third part shall go out accordingly ANDon the Twentieth day of the Twelfth month aforesaid yearly forever afterward the ffreemen of the said province shall in like manner Meet and Assemble together and then Chuse Twenty ffour persons being one Third of the said Number to serve in provincial Council for Three years it being intended that one Third of the whole provincial Council (always consisting and to consist of seventy two persons as aforesaid) falling off yearly it shall be yearly supplied by such new yearly Eleccons as aforesaid and that no one person shall continue therein longer than Three years And in Case any member shall decease before the Last Eleccon during his time that then at the next Eleccon ensuing his decease another shall be chosen to Supply his place for the remaining time he was to have served and no longer.
- 4. THAT—After the first Seven years every one of the said Third parts that goeth yearly off shall be uncapable of being Chosen again for one whole year following that so all may be fitted for the Government and have Experience of the Care and burthen of it.
- 5. THAT—In the provincial Council in all Cases and matters of moment as There agreeing upon Bills to be passed into Laws Exorting Courts of Justice having Judgment upon criminals Impeached and choice of Officers in such manner as is herein after menconed Not lesse than Two Thirds-of the whole Provincial Council shall make a Quorum and that the Consent and approbation of Two Thirds of said Quorum shall be had in all such Cases or matters of Moment. And moreover that in all cases and matters of lesser moment Twenty-ffour members of the said Provincial Council shall

make a quorum The Majority of which ffour and Twenty shall and may always determine on such Cases and Causes of Lesser moment.

6. THAT—In this Provincial Council the Governour or his deputies shall or may always preside and have a treble Voice. And the said Provincial Council shall always Continue and Sit upon its own Adjournments and Committees.

7. THAT—The Governour and Provincial Council shall prepare and propose to the General Assembly hereinafter menconed all Bills which they shall at any time think fit to be past into Laws within the said Province which Bills shall be publisht and Affixed to the most noted places in the inhabited parts thereof Thirty days before the meeting of the General Assembly in order to the passing of them into laws or Rejecting of them as the General Assembly shall see meet.

8. THAT—The Governour and Provincial Council shall take Care that all Laws Statutes and Ordinances which shall at any time be made within the said Province be duly and diligently executed.

9. THAT—The Governour and Provincial Council shall at all times have the Care of the peace and Safety of the Province and that nothing be by any person Attempted to the subversion of this fframe of Government.

10. THAT—The Governour and Provincial Council shall at alltimes settle and order the Situation of all Cities ports and Market towns in every County modelling therein all publick buildings Streets and Market places and shall appoint all necessary roads and highways in the province.

11. THAT—The Governour and Provincial Council shall at all times have power to inspect the management of the public Treasury and punish those who shall Convert any part thereof to any other use than what hath been Agreed upon by the Governour Provincial Council and General Assembly.

12. THAT—The Governour and Provincial Council shall Erect and order all publick Schools and incourage and Reward the Authors of usefull Science and Laudable Inventons in the said province.

13. THAT—For the better management of the powers and Trust aforesaid the Provincial Council shall from time to time divide itself into ffour Distinct and proper Committees for the more Easie Administration of the Affairs of the province which divides the Seventy Two into ffour Eighteens Every one of which Eighteens shall consist of Six out of each of the Three Orders or yearly Eleccons—Each of which shall have a distinct portion of business as followeth A Committee of plantatons to situate and settle cities ports and Market-towns and -highways and to hear and decide all Suits and Controversies relating to Plantatons. A Committee of Justice and Safety to secure the peace of the province and punish the Male Adminis-

tration of those who subvert Justice to the prejudice of the publick and private Interest. A Committee of Trade and Treasury who Shall Regulate all Trade and Commerce according to Laws encourage Manufacture and Country-growth and defray the publick Charge of the province. And a Committee of manners Education and Arts that all Wicked and scandalous Living may be prevented and that Youth may be successively trained up in Virtue and useful Knowlledge and Arts. The Quorum of each of which Committees being six that is Two out of each of the three orders or yearly eleccons as aforesaid make a Constant or Standing Council of flour and Twenty which shall have the power of the Provincial Council being the Quorum of it in all Cases not excepted in the fifth Article. And in the said committees and standing Council of the Province the Governour or his deputy shall or may preside as aforesaid. And in the Absence of the Governour or his deputy if no one is by either of them appointed the said Committees or Council shall appoint a President for that time and not otherwise and what shall be Resolved at such Committees shall be reported to the said Council of the Province and shall be by them resolved and confirmed before the same shall be put in Execution And that these Respective Committees shall not sit at one and the same time except in Cases of necessity.

14. AND TO THE End that all Laws prepared by the Governour and Provincial Council aforesaid may yet have the more full Concurrence of the ffreemen of the Province It is declared granted and confirmed that at the time and place or places for the Choice of a Provincial Council as aforesaid the said FREEMEN shall yearly chuse to serve in a General Assembly as their representatives not exceeding Two hundred persons who shall yearly meet on the Twentieth day of the Second Month in the Capital Town or City of the said province where during Eight days the several members may freely confer with one another and if any of them see meet with a Committee of the Provincial Council consisting of Three out of each of the four Committees aforesaid being Twelve in all which shall be at that time purposely appointed to secuir from any of them proposals for the Alteration or Amendment of any of the said proposed and promulgated Bills and on the ninth day from their meeting the said General Assembly after the reading over of the proposed Bills by the Clerk of the Provincial Council and the occasion and motives for them being opened by the Governour or his Deputy shall give their Affirmative or Negative which to them seemeth best in such mamner as hereafter is exprest. But not less than two thirds shall make a Quorum in the passing of Laws and Choice of such Officers as are by them to be chosen.

15. THAT—The Laws so prepared and proposed as aforesaid that are Assented to by the General Assembly shall be Enrolled as Laws of the province with this stile by the Governour with the Assent and Approbation of the ffreemen in Provincial Council and General Assembly.

16. THAT—For the better Establishment of the Government and Laws of this province and to the end there may be an Universal Sat-

isfaction in the laying of the fundamentals thereof the General Assembly shall or may for the ffirst year consist of all the ffreemen of and in the said province and ever after it shall be yearly chosen as aforesaid. Which number of Two hundred shall be enlarged as the Country shall Increase in people So as it do not exceed ffive hundred at any time The Appointment and proportoning of which as also the laying and methodizing of the choice of the Provincial Council and General Assembly in future times most equally to the Division of the Hundreds and Counties which the Country shall hereafter be divided into shall be in the power of the Provincial Council to propose and the General Assembly to resolve.

17. THAT The Governour and the Provincial Council shall from time to time erect Standing Courts of Justice in such places and number as they shall Judge Convenient for the good Government of the said province And that the Provincial Council shall on the Thirteenth day of the First month yearly Elect and present to the Governour or his Deputy a double number of persons to serve for Judges Treasurers Masters of the Rolls within the said province for the year next ensuing. AND the freemen of the said province in their County Courts when they shall be erected and till then in the General Assembly shall on the Three and Twentieth day of the Second Month yearly Elect and present to the Governour or his Deputy a double number of persons to serve for Sheriffs Justices of peace and Coronors for the year next ensuing Out of which respective Eleccons and presentments the Governour or his Deputy shall nominate and Commissionate the proper number for each office the Third day after the said respective presentments or else the first named in such presentment for each office shall stand and serve for that office the year ensuing.

18. BUT for as much as the present Condition of the Province requires some Immediate Setlement and admitts not of so quick a Revolution of Officers and to the end the said Province may with all Convenient speed be well ordered and settled I William Penn do therefore think fit to nominate and appoint Such persons for Judges Treasurers Masters of Rolls Sheriffs Justices of the peace and Coronors as are most fitly qualified for those imployments To whom I shall make and grant Commissions for the said Offices respectively TO HOLD to them to whom the same shall be granted for so long time as every such person shall well behave himself in the Office or place to him respectively granted and no longer And upon the Decease or displacing of any of the said Officers the Succeeding Officer or Officers shall be chosen as before said.

19. That the General Assembly shall continue so long as may be needful to Impeach Criminals fit to be there Impeached To pass Bills into Laws that they shall think fit to pass into Laws and till such time as the Governour and Provincial Council shall declare that they have nothing further to propose unto them for their Assent and Approbation And that Declaration shall be a Dismiss to the General Assembly for that time Which General Assembly shall be notwith-

standing Capable of Assemblying together upon the summons of the Provincial Council at any time during that year if the said Provincial Council shall see occasion for their so Assembling.

20. THAT—All the Eleccons of Members or Representatives of the people to serve in Provincial Council and General Assembly, and all Questions to be determined by both or either of them that relate to passing of bills into Laws to the choice of Officers to Impeachments made by the General Assembly and Judgment of Criminals upon such Impeachment by the Provincial Council and to all other Cases by them respectively Judged of Importance Shall be resolved and determined by the BALLOTT And unless on suddain and Indispensable Occasions no business in Provincial Council or its respective Committees shall be finally determined the same day that it is moved.

21. AND THAT at all times when and so often as it shall happen that the Governour shall or may be an Infant under the Age of one and Twenty years and no Guardians or Commissioners are appointed in Writing by the ffather of said Infant or that Such Guardians or Commissioners shall be deceased that during such Minority the Provincial Council shall from time to time as they shall see meet Constitute and Appoint Guardians and Commissions not exceeding Three One of which Three shall preside as Deputy and Chief Guardian during such Minority and shall have and Execute with the consent of the other Two all the powers of a Governour in all publick Affairs and Concerns of the said province.

22. THAT—as often as any day of the month mentoned in any Article of this Charter shall fall on the First day of the Week commonly called the Lord's day the Business appointed for that day shall be differred till the next day unless in Case of Emergency.

23. THAT—no act Law or Ordinance whatsoever shall at any time hereafter be made or done by the Governour of this Province his heirs or Assigns or by the ffreemen in the Provincial Council or the General Assembly to Alter Change or Diminish the fform or Effect of this Charter or any part or Clause thereof or contrary to the true Intent and meaning thereof without the Consent of the Governour his heirs or Assigns and six parts of seven of the said ffreemen in Provincial Council and General Assembly.

24. AND LASTLY THAT I the said William Penn for myself my heirs and Assigns have Solemnly declared granted and confirmed and do hereby solemnly declare grant and confirm that neither I my heirs nor Assigns shall procure or do anything or things whereby the Liberties in this Charter contained and expressed shall be Infringed or broken And if anything be procured by any person or persons contrary to these premises it shall be held of no force or Effect. IN WITNESS whereof I the said William Penn have unto this present Charter of Liberties Set my hand and Broad Seal this ffive and Twentieth day of the Second Month vulgarly called April in the year of our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty and Two.

[...]

Source: Francis Newton Thorpe, ed., *The Federal and State Constitutions*, vol. 5 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909); and ABC-CLIO.

84. New York Charter of Liberties and Privileges, 1683

Introduction

The Dutch surrendered New Netherland to the English in 1664, and the Duke of York—the future King James II—received a charter for the colony of New York. The colony's first governor, Richard Nicholls, did not allow the colony to have an elected legislature because he feared that too many Dutch colonists would win seats. The next governor, the corrupt Sir Edmund Andros, alienated the populace. Responding to the colonists' complaints, the king recalled Andros and granted New York the right to elect a legislature. New York's first colonial assembly, which had both Dutch and English members, began meeting in 1683. The assembly quickly passed the Charter of Liberties and Privileges, granting equal rights to colonists of both nationalities. This document offered protection for freedom of assembly, recognized the right of women to hold property, and ensured that all colonists had the right to jury trials. Many of these rights were later enshrined in the U.S. Bill of Rights. However, King James II viewed the Charter of Liberties as a dangerous document that gave the assembly too much power. He refused to approve it, and in 1686 revoked it and disbanded the New York assembly. He forced New York into the Dominion of New England, governed by Andros.

Primary Source

FOR The better Establishing the Government of this province of New Yorke and that Justice and Right may be Equally done to all persons within the same

BEE It Enacted by the Governour Councell and Representatives now in Generall Assembly mett and assembled and by the authority of the same.

THAT The Supreme legislative Authority under his Majesty and Royall Highnesse James Duke of Yorke Albany &c Lord proprietor of the said province shall forever be and reside in a Governour, Councell, and people mett in Generall Assembly.

THAT The Exercise of the Cheife Magistracy and Administration of the Government over the said province shall bee in the said Governour assisted by a Councell with whose advice and Consent or with at least four of them he is to rule and Governe the same according to the Lawes thereof.

THAT In Case the Governour shall dye or be absent out of the province and that there be noe person within the said province Comissionated by his Royal Highnesse his heires or Successours to

be Governour or Comander in Cheife there That then the Councell for the time being or Soe many of them as are in the Said province doe take upon them the Administration of the Governour and the Execution of the Lawes thereof and powers and authorityes belonging to the Governour and Councell the first in nomination in which Councell is to preside untill the said Governour shall returne and arrive in the said province againe, or the pleasure of his Royall Highnesse his heires or Successours Shall be further knowne.

THAT According to the usage Custome and practice of the Realme of England a sessions of a Generall Assembly be held in this province one in three yeares at least.

THAT Every Freeholder within this province and Freeman in any Corporation Shall have his free Choise and Vote in the Electing of the Representatives without any manner of constraint or Imposition. And that in all Elections the Majority of Voices shall carry itt and by freeholders is understood every one who is Soe understood according to the Lawes of England.

THAT The persons to be Elected to sitt as representatives in the Generall Assembly from time to time for the severall Cittyes townes Countyes Shires or Divisions of this province and all places within the same shall be according to the proportion and number hereafter Expressed that is to say for the Citty and County of New Yorke four, for the County of Suffolke two, for Queens County two, for Kings County two, for the County of Richmond two for the County of WestChester two.

FOR The County of Ulster two for the County of Albany two and for Schenectade within the said County one for Dukes County two, for the County of Cornwall two and as many more as his Royall Highnesse shall think fitt to Establish.

THAT All persons Chosen and Assembled in manner aforesaid or the Major part of them shall be deemed and accounted the Representatives of this province which said Representatives together with the Governour and his Councell Shall forever be the Supreame and only Legislative power under his Royall Highnesse of the said province.

THAT The said Representatives may appoint their owne Times of meeting dureing their sessions and may adjourne their house from time to time to such time as to them shall seeme meet and convenient.

THAT The said Representatives are the sole Judges of the Qualifications of their owne members, and likewise of all undue Elections and may from time to time purge their house as they shall see occasion dureing the said sessions.

THAT Noe member of the general Assembly or their servants dureing the time of their Sessions and whilest they shall be goeing to and returning from the said Assembly shall be arrested sued imprisoned or any wayes molested or troubled nor be compelled to make answere to any suite, Bill, plaint, Declaration or otherwise, (Cases of High Treason and felony only Excepted) provided the number of the said servants shall not Exceed three.

THAT All bills agreed upon by the said Representatives or the Major part of them shall be presented unto the Governour and his Councell for their Approbation and Consent All and Every which Said Bills soe approved of Consented to by the Governour and his Councell shall be Esteemed and accounted the Lawes of the province, Which said Lawes shall continue and remaine of force untill they shall be repealed by the authority aforesaid that is to say the Governour Councell and Representatives in General Assembly by and with the Approbation of his Royal Highnesse or Expire by their owne Limittations.

THAT in all Cases of death or removall of any of the said Representatives The Governour shall issue out Sumons by Writt to the Respective Townes Cittyes Shires Countryes or Divisions for which he or they soe removed or deceased were Chosen willing and requireing the Freeholders or the Same to Elect others in their place and stead.

THAT Noe freeman shall be taken and imprisoned or be diseized of his Freehold or Libertye or Free Customes or be outlawed or Exiled or any other wayes destroyed nor shall be passed upon adjudged or condemned But by the Lawfull Judgment of his peers and by the Law of this province. Justice nor Right shall be neither sold denyed or deferred to any man within this province.

THAT Noe aid, Tax, Tallage, Assessment, Custome, Loane, Benevolence or Imposition whatsoever shall be layed assessed imposed or levyed on any of his Majestyes Subjects within this province or their Estates upon any manner of Colour or pretence but by the act and Consent of the Governour Councell and Representatives of the people in Generall Assembly mett and Assembled.

THAT Noe man of what Estate or Condition soever shall be putt out of his Lands or Tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disherited, nor banished nor any wayes distroyed without being brought to Answere by due Course of Law.

THAT A Freeman Shall not be amerced for a small fault, but after the manner of his fault and for a great fault after the Greatnesse thereof Saveing to him his freehold, And a husbandman saveing to him his Wainage and a merchant likewise saveing to him his merchandize And none of the said Americiaments shall be assessed but by the oath of twelve honest and Lawfull men of the Vicinage provided the faults and misdemeanours be not in Contempt of Courts of Judicature.

ALL Tryalls shall be by the verdict of twelve men, and as neer as may be peers or Equalls And of the neighbourhood and in the County Shire or Division where the fact Shall arise or grow Whether the Same be by Indictment Infermation Declaration or otherwise against the person Offender or Defendant.

THAT In all Cases Capitall or Criminall there shall be a grand Inquest who shall first present the offence and then twelve men of the neighbourhood to try the Offender who after his plea to the Indictment shall be allowed his reasonable Challenges.

THAT In all Cases whatsoever Bayle by sufficient Suretyes Shall be allowed and taken unlesse for treason or felony plainly and specially Expressed and mentioned in the Warrant of Commitment provided Alwayes that nothing herein contained shall Extend to discharge out of prison upon bayle any person taken in Execution for debts or otherwise legally sentenced by the Judgment of any of the Courts of Record within the province.

THAT Noe Freeman shall be compelled to receive any Marriners or Souldiers into his house and there suffer them to Sojourne, against their willes provided Alwayes it be not in time of Actuall Warr within this province.

THAT Noe Comissions for proceeding by Marshall Law against any of his Majestyes Subjects within this province shall issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever Least by Colour of them any of his Majestyes Subjects bee destroyed or putt to death Except all such officers persons and Soldiers in pay throughout the Government.

THAT From hence forward Noe Lands Within this province shall be Esteemed or accounted a Chattle or personall Estate but an Estate of Inheritance according to the Custome and practice of his Majesties Realme of England.

THAT Noe Court or Courts within this province have or at any time hereafter Shall have any Jurisdiction power or authority to grant out any Execution or other writt whereby any mans Land may be sold or any other way disposed off without the owners Consent provided Alwayes That the issues or meane proffitts of any mans Lands shall or may be Extended by Execution or otherwise to satisfye just debts Any thing to the Contrary hereof in any wise Notwithstanding.

THAT Noe Estate of a feme Covert shall be sold or conveyed But by Deed acknowledged by her in Some Court of Record the Woman being secretly Examined if She doth it freely without threats or Compulsion of her husband.

THAT All Wills in writeing attested by two Credible Witnesses shall be of the same force to convey Lands as other Conveyances being registered in the Secretaryes Office within forty dayes after the testators death.

THAT A Widdow after the death of her husband shall have her Dower And shall and may tarry in the Cheife house of her husband forty dayes after the death of her husband within which forty dayes her Dower shall be assigned her And for her Dower shall be assigned unto her the third part of all the Lands of her husband dureing Coverture, Except shee were Endowed of Lesse before Marriage.

THAT All Lands and Heritages within this province and Dependencyes shall be free from all fines and Lycences upon Alienations, and from all Herriotts Ward Shipps Liveryes primer Seizins yeare day and Wast Escheats and forfeitures upon the death of parents and Ancestors naturall unaturall casuall or Judiciall, and that forever; Cases of High treason only Excepted.

THAT Noe person or persons which professe Faith in God by Jesus Christ Shall at any time be any wayes molested punished disquieted or called in Question for any Difference in opinion or Matter of Religious Concernment, who doe not actually disturb the Civill peace of the province, But that all and Every such person or persons may from time to time and at all times freely have and fully enjoy his or their Judgments or Consciencyes in matters of Religion throughout all the province, they behaveing themselves peaceably and quietly and not using this Liberty to Lycentiousnesse nor to the

civill Injury or outward disturbance of others provided Always that this liberty or any thing contained therein to the contrary shall never be Construed or improved to make void the Settlement of any publique Minister on Long Island Whether Such Settlement be by two thirds of the voices in any Towne thereon which shall alwayes include the Minor part Or by Subscriptions of perticuler Inhabitants in Said Townes provided they are the two thirds thereon Butt that all such agreements Covenants and Subscriptions that are there already made and had Or that hereafter shall bee in this Manner Consented to agreed and Subscribed shall at all time and times hereafter be firme and Stable And in Confirmation hereof It is Enacted by the Governour Councell and Representatives; That all Such Sumes of money soe agreed on Consented to or Subscribed as aforesaid for maintenance of said publick Ministers by the two thirds of any Towne on Long Island Shall alwayes include the Minor part who shall be regulated thereby And also Such Subscriptions and agreements as are before mentioned are and Shall be alwayes ratified performed and paid, And if any Towne on said Island in their publick Capacity of agreement with any Such minister or any perticuler persons by their private Subscriptions as aforesaid Shall make default deny or withdraw from Such payment Soe Covenanted to agreed upon and Subscribed That in Such Case upon Complaint of any Collector appointed and Chosen by two thirds of Such Towne upon Long Island unto any Justice of that County Upon his hearing the Same he is here by authorized impowered and required to issue out his warrant unto the Constable or his Deputy or any other person appointed fort he Collection of Said Rates or agreement to Levy upon the goods and Chattles of the Said Delinquent or Defaulter all such Sumes of money Soe Covenanted and agreed to be paid by distresse with Costs and Charges without any further Suite in Law Any Lawe Custome or usage to the Contrary in any wise Notwithstanding.

PROVIDED Alwayes the said sume or sumes be under forty shillings otherwise to be recovered as the Law directs.

AND WHEREAS All the Respective Christian Churches now in practice within the City of New Yorke and the other places of this province doe appeare to be priviledged Churches and have beene Soe Established and Confirmed by the former authority of this Government BE it hereby Enacted by this Generall Assembly and by the authority thereof That all the Said Respective Christian Churches be hereby Confirmed therein And that they and Every of them Shall from henceforth forever be held and reputed as priviledged Churches and Enjoy all their former freedomes of their Religion in Divine Worshipp and Church Discipline And that all former Contracts made and agreed upon for the maintenances of the severall ministers of the Said Churches shall stand and continue in full force and virtue And that all Contracts for the future to be made Shall bee of the same power And all persons that are unwilling to performe their part of the said Contract Shall be Constrained thereunto by a warrant from any Justice of the peace provided it be under forty Shillings Or otherwise as this Law directs provided allsoe that all Christian Churches that Shall hereafter come and settle within this province shall have the Same priviledges.

Source: Lincoln, Charles Z. *The Constitutional History of New York.* Rochester: The Lawyers Co-Operative Publishing Company, 1906.

85. William Penn, A Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1685 [Excerpt]

Introduction

William Penn (1644-1701) joined the Society of Friends at the age of 22. He was expelled from Oxford for his religious disobedience and jailed several times for seeking converts to his faith. Penn's father, meanwhile, had a close friendship with England's royal family and had loaned the king a large sum of money. When William Penn wished to found a colony in America, Charles II repaid his debt to the family by granting him about 45,000 square miles of land, and a charter to colonize it, in 1681. Penn established a representative government for Pennsylvania, guaranteed religious liberty to Quakers and people of other faiths, and insisted that the Indians be treated fairly. Penn visited his colony only twice, from 1682 to 1684, and from 1699 to 1701. He returned to England in 1684 to defend his interests against Lord Baltimore, who claimed that Pennsylvania's three Lower Counties (present-day Delaware) rightfully belonged to Maryland. Penn's family connections influenced King James II to rule in his favor. Once his claim to the area was reaffirmed, Penn published this favorable account of his colony to encourage people to settle there. He highlights the economic opportunity, the guarantee of religious liberty, and friendly relations with the Indians, and states his own intention to settle with his family in Pennsylvania.

Primary Source

It has, I know, been much expected from me that I should give some farther Narrative of those parts of America where I am chiefly interested, and have lately been; having continued there above a Year after my former Relation, and receiving since my return the freshest and fullest Advices of its Progress and Improvement. But as the reason of my coming back was a Difference between the Lord Baltimore and myself, about the Lands of Delaware, in consequence reputed of mighty moment to us, so I wav'd publishing anything that might look in favor of the Country, or inviting to it, whilst it lay under the Discouragement and Disreputation of that Lord's claim and pretences.

But since they are, after many fair and full hearings before the Lords of the Committee for Plantations justly and happily Dismist, and the things agreed; and that the Letters which daily press me from all Parts on the subject of America, are so many and voluminous that to answer them severally were a Task too heavy and repeated to perform, I have thought it most easie to the Enquirer, as well as myself, to make this Account Publick, lest my silence or a more private intimations of things, should disablige the just inclinations of any to America, and at a time too when an extraordinary Providence seems to favour its Plantation and open a door to Europeans to pass thither.

Of the Natives.

1. Because many Stories have been prejudicially propagated, as if we were upon ill terms with the Natives, and sometimes, like Jobs Kindred, all cut off but the Messenger that brought the Tidings; I think it requisite to say thus much, that as there never was any such Messenger, so the dead People were alive, at our last advices; so far are we from ill terms with the Natives, that we have liv'd in great friendship. I have made seven Purchasses, and in Pay and Presents they have received at least twelve hundred pounds of me. Our humanity has obliged them so far, that they generally leave their guns at home, when they come to our settlements; they offer us no affront, not so much as to one of our Dogs; and if any of them break our Laws, they submit to be punisht by them: and to this they have tyed themselves by an obligation under their hands. We leave not the least indignity to them unrebukt, nor wrong unsatisfied. Justice gains and aws them. They have some Great Men amongst them, I mean for Wisdom, Truth and Justice. I refer to my former Account about their Laws Manners and Religious Rites.

Of the Government.

The Government is according to the words of the Grant, as near to the English as conveniently may be: In the whole, we aim at Duty to the King, the Preservation of Right to all, the suppression of Vice, and encouragement of Vertue and Arts; with Liberty to all People to worship Almighty God, according to their Faith and Perswasion.

Of the Seasons of Going, and usual time of Passage.

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And because some has urged my coming back, as an argument against the place, and the probability of its improvement; Adding, that I would for that reason never return; I think fit to say, That Next Summer, God willing, I intend to go back, and carry my Family, and the best part of my Personal Estate with me. And this I do, not only of Duty, but Inclination and Choice. God will Bless and Prosper poor America.

[...]

Source: Albert Cook Myers, ed., Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912).

86. Edward Randolph, *The Causes* and Results of King Philip's War, 1676 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In 1676, King Charles II sent Edward Randolph to New England to investigate the level of compliance with English trade laws and navigation acts. Randolph reported widespread violations and painted an exaggerated picture of a colony prospering at England's expense. He also reported his view of King Philip's War (1675–1676). Already biased against the colonists, Randolph laid on them much of the blame for the war. Randolph's series of unfavorable reports influenced the king to cancel the Massachusetts Bay Colony's charter in 1684. In 1686, King James II merged the New England colonies, plus New York and New Jersey, into the Dominion of New England and appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor. In 1689, as word arrived of the unpopular king's loss of the throne, Massachusetts citizens arrested Governor Andros along with Randolph and resumed control of the colony. They appealed to the new king, William III, to restore their charter. Rather than return the original charter to the Puritans, in 1691 the king instead merged Plymouth Colony and Massachusetts Bay Colony into one royal colony called Massachusetts Bay.

Primary Source

Eighth Enquiry. What hath been the original cause of the present warre with the natives. What are the advantages or disadvantages arising thereby and will probably be the End?

Various are the reports and conjectures of the causes of the present Indian warre. Some impute it to an imprudent zeal in the magistrates of Boston to christianize those heathen before they were civilized and injoyning them the strict observation of their lawes, which, to a people so rude and licentious, hath proved even intollerable, and that the more, for that while the magistrates, for their profit, put the lawes severely in execution against the Indians, the people, on the other side, for lucre and gain, intice and provoke the Indians to the breach thereof, especially to drunkenness, to which those people are so generally addicted that they will strip themselves to their skin to have their fill of rum and brandy, the Massachusets having made a law that every Indian drunke should pay 10s. or be whipped, according to the discretion of the magistrate. Many of these poor people willingly offered their backs to the lash to save their money; whereupon, the magistrates finding much trouble and no profit to arise to the government by whipping, did change that punishment into 10 days worke for such as could not or would not pay the fine of 10s. which did highly incense the Indians.

Some beleeve there have been vagrant and jesuiticall priests, who have made it their businesse, for some yeares past, to goe from

Sachim to Sachim, to exasperate the Indians against the English and to bring them into a confederacy, and that they were promised supplies from France and other parts to extirpate the English nation out of the continent of America. Others impute the cause to some injuries offered to the Sachim Philip; for he being possessed of a tract of land called Mount Hope, a very fertile, pleasant and rich soyle, some English had a mind to dispossesse him thereof, who never wanting one pretence or other to attain their end, complained of injuries done by Philip and his Indians to their stock and cattle, whereupon Philip was often summoned before the magistrate, sometimes imprisoned, and never released but upon parting with a considerable part of his land.

But the government of the Massachusets (to give it in their own words) do declare these are the great evills for which God hath given the heathen commission to rise against them: The wofull breach of the 5th commandment, in contempt of their authority, which is a sin highly provoking to the Lord: For men wearing long hayre and perewigs made of womens hayre; for women wearing borders of hayre and for cutting, curling and laying out the hayre, and disguising themselves by following strange fashions in their apparell: For profanness in the people not frequenting their meetings, and others going away before the blessing be pronounced: For suffering the Quakers to live amongst them and to set up their threshholds by Gods thresholds, contrary to their old lawes and resolutions.

With many such reasons, but whatever be the cause, the English have contributed much to their misfortunes, for they first taught the Indians the use of armes, and admitted them to be present at all their musters and trainings, and shewed them how to handle, mend and fix their muskets, and have been furnished with all sorts of armes by permission of the government, so that the Indians are become excellent firemen. And at Natick there was a gathered church of praying Indians, who were exercised as trained bands, under officers of their owne; these have been the most barbarous and cruel enemies to the English of any others. Capt. Tom, their leader, being lately taken and hanged at Boston, with one other of their chiefs.

That notwithstanding the ancient law of the country, made in the year 1633, that no person should sell any armes or ammunition to any Indian upon penalty of £10 for every gun, £5 for a pound of powder, and 40s. for a pound of shot, yet the government of the Massachusets in the year 1657, upon designe to monopolize the whole Indian trade did publish and declare that the trade of furrs and peltry with the Indians in their jurisdiction did solely and properly belong to their commonwealth and not to every indifferent person, and did enact that no person should trade with the Indians for any sort of peltry, except such as were authorized by that court, under the penalty of £100 for every offence, giving liberty to all such as should have licence from them to sell, unto any Indian, guns, swords, powder and shot, paying to the treasurer 3d.

for each gun and for each dozen of swords; 6d. for a pound of powder and for every ten pounds of shot, by which means the Indians have been abundantly furnished with great store of armes and ammunition to the utter ruin and undoing of many families in the neighbouring colonies to inrich some few of their relations and church members.

No advantage but many disadvantages have arisen to the English by the war, for about 600 men have been slain, and 12 captains, most of them brave and stout persons and of loyal principles, whilest the church members had liberty to stay at home and not hazard their persons in the wildernesse.

The losse to the English in the severall colonies, in their habitations and stock, is reckoned to amount to £150,000 there having been about 1200 houses burned, 8000 head of cattle, great and small, killed, and many thousand bushels of wheat, pease and other grain burned (of which the Massachusets colony hath not been damnifyed one third part, the great losse falling upon New Plymouth and Connecticot colonies) and upward of 3000 Indians men women and children destroyed, who if well managed would have been very serviceable to the English, which makes all manner of labour dear.

The war at present is near an end. In Plymouth colony the Indians surrender themselves to Gov. Winslow, upon mercy, and bring in all their armes, are wholly at his disposall, except life and transportation; but for all such as have been notoriously cruell to women and children, so soon as discovered they are to be executed in the sight of their fellow Indians.

The government of Boston have concluded a peace upon these terms.

- 1. That there be henceforward a firme peace between the Indians and English.
- 2. That after publication of the articles of peace by the generall court, if any English shall willfully kill an Indian, upon due proof, he shall dye, and if an Indian kill an Englishman and escape, the Indians are to produce him, and lie to passe tryall by the English lawes.

That the Indians shall not conceal any known enemies to the English, but shall discover them and bring them to the English.

That upon all occasions the Indians are to aid and assist the English against their enemies, and to be under English command.

That all Indians have liberty to sit down at their former habitations without let. . . .

Source: http://www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/bdorsey1/41docs/45-ran.html.

87. Commission of Sir Edmund Andros for the Dominion of New England, April 7, 1688 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In 1676, King Charles II sent his agent, Edward Randolph, to New England to investigate the level of compliance with English trade laws and navigation acts. Randolph reported widespread violations and painted an exaggerated picture of the colonies prospering at England's expense. Randolph's series of unfavorable reports influenced the king to cancel the Massachusetts Bay Colony's charter in 1684. In 1686, King James II merged the New England colonies, plus New York and New Jersey, into the Dominion of New England and appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor. He renewed the appointment in 1688 with this document. Andros had previously served as governor of New York where his corruption and favoritism earned him widespread loathing and forced his recall. In 1689, as word arrived of the unpopular king's loss of the throne, Massachusetts citizens arrested Governor Andros along with Randolph and resumed control of the colony. Instead of restoring their original charters, in 1691 the king merged Plymouth Colony and Massachusetts Bay Colony into one royal colony called Massachusetts Bay. News of Andros' arrest caused a rebellion in New York, while the other colonies that had been forced into the Dominion resumed self-government.

Primary Source

JAMES THE Second by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. To our trusty and welbeloved Sr Edmund Andros Knight Greeting: Whereas by our Commission under our Great Seal of England, bearing date the third day of June in the second year of our reign wee have constituted, and appointed you to be our Captain Generall and Governor in Chief in and over all that part of our territory and dominion of New England in America known by the names of our Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, our Colony of New Plymouth, our provinces of New Hampshire and Main and the Narraganset Country or King's province. And whereas since that time Wee have thought it necessary for our service and for the better protection and security of our subjects in those parts to join and annex to our said Government, the neighboring Colonies of Road Island and Connecticutt, our Province of New York and East and West Jersey, with the territories thereunto belonging, as wee do hereby join annex and unite the same to our said government and dominion of New England. Wee therefore reposing especiall trust and confidence in the prudence courage and loyalty of you the said Sir Edmund Andros, out of our especiall grace certain knowledge and meer motion, have thought fit to constitute and appoint as wee do by these presents constitute and appoint you the said Sr Edmund Andros to be our Captain Generall and Governor in Chief in and over our Colonies of the Massachusetts Bay and New Plymouth, our Provinces of New Hampshire and Main, the Narraganset country for King's Province, our Colony of Road Island and Connecticutt, our Province of New York and East and West Jersey, and of all that tract of land circuit continent precincts and limits in America lying and being in breadth from forty degrees of Northern latitude from the Equinoctaill Line to the River of St. Croix Eastward, and from thence directly Northward to the river of Canada, and in length and longitude by all the breadth aforesaid and throughout the main land from the Atlantick or Western Sea or Ocean on the East part, to the south Sea on the West part, with all the Islands, Seas, Rivers, waters, rights, members, and appurtenances, thereunto belonging (our province of Pensilvania and country of Delaware only excepted), to be called and known as formerly by the name and title of our territory and dominion of New England in America.

And for your better guidance and direction Wee doe hereby require and command you to do & execute all things in due manner, that shall belong unto the said office and the trust wee have reposed in you, according to the severall powers instructions and authoritys mentioned in these presents, or such further powers instructions and authoritys mentioned in these presents, as you shall herewith receive or which shall at any time hereafter be granted or appointed you under our signet and sign manual or by our order in our Privy Councill and according to such reasonable lawes and statutes as are now in force or such others as shall hereafter be made and established within our territory & dominion aforesaid.

And our will and pleasure is that you the said Sr Edmund Andros having, after publication of these our Letters Patents, first taken the Oath of duly executing the office our Captain Generall and Governor in Chief of our said territory and dominion, which our Councill there or any three of them are hereby required authorized and impowered to give and administer unto you, you shall administer unto each of the members of our Councill the Oath for the due execution of their places and trusts.

And Wee do hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority to suspend any member of our Councill from sitting voting and assisting therein, as you shall find just cause for so doing.

And if it shall hereafter at any time happen that by the death, departure out of our said territory, or suspension of any of our Counselors, or otherwise, there shall be a vacancy in our said Councill, (any five whereof wee do hereby appoint to be a Quorum) Our will and pleasure is that you signify the same unto us by the first opportunity, that Wee may under our Signet and Sign Manuall constitute and appoint others in their room.

And Wee do hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority, by and with the advise and consent of our said Councill or the major part of them, to make constitute and ordain lawes statutes

and ordinances for the public peace welfare and good governmt of our said territory & dominion and of the people and inhabitants thereof, and such others as shall resort thereto, and for the benefit of us, our heires and successors. Which said lawes statutes and ordinances, are to be, as near as conveniently may be, agreeable to the lawes & statutes of this our kingdome of England: Provided that all such lawes statutes and ordinances of what nature of the same, transmitted unto Us, under our Seal of New England, for our allowance or disapprobation of the, as also duplicates thereof by the next conveyance.

And Wee do by these presents give and grant unto you full power and authority by and with the advise and consent of our said Councill, or the major part of them, to impose assess and raise and levy rates and taxes as you shall find necessary for the support of the government within our territory and dominion of new England, to be collected and leveyed and to be imployed to the uses aforesaid in such manner as to you & our said Councill or the major part of them shall seem most equall and reasonable.

And for the better supporting the charge of the governmt of our said Territory and Dominion, our will and pleasure is and wee do by these presents authorize and impower you and the said Sir Edmund Andros and our Councill, to continue such taxes and impositions as are now laid and imposed upon the Inhabitants thereof; and to levy and distribute or cause the same to be levied and distributed to those ends I the best and most equall manner, until you shall by & with the advise and consent of our Councill agree on and settle such other taxes as shall be sufficient for the support of our government there, which are to be applied to that use and no other.

And our further will and pleasure is, that all publick money raised or to be raised or appointed for the support of the government within our said territory and dominion be issued out by warrant or order from you by & with the advise and consent of our Councill as a foresaid.

And our will and pleasure is that you shall and may keep and use our Seal appointed by Us for our said territory and dominion.

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And Wee do hereby give and grant unto you the said Sir Edmund Andros by your self your Captains and Commanders, by you to be authorized, full power and authority to levy arme muster command or employ, all persons whatsoever residing within our said Territory and Dominion of New England, and, as occasion shall serve, them to transferr from one place to another for the resisting and withstanding all enemies pyrats and rebels, both at land and sea, and to transferr such forces to any of our Plantations in America or the Territories thereunto belonging, as occasion shall require for the defence of the same against the invasion or attempt of any of

our enemies, and then, if occasion shall require to pursue and prosecute in or out of the limits of our said Territories and Plantations or any of them, And if it shall so please God, them to vanquish; and, being taken, according to the law of arms to put to death or keep and preserve alive, at your discretion. And also the execute martiall law in time of invasion insurrection or war, and during the continuance of the same, and upon soldiers in pay, and to do and execute all and every other things which to a Captain Generall doth or ought of right to belong, as fully and amply as any our Captain Generall doth or hath usually don.

And we do hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority to erect raise and build within our Territory and dominion aforesaid, such and so many forts, platforms, Castles, cities, boroughs, towns, and fortifications as you shall judge necessary; and the same or any of them to fortify and furnish with ordnance ammunition and all sorts of armes, fit and necessary for the security & defence of our said territory; and the same again or any of them to demolish or dismantle as may be most convenient.

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As likewise to order and appoint within our said Territory such and so many ports harbors, bayes havens and other places for the convenience and security of shipping, and for the better loading and unloading of goods and merchandize as by you with the advice and consent of our Councill shall be thought fitt and necessary; and in them or any of them to erect nominat and appoint Cuxtom houses ware houses and officers relating thereto; and them to alter change, place, or displace from time to time, as with the advice aforesaid shall be thought fitt.

And forasmuch as pursuant to the lawes & customes of our Colony of the Massachusetts Bay and of our other Colonies and Provinces aforementioned, divers marriages have been made and performed by the Magstrats of our said territory; Our royall will and pleasure is hereby to confirm all the said marriages and to direct that they be held good and valid in the same manner to all intents and purposes whatsoever as if they had been made and contracted according to the lawes established within our kingdom of England.

And Wee do hereby require and command all officers and ministers, civill and military and all other inhabitants of our said Territory and Dominion to be obedient aiding and assisting unto you the said Sr Edm Andros in the execution of this our commission and of the powers and authorityes therein conteined, and upon your death or absence out of our said Territory unto our Lieut. Governor, to whom wee do therefore by these presents give and grant all and singular the powers and authorityes aforesaid to be exercised and enjoyed by him in case of your death or absence during our pleasure, or until you arrival within our said Territory and Dominion; as Wee do further hereby give and grant full power and authority to

our Lieut. Governor to do and execute whatsoever he shall be by you authorized and appointed to do and execute, in pursuance of and according to the powers granted to you by this Commission.

And if in the case of your death or absence there be no person upon the place, appointed by us to be Commander in Chief; our will and pleasure is, that the then present Councill of our Territory aforesaid, do take upon them the administration of the Governmt and execute this commission and the several powers and authoritys herein conteined; and that the first counselor who shall be at the time of your death or absence residing within the same, do preside in our said Councill, with such powers and preheminencies as any former President hath used and enjoyed within our said territory, or any other our plantations in America, until our pleasure be further known, or your arrival as aforesaid.

And lastly, our will and pleasure is that you the said Sr Edmund Andros shall and may hold exercise and enjoy the office and place of Captain Generall and Governor in Chief in and over our Territory and dominion aforesaid, with all its right members and appurtenances whatsoever, together will all and singular the powers and authorityes hereby granted unto you, for and during our will and pleasure.

In Witness whereof Wee have caused these our letters to be made Patents. Witness our self at Westminster the seventh day of Aprill in the fourth year of our raign.

By Writ of Privy Seal

Clerke.

Source: Francis Newton Thorpe, ed., *The Federal and State Constitutions*, vol. 3 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909).

88. Nathaniel Byfield, *An Account of the Late Revolution in New-England*, April 1689 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In 1676, King Charles II sent an agent to New England to investigate the level of compliance with English trade laws and navigation acts. The agent's reports of widespread violations influenced the king to cancel the Massachusetts Bay Colony's charter in 1684. In 1686, King James II merged the New England colonies, plus New York and New Jersey, into the Dominion of New England and appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor. Andros had previously served as governor of New York, and his corrupt administration had earned him widespread loathing and forced his recall. Governor Andros controlled the Dominion from his offices in Boston. In

1689, as word arrived of the unpopular king's loss of the throne, armed civilians arrested Andros. Andros escaped and fled to Newport, Rhode Island, but Newport authorities returned him to Massachusetts. From there he was deported to England. The arrest of Andros marked the end of the Dominion of New England. Instead of restoring their original charters, in 1691 King William III instead merged Plymouth Colony and Massachusetts Bay Colony into one royal colony called Massachusetts Bay. News of Andros' arrest caused a rebellion in New York, while the other colonies that had been forced into the Dominion resumed self-government.

Primary Source

An Account of the Late Revolution in New-England Written by Mr. Nathanael Byfield, to his Friends, & c.

GENTLEMEN,

HERE being an opportunity of sending for London, by a Vessel that loaded at Long-Island, and for want of a Wind put in here; and not knowing that there will be the like from this Country suddenly, I am willing to give you some brief Account of the most remarkable things that have happened here within this Fortnight last past; concluding that till about that time, you will have received per Carter, a full Account of the management of Affairs here. Upon the Eighteenth Instant, about Eight of the Clock in the Morning, in Boston, it was reported at the South end of the Town, That at the North end they were all in Arms; and the like Report was at the North end, respecting the South end: Whereupon Captain John George was immediately seized, and about nine of the clock the Drums beat thorough the Town; and an Ensign was set up upon the Beacon. Then Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Dantforth, Major Richards, Dr. Cooke, and Mr. Addington &c. were brought to the Council-house by a Company of Soldiers under the Command of Captain Hill. The mean while the People in Arms, did take up and put in to Goal, Justice Bullivant, Justice Foxcroft, Mr. Randolf, Sheriff Sherlock, Captain Ravenscroft, Captain White, Farewel, Broadbent, Crafford, Larkin, Smith, and many more, as also Mercey the then Goalkeeper, and put Scates the Bricklayer in his place. About Noon, in the Gallery at the Council-house, was read the Declaration here inclosed. Then a Message was sent to the Fort to Sir Edmund Andros, By Mr. Oliver and Mr. Eyres, signed by the Gentlemen then in the Council-Chamber, (which is here also inclosed); to inform him how unsafe he was like to be if he did not deliver up himself, and Fort and Government forthwith, which he was loath to do. By this time, being about two of the Clock (the Lecture being put by) the Town was generally in Arms, and so many of the Countrey came in, that there was Twenty Companies in Boston, besides a great many that appeared at Charles Town that could not get over (some say Fifteen Hundred). There then came information to the Soldiers, That a Boat was come from the Frigat that made towards the Fort, which made them haste thither, and come to the Sconce soon after the Boat got thither; and 'tis said that Governor Andros, and about half a score Gentlemen, were coming down out of the Fort; but the Boat being seized, wherein were small Arms, Hand-Granadoes, and a quantity of Match, the Governour and the rest went in again; whereupon Mr. John Nelson, who was at the head of the Soldiers, did demand the Fort and the Governor, who was loath to submit to them; but at length did come down, and was with the Gentlemen that were with him, conveyed to the Council-house, where Mr. Bradstreet and the rest of the Gentlemen waited to receive him; to whom Mr. Stoughton first spake, telling him, He might thank himself for the present disaster that had befallen him, & c. He was then confined for that night to Mr. John Usher's house under strong Guards, and the next day conveyed to the Fort, (where he yet remains, and with him Lieutenant Collonel Ledget) which is under the Command of Mr. John Nelson; and at the Castle, which is under the Command of Mr. John Fairweather, is Mr. West, Mr. Graham, Mr. Palmer, and Captaine Tryfroye. At that time Mr. Dudley was out upon the Circuit, and was holding a Court at Southold on Long-Island. And on the 21 st. Instant he arrived at Newport, where he heard the News. The next day Letters came to him, advising him not to come home; he thereupon went over privately to Major Smith's at Naraganzett, and advice is this day come hither, that yesterday about a dozen young men, most of their own heads, went thither to demand him; and are gone with him down to Boston. We have also advice, that on Fryday last towards evening, Sir Edmond Andross did attempt to make an escape in Womans Apparel, and pass'd two Guards, and was stopped at the third, being discovered by his Shoes, not having changed them. We are here ready to blame you sometimes, that we have not to this day received advice concerning the great Changes in England, and in particular how it is like to fair with us here; who do hope and believe that all these things will work for our Good; and that you will not be wanting to promote the Good of a Country that stands in such need as New-England does at this day. The first day of May, according to former Usage, is the Election-day at Road Island; and many do say they intend their choice there then. I have not farther to trouble you with at present, but recommending you, and all our affairs with you, to the Direction and Blessing of our most Gracious God: I remain

Gentlemen.

Your Most Humble Servant at Command,

NATHANAEL BYFIELD.

Bristol, April 29. 1689.

Through the Goodness of God, there hath been no Blood shed. Nath. Clark is in Plymouth Gaol, and John Smith in Gaol here, all waiting for News from England.

 $[\ldots]$

Source: Peter Force, ed., *Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to... the Colonies in North America...*, vol. 2 (New York: Peter Smith, 1947).

89. Declaration of the Reasons and Motives for the present appearing in Arms of their Majesties Protestant subjects in the Province of Maryland, November 28, 1689 [Excerpt]

Introduction

As founders and proprietors of Maryland, the Calvert family had tried to govern the colony as a haven for all Christians, including Catholics, Anglicans (members of the Church of England), and Puritans. They encountered repeated challenges to this ideal. In the mid-1650s, Puritans took over Maryland's government and banned both Catholic and Anglican worship. The Calverts regained control a few years later, but in 1689 they faced a Protestant rebellion. Protestants had grown to make up 80 percent of Maryland's population and resented the privileges granted to Catholics. When the Protestant king William and Queen Mary deposed the Catholic king James II in 1689, Maryland's governor canceled the meeting of the assembly. Protestant rebels then marched on the capital and overthrew the proprietary government. Maryland became a royal colony with a Protestant governor. The new government barred Catholics and Quakers from holding any political office. Benedict Calvert, the fourth Lord Baltimore, only regained control of the colony in 1715 by converting to the Church of England and establishing it as the official church of Maryland. This statement by the Protestant rebels enumerates their grievances against the proprietary government.

Primary Source

ALTHOUGH the Nature and State of Affairs relating to the Government of this Province is so well and notoriously known to all Persons any way concerned in the same, as to the People and Inhabitants here, who are more immediately Interested, as might excuse any Declaration or Apology for this present inevitable Appearance: Yet forasmuch as (by the Plots, Contrivances, Insinuations, Remonstrances, and Subscriptions, carried on, suggested, extorted, and obtained by the Lord Baltemore, his Deputies, Representatives, and Officers here) the Injustice and Tyranny under which we groan is palliated, and most if not all the Particulars of our Grievances shrouded from the Eye of Observation and the Hand of Redress, We thought fit for general Satisfaction, and particularly to undeceive those that may have a sinister Account of our Proceedings, to Publish this Declaration of the Reason and Motives inducing us thereunto.

His Lordship's Right and Title to the Government is by Virtue of a Charter to his Father Cecilius, from King Charles the First, of Blessed Memory. How his present Lordship has managed the Powers and Authorities given and granted in the same, We could Mourn and Lament only in silence, would our Duty to God, our Allegeance to his Vicegerent, and the Care and Welfare of our Selves and Posterity, permit us.

[…]

In the next place, Churches and Chappels (which by the said Charter should be Built and Consecrated according to the Ecclesiastical Laws of the Kingdom of England) to our great Regret and Discouragement of our Religion are erected and converted to the use of Popish Idolatry and Superstition. Jesuits and Seminary Priests are the only Incumbents (for which there is a Supply provided by sending our Popish Youth to be Educated at St. Omers) as also the chief Advisers and Councellors in Affairs of Government, and the Richest and most Fertile Land set apart for their Use and Maintenance, while other Lands that are piously intended, and given for the Maintenance of the Protestant Ministry, become Escheat, and are taken as Forfeit, the Ministers themselves discouraged, and no care taken for their Subsistance.

The Power to Enact Laws is another branch of his Lordship's Authority; but how well that has been Executed and Circumstanced is too notorious. His present Lordship upon the Death of his Father, in order thereunto, sent out Writs for Four (as was ever the usuage) for each County to serve as Representatives of the People; but when Elected, there were Two only of each Respective Four pick'd out and summoned to that Convention, Whereby many Laws were made, and the greatest Levy yet known, laid upon the Inhabitants.

The next Session, the House was filled up with the remaining Two that was left out of the former, in which there were many and the best of our Laws Enacted, to the great Benefit and Satisfaction of the People. But his Lordship soon after Dissolved and Declared the best of those Laws, such as he thought fit, null and void by Proclamation; notwithstanding they were Assented to in his Lordship's Name by the Governor, in his absence, and he himself sometime Personally Acted and Governed by the same; so that the Question in our Courts of Judicature, in any point that relates to many of our Laws, is not so much the relation it has to the said Laws, but whether the Laws themselves be agreeable to the Approbation and Pleasure of his Lordship? Whereby our Liberty and Property is become uncertain, and under the Arbitrary Disposition of the Judges and Commissioners of our Courts of Justice.

The said Assembly being sometime after Dissolved by Proclamation, another was Elected and met, consisting only of Two Members for each County, directly opposite to an Act of Assembly for Four, in which several Laws, with his Lordship's Personal Assent, were Enacted: Among the which, one for the Encouragement of Trade and Erecting of Towns. But the Execution of that Act was soon after, by Proclamation from his Lordship out of England, sus-

pended the last Year, and all Officers Military and Civil severely prohibited executing or inflicting the Penalties of the same. Notwithstanding which suspension, being in effect a dissolution and abrogating the whole Act, the Income of Three Pence to the Government by the said Act, payable for every Hogshead of Tobacco Exported, is carefully Exacted and Collected.

How Fatal, and of what Pernicious Consequence, that Unlimited and Arbitrary pretended Authority may be to the Inhabitants, is too apparent, but. by considering, That by the same Reason, all the rest of our Laws, whereby our Liberty and Property subsists, are subject to the same Arbitrary Disposition, and if timely Remedy be not had, must stand or fall according to his Lordship's Good Will and Pleasure.

Nor is this Nullifying and Suspending Power the only Grievance that doth perplex and burthen us, in relation to Laws; but these Laws that are of a certain and unquestioned acceptation are executed and countenanced, as they are more or less agreeable to the good liking of our Governours in particular; One very good Law provides, That Orphan Children should be disposed of to Persons of the same Religion with that of their deceased Parents. In direct opposition to which, several Children of Protestants have been committed to the Tutelage of Papists, and brought up in the Romish Superstition. We could instance in a Young Woman, that has been lately forced, by Order of Council, from her Husband, committed to the Custody of a Papist and brought up in his Religion. 'Tis endless to enumerate the particulars of this nature, while on the contrary those Laws that enhance the Grandeur and Income of his said Lordship are severely Imposed and executed; especially one that against all Sense, Equity, Reason, and Law Punishes all Speeches, Practices, and Attempts relating to his Lordship and Government, that shall be thought Mutinous and Seditious by the Judges of the Provincial Court, with either Whipping, Branding, Boreing through the Tongue, Fine, Imprisonment, Banishment, or Death; all or either of the said Punishments, at the Discretion of the said Judges; who have given a very recent and remarkable Proof of their Authority in each particular Punishment aforesaid, upon several of the good People of this Province, while the rest are in the same danger to have their Words and Actions liable to the Constructions and Punishment of the said Judges, and their Lives and Fortunes to the Mercy of their Arbitrary Fancies) Opinions, and Sentences.

To these Grievances are added,

Excessive Officers Fees, and that too under Execution, directly against the Law made and provided to redress the same; wherein there is no probability of a Legal Remedy, the Officers themselves that are Parties and culpable being Judges.

The like Excessive Fees imposed upon and extorted from Masters and Owners of Vessels Trading into this Province, without any Law

to Justifie the same, and directly against the plain Words of the Charter, that say, there shall be no Imposition or Assessment without the Consent of the Freemen in the Assembly: To the great Obstruction of Trade, and Prejudice of the Inhabitants.

The like excessive Fees Imposed upon and extorted from the Owners of Vessels that are Built here, or do really belong to the Inhabitants; contrary to an Act of Assembly, made and provided for the same: Wherein, Moderate and Reasonable Fees are assertained, for the Promoting and Encouragement of Shipping and Navigation amongst our selves.

The frequent Pressing of Men, Horses, Boats, Provisions, and other Necessaries, in time of Peace; and often to gratifie private Designs and Occasions, to the great Burthen and Regret of the Inhabitants, contrary to Law and several Acts of Assembly in that Case made and provided.

The Seizing and Apprehending of Protestants in their Houses, with Armed Force consisting of Papists, and that in time of Peace; their hurrying them away to Prisons without Warrant or Cause of Commitment, there kept and Confined with Popish Guards, a long time without Trial.

Not only private but publick Outrages and Murthers committed and done by Papists upon Protestants without any Redress, but rather connived at and Tollerated by the chief in Authority; and indeed it were in vain to desire or expect any help or measures from them, being Papists and Guided by the Counsels and Instigations of the Jesuits, either in these or any other Grievances or Oppression. And yet, these are the Men that are our Chief Judges, at the Common Law, in Chancery, of the Probat of Wills, and the Affairs of Administration, in the Upper House of Assembly, and the Chief Military Officers and Commanders of our Forces; being still the same Individual Persons, in all these particular Qualifications and Places.

[...]

We are every day threatned with the Loss of our Lives, Liberties, and Estates, of which we have great Reason to think our selves in Imminent Danger, by the Practices and Machinations that are on foot to betray us to the French, Northern, and other Indians, of which some have been dealt withal, and others Invited to Assist in our Destruction; well remembring the Incursion and Inrode of the said Northern Indians, in the Year 1681, who were conducted into the Heart of the Province by French Jesuits, and lay sore upon us, while the Representatives of the Country, then in the Assembly, were severely press'd upon by our Superiors, to yield them an Unlimited and Tiranical Power in the Affairs of the Militia. As so great a Piece of Villany cannot be the Result but of the worst of Principles; so we should with the greatest Difficulties believe it to

be true, if Undeniable Evidence and Circumstances did not convince us.

 $[\ldots]$

And we do, Lastly, Invite and Require all manner of Persons whatsoever, Residing or Inhabiting in this Province, as they tender their Allegiance, the Protestant Religion, their Lives, Fortunes and Families, to Aid and Assist us in this our Undertaking. Given under our Hands in Mary Land, the 25th Day of July, in the First Year of Their Majesties Reign, Annoque Domini 1689.

God save King William and Queen Mary

Source: Charles M. Andrews, ed., *Narratives of the Insurrections* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915).

90. English Bill of Rights, December 16, 1689 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 deposed the Catholic king James II and installed the Protestant William of Orange and his wife Mary (the daughter of James II and also Protestant) as king and queen of England. James II had tried to augment his own authority and bypass Parliament in making laws. His Protestant enemies urged William of Orange to invade England, which he did in November 1688, forcing James II to flee to France. Before they were installed as the new rulers of England, William and Mary accepted the terms of the Declaration of Right, which limited royal authority. This declaration became the English Bill of Rights, the abbreviated name of the December 16, 1689, act of Parliament that specified the rights of the monarch and Parliament. The act expanded the rights of the people, as represented by Parliament. The monarch could no longer overrule Parliament or act without its approval. The act also declared that England was to be a Protestant nation and barred Catholics from the throne. Among its other provisions are guarantees of the right to bear arms and trial by jury, and prohibitions against excessive bail and cruel and unusual punishment. Similar provisions are part of the U.S. Bill of Rights. The English Bill of Rights is still in effect in Great Britain.

Primary Source

[...

WHEREAS the late King James the Second, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges and ministers employed by him, did endeavor to subvert and extirpate the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom;

- 1. By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of parliament.
- 2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power.
- 3. By levying money for and to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by parliament.
- 5. By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law.
- 6. By causing several good subjects, being protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when papists were both armed and employed, contrary to law.
- 7. By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament.
- 8. By prosecutions in the court of King's bench, for matters and causes cognizable only in parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses.
- 9. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high treason, which were not free-holders.
- 10. And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects.
- 11. And excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments have been inflicted.
- 12. And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgement against the persons, upon whom the same were to be levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm.

And whereas the said late king James the Second having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant . . . the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons . . . do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare;

- 1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal.
- 2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.
- 3. That the commission for erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature are illegal and pernicious.
- 4. That levying money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time, or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

- 5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all committments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.
- 6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law.
- 7. That the subjects which are protestants, may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.
 - 8. That election of members of parliament ought to be free.
- 9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.
- 10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.
- 11. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.
- 12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction, are illegal and void.
- 13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premisses, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declarations, judgements, doings or proceedings, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. . . .

Source: http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/england.htm.

91. Diego de Vargas, Account of the Spanish Reconquest of New Mexico, October 12, 1692 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Spanish ventures in the New World, though licensed by the king, were privately financed and expected to make a profit. Don Juan de Oñate led the first, failed, Spanish expedition to colonize New Mexico, a land of scarce resources populated by pueblo-dwelling natives. In 1598 he entered the territory with several hundred colonists. After plundering the natives and brutally suppressing a revolt by Acoma Pueblo, Oñate led several futile expeditions in search of fabled riches. The colonists gave up and returned to old Mexico. Not until 1610 did the Spanish establish a permanent settlement in New Mexico, at Santa Fe. As the colony expanded, the Spanish tried to convert the Indians to Christianity and suppress native religious practices. Although not as brutal as Oñate and his men, they earned the natives' resentment. The Spaniards were shocked in 1680 when even their converts rose up against them in a surprise attack on multiple settlements. The attack drove the Spanish from New Mexico, and they

did not return until 1692, under the leadership of Diego de Vargas. In his letter of October 12, 1692, Vargas reports his success and emphasizes that he undertook the expedition at his own expense.

Primary Source

Letter from Diego de Vargas to Ignacio López de Zárate October 12, 1692

Son and dear sir,

I have written to Your Lordship on every occasion offered by the mail dispatched to Mexico City. I have apprised you of my progress in this government and of the fortunate results, which are to the satisfaction of the most excellent lord viceroy, the Conde de Galve, and the ministers of the Junta of the Royal Treasury.

I have no doubt that they will inform his majesty of these results in his Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies and of the present success, because it is such a triumph and glory to God and king. I decided to conquer and restore at my own expense this villa of Santa Fe, capital of the kingdom of New Mexico. It seemed appropriate to me to write, though briefly, to the king our lord. Because I was appointed by his majesty, it would not be good to neglect to inform his Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies of this victory. I therefore give him the news of this conquest, of the pueblos and districts I have restored to his royal crown, and the number of people baptized. During the twelve years since the Indians of this kingdom rose up and separated themselves from Our Holy Faith, they have been living as apostates in their idolatry.

Finally, I want Your Lordship to be aware of how important this news will be to his majesty. In 1681, the Rev. Father fray Francisco de Ayeta (who resides at the Convento Grande in Mexico City), procurator general of the Holy Gospel Province of Our Father St. Francis for the entire kingdom of New Spain, left for Santa Fe in the governor's company. At that time, the most excellent lord Conde de Paredes, Marques de la Laguna, was governing the kingdom of New Spain. He gave Father Ayeta 95,000 pesos for this conquest. I could wish for no better chronicler of this important undertaking than this father, who came in that capacity. As I have said, he came with the then governor, but they did not succeed. They returned in despair after having restored to the faith only 385 people from the pueblo of Isleta, at such a high cost.

Though it was considered a desperate situation, with divine favor and at my own expense, I have now achieved the unexpected. As I write, I am dispatching a courier to the most excellent lord viceroy, the Conde de Galve, from this villa. I have just arrived from the pueblos and nations of the interior as far as the Taos, the most distant.

I am writing this father, although briefly, so that he will be informed of everything and because he will rejoice. I shall send the copy of the

military proceedings of the conquest by the flota so that his majesty will be informed in the royal council. Now, don Toribio de la Huerta need not weary himself in this conquest. His majesty can only reward him for his wish, favoring him with the title of marques of this kingdom and the many other grants he was seeking. He even received on account an ayuda de costa. This is not meant to reproach his majesty for anything, but only to advise Your Lordship on this point. By the flota (if God Our Lord gives me life), I shall send the copy of the proceeding to date and whatever else I do here in the service of God and king.

Please do me the favor of inquiring whether by this packet boat the most excellent lord viceroy and the lords of the royal junta report to his majesty about what I am relating in this letter. It will be easy for Your Lordship to find out in the office of the Secretary of the Indies. Please advise me with all care of the particulars they may tell you and of the report on my services. Once I know with certainty what they tell Your Lordship, I can consider my possibilities for advancement. I long to see letters from Your Lordship and my beloved children. I have remitted to my son, Juan Manuel, two drafts, each in the amount of 400 pesos of 8 reales, free of conveyance charge and placed on deposit in Madrid. I trust that my correspondent, Capt. don Luis Saenz de Tagle, knight of the Order of Alcantara and silver merchant in Mexico City, will have issued these drafts on don Enrique de la Rosa, with whom he has business dealings in Cadiz.

I shall redouble my effort (Our Lord giving me life), undertaking to remit part of the dowry to Your Lordship by the flota. No reason or cause other than paying what is due you could keep me exiled here. Be assured, therefore, that I shall not fail you, but serve you with the earnestness of a friend and father-in-law who esteems you. I have no doubt that you will be very considerate in your duties to my beloved daughter, Isabel, and my grandchildren. I imagine that by now you will have had more children. To everyone, I give my blessing and ask Your Lordship to embrace them in my name as I would like to personally. I hope that His Divine Majesty will grant me this wish. May He keep Your Lordship many happy years.

Will Your Lordship please hand deliver my letters to the lord Marques de Villanueva, your brother and my friend, and to my children. Please send to Torrelaguna the packet from this villa of Santa Fe, capital of the kingdom of New Mexico, newly restored to and conquered for the royal crown. 12 October 1692.

He who esteems and loves you as father and friend kisses Your Lordship's hand,

Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de Leon [rubrica]

To lord don Ignacio López de Zárate, my son-in-law

After having written this, it occurred to me that to save time, it would be good to ask his majesty for the favor when the report comes from the lord viceroy and the royal junta. Your Lordship will please have this letter presented and advise me, taking it upon yourself to reply. The letter is unsealed so that Your Lordship can read it and understand my just petition.

Source: John L. Kessell, ed., *Remote Beyond Compare: Letters of don Diego de Vargas* (Albuquerque, Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1989); and Kessell, *By Force of Arms: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1992).

92. Death Warrant for Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse, Susanna Martin, Elizabeth How, and Sarah Wild, 1692

Introduction

This death warrant for Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse, Susanna Martin, Elizabeth How, and Sarah Wild was issued during the witchcraft trials of 1692 in Salem, Massachusetts. The women's executions caused a storm of controversy, particularly as Nurse was a well-respected member of the church. Many citizens had difficulty believing her guilty of witchcraft. Hundreds were accused during this period of mass hysteria, but most were tried and released. However, 19 accused witches were hanged, and 1 person was pressed to death by heavy stones during questioning. The population lived in growing fear of arrest. An accusation against the governor's wife finally convinced Salem's leaders to end the trials in October 1692. Thousands of convicted witches had been burned to death in Europe during the 1500s and 1600s, but witch hunts had nearly ceased there by 1650. The Puritans, however, believed strongly in the presence of evil, and some Puritan ministers saw the apparent increase in witchcraft as a sign of inadequate religious devotion among their congregations. Other colonies had a small number of witch trials but did not put anyone to death. By the year 1700, witch trials had ceased in the American colonies.

Primary Source

To Goerge: Corwine Gent'n High Sheriff of the county of Essex Greeting

Whereas Sarah Good Wife of William Good of Salem Village Rebecka Nurse wife of Francis Nurse of Salem Village Susanna Martin of Amesbury Widow Elizabeth How wife of James How of Ipswich Sarah Wild wife of John Wild of Topsfield all of the County of Essex in their Maj'ts Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Att A Court of Oyer & Terminer held by Adjournment for Our Soveraign Lord & Lady Kind William & Queen Mary for the said County of Essex at Salem in the s'd County on the 29th day of June [torn] were Severaly arraigned on Several Indictments for the horrible Crime of Witchcraft by them practised & Committed On Severall persons and pleading not

guilty did for thier Tryall put themselves on God & Thier Countrey whereupon they were Each of them found & brought in Guilty by the Jury that passed On them according to their respective Indictments and Sentence of death did then pass upon them as the Law directs Execution whereof yet remains to be done:

Those are Therefore in thier Maj'ties name William & Mary now King & Queen over England &ca: to will & Command you that upon Tuesday next being the 19th day for [torn] Instant July between the houres of Eight & [torn] in [torn] forenoon the same day you Safely conduct the s'd Sarah Good Rebecka Nurse Susann Martin Elizabeth Howe & Sarah Wild From thier Maj'ties Goal in Salem afores'd to the place of Execution & there Cause them & Every of them to be hanged by the Neck untill they be dead and of the doings herein make return to the Clerke of the said Court & this precept and hereof you are not to fail at your perill and this Shall be your Sufficient Warrant given under my hand & seale at Boston the 12't day of July in the fourth year of Reign of our Soveraigne Lord & Lady Wm & Mary King and Queen &ca:

[signed] Wm Stoughton
Annoq Dom. 1692
[Reverse]
Salem July 19th 1692
I caused the within mentioned persons to be Executed according to the Tenour of the with[in] warrant
[signed] George Corwin Sherif

Source: Boyer, Paul and Stephen Nissenbaum, eds. *The Salem Witch-craft Papers: Verbatim Transcripts of the Legal Documents of the Salem Witchcraft Outbreak of 1692.* Vol II. New York: Da Capo Press, 1977.

93. Cotton Mather, *The Wonders*of the Invisible World, 1693 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The leading Puritan minister in colonial New England, Rev. Cotton Mather (1663–1728) distinguished himself as a theologian, scholar, author, public speaker, and popular leader. Descended from the prominent Puritans John Cotton and Increase Mather, he graduated from Harvard at the age of 15. Mather's influence extended beyond spiritual matters to political ones. He was instrumental in the 1688 downfall of Sir Edmund Andros, governor of the hated Dominion of New England. His 1693 book, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, was widely considered throughout New England as the most important scholarly work on witchcraft ever to appear in print. Mather was an ardent believer in the pervasiveness of witchcraft in colonial society and had vigorously supported the Salem witchcraft trials of the previous year. Yet his belief in the supernatural coexisted with an understanding of scientific principles. Most notably,

he promoted experiments with the use of inoculation to prevent smallpox, and was persecuted for his efforts. Mather wrote more than 400 pamphlets and books. The sheer volume of his work influenced his contemporaries. It also provides a substantial source for understanding the historical events of his time.

Primary Source

... Martha Carrier was indicted for the bewitching of certain persons, according to the form usual in such cases, pleading not guilty to her indictment. There were first brought in a considerable number of the bewitched persons, who not only made the court sensible of an horrid witchcraft committed upon them, but also deposed that it was Martha Carrier or her shape that grievously tormented them by biting, pricking, pinching, and choking of them. It was further deposed that while this Carrier was on her examination before the magistrates, the poor people were so tortured that everyone expected their death upon the very spot, but that upon the binding of Carrier they were eased....

Benjamin Abbot gave in his testimony that last March was a twelve-month this Carrier was very angry with him upon laying out some land near her husband's.... Presently after this he was taken with a swelling in his foot, and then with a pain in his side, and exceedingly tormented. It bred unto a sore, which was lanced by Doctor Prescot, and several gallons of corruption ran out of it. For six weeks it continued very bad; and then another sore bred in his groin, which was also lanced by Doctor Prescot. Another sore then bred in his groin, which was likewise cut, and put him to very great misery. He was brought unto death's door and so remained until Carrier was taken and carried away by the constable, from which very day he began to mend and so grew better every day and is well ever since.

Allin Toothaker testified that Richard, the son of Martha Carrier, having some difference with him, pulled him down by the hair of the head. When he rose again, he was going to strike at Richard Carrier, but fell down flat on his back to the ground and had not power to stir hand or foot until he told Carrier he yielded; and then he saw the shape of Martha Carrier go off his breast....

Phebe Chandler testified that about a fortnight before the apprehension of Martha Carrier, on a Lord's day while the psalm was singing in the church, this Carrier then took her by the shoulder and shaking her asked her where she lived. She made no answer, although as Carrier, who lived next door to her father's house, could not in reason but know who she was. Quickly after this, as she was at several times crossing the fields, she heard a voice that she took to be Martha Carrier's; and it seemed as if it was over her head. The voice told her she should within two or three days be poisoned. Accordingly, within such a little time, one half of her right hand became greatly swollen and very painful, as also part of her face—whereof she can give no account how it came. It continued very bad for some days, and several times since she has had a greater pain in her breast and been so seized on her legs that she has hardly been able to go. She added that lately, going well to the house of God, Richard, the son of Martha Car-

rier, looked very earnestly upon her; and immediately her hand, which had formerly been poisoned, as is said above, began to pain her greatly; and she had a strange burning at her stomach, but was then struck deaf so that she could not hear any of the prayer or singing till the two or three last words of the psalm....

One Lacy, who likewise confessed her share in this witchcraft, now testified that she and the prisoner were once bodily present at a witch meeting in Salem village, and that she knew the prisoner to be a witch and to have been at a diabolical sacrament, and that the prisoner was the undoing of her and her children by enticing them into the snare of the devil. . . .

In the time of this prisoner's trial, one Susanna Sheldon in open court had her hands unaccountable tied together with a wheel band so fast that without cutting it could not be loosened. It was done by a specter, and the sufferer affirmed that it was the prisoner's.

Memorandum: This rampant hag, Martha Carrier, was the person of whom the confession of the witches and of her own children among them are agreed that the devil had promised she should be queen of hell.

Source: Mather, Cotton. *The Wonders of the Invisible World.* Boston: Harris for Phillips, 1693.

94. Indenture of Servitude for Ship Passage, August 19, 1696

Introduction

More than 300,000 indentured servants came to England's North American colonies before the American Revolution. These poor immigrants sold their labor for a specified number of years to pay for their passage on a voyage to the New World. Contracts varied tremendously, but generally indentured servants were bound to labor for seven years. Young children could be bound until they reached the age of 21. Some contracts stipulated that masters supply the servants with either land, money, or supplies once they fulfilled their contracts to give them a start in life. Most indentured servants were English, Irish, Scottish, or German, and the vast majority settled in the colonies of Virginia or Maryland. Once freed, many servants found that they could not afford to purchase land, and thus faced a lifetime of laboring for others. Indentured servitude peaked during the mid-17th century but continued until the American Revolution. In the southern colonies, plantation owners came to prefer slaves to indentured servants. Elizabeth Morris, the indentured servant who signed this contract on August 19, 1696, was destined for the colony of New York and bound for four years of service to Captain William Kidd, the renowned privateer turned pirate.

Primary Source

This Indenture Wittnesseth that Elizabeth Morris Now att Present of ye Citty of New Yorke Spinster as well for And In Consideration

of her Passage on board the Barquentine Called the Antegua (Capt William Kidd late Owner) in the late Voyage from the Kingdom of England to this porte of New Yorke as also for other good Causes and Considerations her thereunto Moveing Hath and by these Presents doth binde her selfe A Servant unto the Said Capt William Kidd and to live with him after the manner of a Servant and with his Executors Administrators or Assigns for and Dureing the full Terme and Space of four years to Commence from the fourteenth day of July last past being the day of her Arrival here from the Kingdom of England In the Aforesaid Barquentine And the Said Elizabeth doth hereby Promise and oblige her selfe Dureing the said Terme faithfully Carefully and honestly to Serve the Said William Kidd his Executors Administrators or Assigns as a good and honest Servant ought to doe. And dureing which Said time the Said William Kidd doth hereby binde and Oblige himselfe his Executors Administrators and Assigns to finde and Provide for her the Said Elizabeth Necessary and Competent meat Drinke washing lodging and apparell and Imploy her In honest and Convenient Labour Dureing the Said Terme and att the Expiration thereof Shall give unto her Double apparell.

In Wittness whereof the Said Parties have hereunto Interchangeably Sett their hands & Seals att New Yorke this Nineteenth day of August In the year of our Lord one thousand Six hundred & Ninety Six.

Annoq. RRe Will Tertii Nonc. Angl. &c., octavo.

Elizabeth Morris marke

Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of Will. Merrett, Mayor.

Source: New York Historical Society. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1885.* New York: Printed for the Society, 1886.

95. Account of Leisler's Revolt, 1698 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In 1686, King James II forced the New England colonies, plus New York and New Jersey, into the Dominion of New England and appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor. Andros had previously served as governor of New York, and his corrupt administration had earned him widespread loathing and forced his recall. In 1689, as word arrived of the unpopular king's loss of the throne, armed civilians arrested Andros in Boston. News of King James II's replacement by the Dutch William of Orange and the arrest of Andros emboldened several English and Dutch towns to oust their public officials. Jacob Leisler, a Dutch militia captain, took control of New York and declared a new government, consisting of a Com-

mittee of Safety, composed of representatives from the counties. The committee pledged loyalty to King William III and Queen Mary II. However, the most influential English and Dutch New Yorkers refused to support Leisler. The king commissioned a new governor of New York, Colonel Henry Sloughter, who arrived in 1691. When Leisler did not at once cede power, Sloughter charged him with treason and had him summarily executed. The ill will generated by the rebellion and the execution divided New York for many years, as demonstrated by this anonymous 1698 letter denouncing Leisler and his supporters.

Primary Source

A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, 1698

Sir:

I cannot but admire to hear that some Gentlemen still have a good Opinion of the late Disorders committed by Capt. Jacob Leysler, and his Accomplices, in New-York, as if they had been for His Majesties Service, and the Security of that Province; and that such Monstrous Falsehoods do find Credit, That the Persons before in Commission, and did labour to oppose and prevent those Disorders, were Jacobites, or Persons ill affected to the Happy Revolution in England. But it has been often the Calamity of all Ages to palliate Vice with false Glosses, and to criminate the best Actions of the most Virtuous and most Pious Men. So that Truth and Innocency, without some Defence, has not proved at all times a sufficient Bullwork against malitious Falsehoods and Calumnies. Wherefore I shall endeavour to give you a true and brief Account of that matter, as I my self have been a Personal Witness to most of them.

It was about the beginning of April, 1689, when the first Reports arrived at New-York, that the Prince of Orange, now his present Majesty, was arrived in England with considerable Forces, and that the late King James was fled into France, and that it was expected War would be soon proclaimed between England and France.

The Leiut. Governour, Francis Nicholson, and the Council, being Protestants, resolved thereupon to suspend all Roman Catholicks from Command and Places of Trust in the Government, and accordingly suspended Major Baxter from being a Member of Council and Captain of a Company at Albany and Bartholomew Russel from being Ensign in the Fort at New-York, they both being Papists, who forth-with left their Command, and departed the Province.

And because but three Members of the Council were residing in New-York, viz. Mr. Frederick Phillips, Coll. Stephanus Cortlandt, and Coll. Nicholas Bayard, all of Dutch Birth, all Members, and the two last, for the space of near thirty Years past, Elders and Deacons of the Dutch

Protestant Church in New-York, and most affectionate to the Royal House of Orange, It was Resolved by the said Lieut. Governor and Council, to call and conveen to their Assistance all the Justices of the Peace, and other civil Magistrates, and the Commission Officers in the Province, for to consult and advise with them what might be proper for the Preservation of the Peace, and the Safety of said Province in that Conjuncture, till Orders should arrive from England.

[...]

But against Expectation it soon happened, that on the last day of said Month of May, Capt. Leysler having a Vessel with some Wines in the Road,3 for which he refused to pay the Duty, did in a Seditious manner stir up the meanest sort of the Inhabitants (affirming, That King James being fled the Kingdom, all manner of Government was fallen in this Province) to rise in Arms, and forcibly possess themselves of the Fort and Stores, which accordingly was effected whilest the Lieut. Governour and Council, with the Convention, were met at the City Hall to consult what might be proper for the common Good and Safety; where a party of Armed Men came from the Fort, and forced the Lieut. Governour to deliver them the Keys; and seized also in his Chamber a Chest with Seven Hundred Seventy Three Pounds, Twelve Shillings, in Money of the Government. And though Coll. Bayard, with some others appointed by the Convention, used all endeavours to prevent those Disorders, all proved vain; for most of those that appeared in Arms were Drunk, and cryed out, They disown'd all manner of Government. Whereupon, by Capt. Leysler's perswasion, they proclaimed him to be their Commander, there being then no other Commission Officer amongst them.

Capt. Leysler being in this manner possest of the Fort, took some Persons to his Assistance, which he call'd, The Committee of Safety. And the Lieut. Governour, Francis Nicollson, being in this manner forced out of his Command, for the safety of his Person, which was daily threatened, withdrew out of the Province.

[…]

About a week after, Reports came from Boston, That their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and Princes of Orange were proclaimed King and Queen of England. Whereupon the Council and Convention were very desirous to get that Proclamation, and not only wrote for it, but some of them hearing that two Gentlemen were coming from Connecticut with a Copy of said Proclamation, went out two days to meet them, in expectation of having the Happiness to proclaim it; but Major Gold and Mr. Fitz, missing them, having put the Proclamation into Capt. Leysler's hands, he, without taking any Notice of the Councilor Convention, did proclaim the same, though very disorderly, after which he went with his Accomplices to the Fort, and the Gentlemen of the Council and Magistrates, and most of the principal Inhabitants and Merchants, went to Coll. Bayards

House and drank the Health and Prosperity of King William and Queen Mary with great Expressions of Joy.

Two days after, a printed Proclamation was procured by some of the Council, dated the 14th of February, 1688, whereby their Majesties confirmed all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Collectors and Receivers of the Revenues, etc., being Protestants; which was forth-with published at the City Hall by the Mayor and Alder-men, accompanyed with the Council, and most of the chief Citizens and Merchants. And pursuant thereunto the Collector, Mat. Plowman, being a Papist, was forth-with suspended by the Convention; and Coll. Bayard, Alder-man, Paul Richards, Capt. Thomas Winham, and Lieut. John Haynes, Merchants, were by them commissionated and appointed to collect the Revenue until Orders should arrive from England. Whereupon those Gentlemen were sworn by Coll. Cortland, then Major of the City, they being the first in this Province that took the Oathes to their Majesties appointed by Act of Parliament, instead of the Oathes of Allegiance and Supreamacy.

But as soon as those Gentlemen entered upon the Office, Capt. Leysler with a party of his Men in Arms, and Drink, fell upon them at the Custom-House, and with Naked Swords beat them thence, endeavouring to Massacree some of them, which were Rescued by Providence. Whereupon said Leysler beat an Alarm, crying about the City, "Treason, Treason," and made a strict search to seize Coll. Bayard, who made his escape, and departed for Albany, where he staid all Summer, in hopes that Orders might arrive from England to settle those Disorders.

The said Capt. Leysler, finding almost every man of Sence, Reputation, or Estate in the place to oppose and discourage his Irregularities, caused frequent false Alarms to be made, and sent several parties of his armed Men out of the Fort, drag'd into nasty Goals within said Fort several of the principal Magistrates, Officers and Gentlemen, and others, that would not own his Power to be lawful, which he kept in close Prison during Will and Pleasure, without any Process, or allowing them to Bail. And he further publish't several times, by beat of Drums, That all those who would not come into the Fort and sign their hands, and so thereby to own his Power to be lawful, should be deemed and esteemed as Enemies to his Majesty and the Country, and be by him treated accordingly. By which means many of the Inhabitants, tho' they abhor'd his Actions, only to escape a nasty Goal and to secure their Estates were by fear and compulsion drove to comply, submit and sign to whatever he commanded.

And though Capt. Leysler had at first so violently opposed the collecting of the Revenue, alledging it unlawful, as soon as his Wines were landed, and that he got into some Power, he forth-with set up for himself the collecting of said Revenue by Peter d'Lanoy, allowing him a great Sallary, and all the Perquisits of that Office.

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Upon the 10th of December following returned the said Mr. John Riggs from England, with Letters from his Majesty and the Lords, in answer to the Letters sent by the Lieut.

Governour and Council above recited, Directed, "To Our Trusty and Well-beloved Francis Nicholson, Esq; Our Lieutenant Governour and Commander in chief of Our Province of New-York in America, and in his absence To such as for the time being, take care for the Preservation of the Peace, and administring the Laws in Our said Province." Whereby his Majesty approved of the Proceedings and Care that had been taken by said Lieut. Governour and Council for the Peace and Safety of the Province, with further Power and Directions to continue therein till further Orders. Which said Letters the said Mr. Riggs designed to deliver on the following Morning to the Gentlemen of the Council, to whom they properly did belong, being an answer to their said Letter; but was obstructed therein by said Leysler, who sent a party of his Men in Arms, and brought said Riggs to the Fort, where he forced said Letters from him, though some Gentlemen of the Council, that went the same time to the Fort, protested against it, but he drove them out of the Fort, calling them Rogues, Papists, and other opprobious Names.

Soon after the Receipt of said Letters, said Capt. Leysler stiled himself Lieutenant Governour, appointed a Council, and presumed further to call a select Number of his own Party, who called themselves The General Assembly of the Province, and by their advice and assistance raised several Taxes and great Sums of Money from their Majesties good Subjects within this Province. Which Taxes, together with that 773l. 12s. in Money, which he had seized from the Government, and the whole Revenue, he applyed to his own use, and to maintain said Disorders, allowing his private men 18d. per Day, and to others proportionably.

On the 20th of January following Coll. Bayard and Mr. Nicolls had the ill fortune to fall into his hands, and were in a barbarous manner, by a party in Arms, drag'd into the Fort, and there put into a Nasty place, without any manner of Process, or being allowed to bayl, though the same was offered for said Coll. Bayard, by some of the ablest and richest Inhabitants, to the Sum of Twenty Thousand Pounds, wither for his appearance to answer, or depart the Province, or to go for England; but without any Cause given, or Reasons assigned, laid said Coll. Bayard in Irons, and kept him and Mr. Nicolls close Prisoners for the space of fourteen Months, where they, with several others, that had been long detained Prisoners, were set at Liberty by Governour Slaughter.

And whilest he kept those Gentlemen in Prison, he quartered his armed Men in their Houses, where they committed all manner of Outrages; And to give one Instance of many others, A Party of twelve Men were quartered at the House of Coll. Bayard, with directions to

pillage and plunder at discretion, which was bought off with Money and plentiful Entertainment. But the same day, when that party had received their Money, another party came in with Naked Swords, opened several Chambers and Chests in said House, and did Rob and carry away what Money and other Goods they found.

[…]

In this manner he the said Leysler, with his Accomplices, did force, pillage, rob and steal from their Majesties good Subjects within this Province, almost to their utter Ruin, vast Sums of Money, and other Effects, the estimation of the Damages done only within this City of New-York amounting, as by Account may appear, to the Sum of Thirteen Thousand Nine Hundred and Fifty Nine Pounds, besides the Rapines, Spoils and Violences done at Coll. Willets on Nassaw-Island, and to many others in several parts of the Province.

And thus you may see how he used and exercised an Exorbitant, Arbitrary and Unlawful Power over the Persons and Estates of his Majesties good Subjects here, against the known and Fundamental Laws of the Land, and in subvertion of the same, to the great Oppression of his Majesties Subjects, and to the apparent decay of Trade and Commerce.

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Source: Charles M. Andrews, ed., *Narratives of the Insurrections* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915).

96. Cotton Mather, *Decennium Lutuosum*, 1699 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The leading Puritan minister in colonial New England, Rev. Cotton Mather (1663–1728) distinguished himself as a theologian, scholar, author, public speaker, and popular leader. Descended from the prominent Puritans John Cotton and Increase Mather, he graduated from Harvard at the age of 15. Mather wrote more than 400 pamphlets and books. The sheer volume of his work influenced his contemporaries and provides a substantial source for understanding the historical events of his time. His 1699 book, Decennium Luctuosum, a history of King William's War in New England, was part of his more general religious history of New England. King William's War, in which England and the Netherlands were allied against France, was called the War of the Grand Alliance or the Nine Years' War in Europe, and lasted from 1689 to 1697. During the war, French and Indian fighters from Canada launched devastating attacks against New England frontier towns. In this excerpt, Mather gives vent to his loathing of Quakers and criticizes a Quaker author for blaming the war on the Puritans' unjust dealings with the Indians. Massachusetts had long been an inhospitable place for Quakers, most notably when authorities executed several Quakers in 1660.

Primary Source

[...

Quakers Encountered.

For the present then, we have done with the Indians: But while the Indians have been thus molesting us, we have suffered Molestations of another sort, from another sort of Enemies, which may with very good Reason be cast into the same History with them. If the Indians have chosen to prey upon the Frontiers, and Out-Skirts, of the Province, the Quakers have chosen the very same Frontiers, and Out-Skirts, for their more spiritual Assaults; and finding little Success elsewhere, they have been Labouring incessantly, and sometimes not unsuccessfully, to Enchant and Poison the Souls of poor people, in the very places, where the Bodies and Estates of the people have presently after been devoured by the Salvages. But that which makes it the more agreeable, to allow the Quakers an Article in our History of the Indians, is, That a certain silly Scribbler, the very First-born of Nonsensicality, (and a First-born too, that one might Salute as the Martyr Polycarp once did the wicked Marcion,) One Tom Maule, at this Time living in Salem, hath exposed unto the Publick a Volumn of Nonsensical Blasphemies and Heresies, wherein he sets himself to Defend the Indians in their Bloody villanies, and Revile the Countrey for Defending it self against them. And that the Venom of this Pamphlet might be Improved unto the Heighth of slanderous Wickedness, there hath been since added unto it, in another Pamphlet, a parcel of Ingredients compounded, for mischief, as if by the Art of Apothecary. None but he whom the Jews in their Talmuds call Ben-tamalion could have inspired such a Slanderer! Have the Quakers ever yet Censured this their Author, for holding-forth in his Alcoran That the Devil, Sin, Death, and Hell, are but Nothing, they are but a Non-Entity: And, That all men who have a body of Sin remaining in them are Witches? I have cause to believe, they never did! Nor that they ever advised him to pull in his Horns, from goring the sides of New-England, with such passages as those, in the same horrible Pamphlet: "God hath well Rewarded the Inhabitants of New-England, for their Unrighteous Dealings, towards the Native Indians, whom now the Lord hath suffered to Reward the Inhabitants, with a double measure of Blood, by Fire and Sword, etc." And those Unrighteous Dealings he Explains to be the Killing of the Indians, (or Murdering of them) by the Old Planters of these colonies in their First Settlement. Thus are the Ashes of our Fathers vilely staled upon, by one, who perhaps would not stick at the Villany of doing as much upon their Baptism it self. I must tell you, Friends, that if you don't publickly give forth a Testimony to Defie Tom Maule, and his Works, it will be thought by some, who it may be don't wish you so well as I do, that you own this Bloody Stuff: which, doubtless you'l not be so ill advised as to

do. But, certainly, if the good people of New-England now make it not a proverb for a lyar of the first Magnitude, he is as very a liar as Tom Maule, they will deprive their Language of one Significant Expression, which now offers it self unto them.

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Source: Charles H. Lincoln, ed., *Narratives of the Indian Wars* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913).

97. Samuel Sewall, *The Selling of Joseph: A Memorial*, 1700

Introduction

A Harvard graduate, Samuel Sewall (1652–1732) was active in the government and religious affairs of Massachusetts. He was one of the judges who presided over the Salem witch trials in 1692. He alone came to regret his participation in the trials, and in 1697 issued a public apology. In 1700 he published this early antislavery argument. Although New England did not have a plantation economy, Massachusetts traders prospered by participating in the African slave trade. They sailed to Africa to acquire slaves, then sold the slaves to planters in the West Indies. Also, wealthy New England townspeople kept African slaves as house servants. In a few short paragraphs, Sewall decries the cruelty of the slave trade and demolishes the justifications commonly offered by slavery's supporters. In later years, Sewall also argued for better treatment of Native Americans.

Primary Source

Forasmuch as Liberty is in real value next unto Life: None ought to part with it themselves, or deprive others of it, but upon most mature Consideration.

The Numerousness of Slaves at this day in the Province, and the Uneasiness of them under their Slavery, hath put many upon thinking whether the Foundation of it be firmly and well laid; so as to sustain the Vast Weight that is built upon it. It is most certain that all Men, as they are the Sons of Adam, are Coheirs; and have equal Right unto Liberty, and all other outward Comforts of Life. GOD hath given the Earth [with all its Commodities] unto the Sons of Adam, Psal 115.16. And hath made of One Blood, all Nations of Men, for to dwell on all the face of the Earth; and hath determined the Times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation: That they should seek the Lord. For asmuch then as we are the Offspring of GOD &c. Act 17.26, 27, 29. Now although the Title given by the last ADAM, doth infinitely better Men's Estates, respecting GOD and themselves; and grants them a most beneficial and inviolable Lease under the Broad Seal of Heaven, who were before only Tenants at Will: Yet through the Indulgence of GOD to our First Parents after the Fall, the outward Estate of all and every of the Children, remains the same, as to one another. So that Originally, and Naturally, there is no such thing as Slavery. Joseph was rightfully no more a Slave to his Brethren, then they were to him: and they had no more Authority to Sell him, than they had to Slay him. And if they had nothing to do to Sell him; the Ishmaelites bargaining with them, and paying down Twenty pieces of Silver, could not make a Title. Neither could Potiphar have any better Interest in him than the Ishmaelites had. Gen. 37. 20, 27, 28. For he that shall in this case plead Alteration of Property, seems to have forfeited a great part of his own claim to Humanity. There is no proportion between Twenty Pieces of Silver, and LIBERTY. The Commodity it self is the Claimer. If Arabian Gold be imported in any quantities, most are afraid to meddle with it, though they might have it at easy rates; lest if it should have been wrongfully taken from the Owners, it should kindle a fire to the Consumption of their whole Estate. 'Tis pity there should be more Caution used in buying a Horse, or a little lifeless dust; than there is in purchasing Men and Women: Whenas they are the Offspring of GOD, and their Liberty is,

_____ Auto pretiosior Omni.

And seeing GOD hath said, He that Stealeth a Man and Selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to Death. Exod. 12.16. This Law being of Everlasting Equity, wherein Man Stealing is ranked amongst the most atrocious of Capital Crimes: What louder Cry can there be made of the Celebrated Warning, *Caveat Emptor?*

And all things considered, it would conduce more to the Welfare of the Province, to have White Servants for a Term of Years, than to have Slaves for Life. Few can endure to hear of a Negro's being made free; and indeed they can seldom use their freedom well; yet their continual aspiring after their forbidden Liberty, renders them Unwilling Servants. And there is such a disparity in their Conditions, Color & Hair, that they can never embody with us, and grow up into orderly Families, to the Peopling of the Land: but still remain in our Body Politick as a kind of extravasat Blood. As many Negro men as there are among us, so many empty places there are in our Train Bands, and the places taken up of Men that might make Husbands for our Daughters. And the Sons and Daughters of New England would become more like Jacob, and Rachel, if this Slavery were thrust quite out of doors. Moreover it is too well known what Temptations Masters are under, to connive at the Fornification of their Slaves; lest they should be obliged to find them Wives, or pay their Fines. It seems to be practically pleaded that they might be Lawless; 'tis thought much of, that the Law should have Satisfaction for their Thefts, and other Immoralities; by which means, Holiness to the Lord, is more rarely engraven upon this sort of Servitude. It is likewise most lamentable to think, how in taking Negros out of Africa, and Selling of them here, That which GOD ha's joyned together men do boldly rend asunder; Men from their Country, Husbands from their Wives, Parents from their Children. How horrible is the Uncleanness, Mortality, if not Murder, that the Ships are guilty of that bring great Crouds of these miserable Men, and Women. Methinks, when we are bemoaning the barbarous Usage of our Friends and Kinsfolk in Africa: it might not be unseasonable to enquire whether we are not culpable in forcing the Africans to become Slaves amongst our selves. And it may be a question whether all the Benefit received by Negro Slaves, will balance the Accompt of Cash laid out upon them; and for the Redemption of our own enslaved Friends out of Africa. Besides all the Persons and Estates that have perished there.

Obj. 1. These Blackamores are if the Posterity if Cham, and therefore are under the Curse of Slavery. Gen. 9.25, 26, 27.

Answ. Of all Offices, one would not begg this; viz. Uncall'd for, to be an Executioner of the Vindictive Wrath of God; the extent and duration of which is to us uncertain. If this ever was a Commission; How do we know but that it is long since out of date? Many have found it to their Cost, that a Prophetical Denunciation of Judgment against a Person or People, would not warrant them to inflict that evil. If it would, Hazael might justify himself in all he did against his Master, and the Israelites, from 2 Kings 8.10, 12.

But it is possible that by cursory reading, this Text may have been mistaken. For Canaan is the Person Cursed three times over, without the mentioning of Cham. Good Expositors suppose the Curse entailed on him, and that this Prophesie was accomplished in the Extirpation of the Canaanites, and in the Servitude of the Gibeonites, Vide Pareum. Whereas the Blackmores are not descended of Canaan, but of Cush. Psal. 68. 31. Princes shall come out of Egypt [Mizraim] Ethopia [Cush] shall soon stretch out her hands unto God. Under which Names, all Africa may be comprehended; and the Promised Conversion ought to be prayed for. Jer. 13, 23. Can the Ethiopian change his skin? This shews that Black Men are the Posterity of Cush: Who time out of mind have been distinguished by their Colour. And for want of the true, Ovid assigns a fabulous cause of it.

Answ. Evil must not be done, that good may come of it. The extraordinary and comprehensive Benefit accruing to the Church of God, and to Joseph personally, did not rectify his brethrens Sale of him.

Obj. 3. The Africans have Wars with one another: our Ships bring lawful Captives taken in those Wars.

Answ. For ought is known, their Wars are much such as were between Jacob's Sons and their Brother Joseph. If they be between Town and Town; Provincial, or National: Every War is upon one side Unjust. An Unlawful War can't make lawful Captives. And by Receiving, we are in danger to promote, and partake in their Barbarous Cruelties. I am sure, if some Gentlemen should go down to the Brewsters to take the Air, and Fish: And a stronger party from Hull should Surprise them, and Sell them for Slaves to a Ship out-

ward bound: they would think themselves unjustly dealt with; both by Sellers and Buyers. And yet 'tis to be feared, we have no other kind of Title to our Nigers. Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the Law and the Prophets. Matt. 7. 12.

Obj. 4. Abraham had servants bought with his Money, and born in his House.

Answ. Until the Circumstances of Abraham's purchase be recorded, no Argument can be drawn from it. In the mean time, Charity obliges us to conclude, that He knew it was lawful and good.

It is Observable that the Israelites were strictly forbidden the buying, or selling one another for Slaves. Levit. 25. 39, 46. Jer. 34. 8-22. And GOD gaged His Blessing in lieu of any loss they might conceipt they suffered thereby. Deut. 15. 18. And since the partition Wall is broken down, inordinate Self love should likewise be demolished. GOD expects that Christians should be of a more Ingenuous and benign frame of spirit. Christians should carry it to all the World, as the Israelites were to carry it one towards another. And for men obstinately to persist in holding their Neighbours and Brethren under the Rigor of perpetual Bondage, seems to be no proper way of gaining Assurance that God ha's given them Spiritual Freedom. Our Blessed Saviour ha's altered the Measures of the Ancient Love-Song, and set it to a most Excellent New Tune, which all ought to be ambitious of Learning. Matt. 5. 43, 44. John 13. 34. These Ethiopians, as black as they are; seeing they are the Sons and Daughters of the First Adam, the Brethren and Sister of the Last ADAM, and the Offspring of GOD; They ought to be treated with a Respect agreeable.

Source: Mason I. Lowance, Jr., ed., *A House Divided: The Antebellum Slavery Debates in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

98. King Philip V, Orders to the Colonial Governor of St. Augustine to Prepare for English Attack, January 11, 1701

Introduction

From 1701 to 1714, the English and the Dutch fought France and Spain in the War of the Spanish Succession. Known as Queen Anne's War in America, the war gave rise to battles in Canada, New England, South Carolina, and Florida. The king of Spain sent these orders to the royal governor at St. Augustine, Florida, to prepare for a possible English invasion of Spanish New World possessions in the Caribbean and elsewhere. Indeed, in September 1702, Carolina governor James Moore led a combined force of more than 1,000 colonial militia and Indians against St. Augustine. St. Augustine,

Florida, established by Spain in 1565, lay only some 250 miles from the Carolina capital, Charles Town (present day Charleston, South Carolina). About 1,500 Spanish lived at St. Augustine. Moore's force arrived in eight vessels and occupied the town while the Spanish withdrew into the Castillo San Marcos. Moore laid siege to the fortress for eight weeks but abandoned it when two Spanish vessels arrived from Havana. The Carolinians burned the town and their own ships, and withdrew overland. In 1704 Moore mounted a second campaign against Spanish Florida that destroyed Spanish missions and about three quarters of the Indian population.

Primary Source

Royal Cedula, Madrid, January 11, 1701

THE KING

My governor and captain general of the province of San Augustine of Florida:

Having very reliable news that the English and Dutch are planning an invasion and conquest of the Indies, for which purpose they have assembled a great number of war vessels with a large landing force, I desire to warn you of these plans so that you will be informed of them and make all preparations that may be necessary for defense and opposition of any invasion. For this purpose you will avail yourself of French auxiliary arms, not only of those found in the island of Santo Domingo and other places in the possession that crown, but also of those which recently have been sent to those coasts by the Most Christina Majesty and my grandfather. And you will likewise avail yourself of every means afforded by the million in subsidy conceded by His Holiness [Pope] Innocent XII from the funds of the crusades and other resources designed for the expulsion of the Scots from Darien, since this [threat of war] is but the consequence of appeasement. And in the war against the enemies of the crown and of the religion, you will closely attend to this and will report whenever opportunities offer, after the receipt of this dispatch on whatever you do by virtue of its authority, being advised that in conformity therewith, orders are being sent to the viceroys of both kingdoms, and to the governors of all forts and ports of the Indies, and that the same advice is given to General Admiral don Pedro Fernandez Navarette, to the commanders of the windward fleet, and to the vessels of Cartagena, with the order that they are not to leave those coasts until they are so ordered; rather, that they survey those [coasts] in order to supply their fortifications with the necessities for their defense. Madrid, 11th of January, 1701. I the Queen; the Cardinal Porto Carrero; Fray Don Manuel Arias; Don Fernando de Aragon; the bishop Inquisitor General; By Command of the King, Our Lord; Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Source: Mark F. Boyd, et al., eds., *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1951).

99. Spanish Reports of English Attacks on Indians, 1704 [Excerpt]

Introduction

From 1702 to 1713, the English and the Dutch fought France and Spain in the War of the Spanish Succession. Known as Queen Anne's War in America, the war gave rise to battles in Canada, New England, South Carolina, and Florida. A series of campaigns involving the Spanish and English and their Indian allies began in 1702. In Charles Town, South Carolina, Gov. James Moore advocated a preemptive strike at the Spanish in St. Augustine, some 250 miles distant. In September 1702, Moore led a combined force of more than 1,000 colonial militia and Indians in a failed campaign against St. Augustine. The Spanish, in turn, attacked Charles Town but their expedition also failed. In 1704 Moore mounted a second expedition against Spanish Florida. His army marched over land through Georgia and into northern Florida, burning Spanish missions and communities of Indians who were loyal to the Spanish, and captured more than a thousand Indians to be sold into slavery. Moore's campaign ultimately destroyed three quarters of the Indian population in Spanish territory. This correspondence between the governor of Florida and officials in Spain details the destruction wrought by the Moore expedition.

Primary Source

Extract from a letter of Governor Zúñiga to the King. February 3, 1704

.... And now in a sloop which I have kept in reserve solely for emergencies, I am sending to Havana an appeal for supplies and reinforcements, in view of the news which I received yesterday at one o'clock, of how on the 25th of January of this year, the enemy attacked Ayubale, one of the largest places in Apalachee, and captured it with a large force on foot, of English, Negroes, and Indians, with which they have invaded the province, to besiege the blockhouse. It was my desire to send assistance to the infantry and settlers found there, and well as to some natives who have joined them, but I find myself with so few people, and I am disconsolate that I dare not leave this place without some defense....

Extract from a letter of Governor Zúñiga to the King. March 30, 1704

.... And since in tow months of siege they could not accomplish their aim, they seek now to destroy the provinces and terrorize the Indians, pagan as well as Christian, and have this additional force to make hostile incursions in these parts as close as sixty leagues either by sea or land. In the incursions they have made since the siege, San Joseph de Ocuia in Apalachee, Pilitiriva, and San Francisco have all been destroyed and many Indians killed, and in all they have carried off more than five hundred prisoners. All this has

been related to Your Majesty, but they have now returned to Apalachee, accompanied by the governor who here besieged me, with a force of fifteen hundred Indians and fifty English, desolating the country, and assaulting the place of Ayubale on the 25th of January of this year, which was defended with all bravery by the Indians and the parish priest Fray Angel de Miranda, who fought from morning until two in the afternoon, when their munitions gave out. The enemy advanced to the stockade close by the church and convent, which they set fire and captured. On the 26th my deputy governor in Apalachee, Captain Juan Ruíz de Mexía, with about thirty Spanish soldiers and settlers, and four hundred Apalachee Indians, surrounded the enemy and killed six or seven of the English and about one hundred of the pagan Indians, to say nothing of another fifty killed by the priest Miranda and the Indians of Ayubale, and two or three English more. But finally, for lack of munitions, my people were defeated, and my deputy was wounded by a ball which toppled him from his horse. They also killed the parish priest of Patale, who wished to accompany them, and two soldiers and some Indians who were roasted with much barbarity and cruelty by the abhorrent pagans, who bound them to some stakes by the feet and hands and set them afire until their lives were extinguished. This was seen by my deputy and soldiers, whom they stripped and secured in stocks, except Fray Angel de Miranda, who was unbound. During this cruel and barbarous martyrdom which the poor Apalachee Indians experienced, there were some of them who encouraged the others, declaring that through martyrdom they would appear before God; and to the pagans they said: "Make more fire so that our hearts may be allowed to suffer for our souls. We go to enjoy God as Christians, but when you die the demons in hell will keep you eternally ablaze, at which lamentable event Our Lord will not be moved to compassion." . . . The enemy freed my deputy, the priest Miranda, and four of the soldiers, on the supposition that they could exact a ransom of four hundred pesos in reals, with five cows and five horses for each. But Captain Don Jacinto Roque Pérez, whom my deputy had left in command for the defense of the blockhouse of San Luis, sent word to the English governor that he did not intend to give anything. Finally, the governor did not attack the blockhouse, but turned away at a distance of two leagues. On their withdrawal, they left five places destroyed, and of these, the entire population of two places accompanied them voluntarily. They carried off al that could be collected, including cows and horses, and that which could not be carried, they destroyed and burnt. The enemy carried off more than six hundred of the Christina Indians. Four of the Gallegan soldiers who arrived in the past year fled to the enemy from the blockhouse, carrying off their arms, carabines, pistols, and horses. An Irishman fled to the blockhouse of San Luis with a flag of peace. He was sent here for interrogation, and from his examination no cause to justify harsh treatment was found. He was liberated, as there is no opportunity for him to communicate with the English prisoners whom I have here, and he is to be sent to Havana, so that from there they may send him to those kingdoms, or the New Spain....

Royal Officials to Viceroy July 16, 1704

... And now, Most Excellent Sir, by the latest report from the deputy of Apalachee, the warnings so often given of the desire of the enemy to possess that province are seen justified through the destruction of the native Christians, which they have been accomplishing since the date of the last dispatch sent to Your Excellency up to the present. Those unfortunate soldiers, settlers, and natives experienced death, burning, captivity, and the desolation of the few places that remain, after they were reduced to four; and the repeated and frequent raids have left very few people in two of these. In one, they even killed and burned a priest and his sexton in their convent, and are so daring as to come within sight of the wooden blockhouse with a garrison that His Majesty has in that province to protect those places. The deputy set out with some foot soldiers and Christian Indians to oppose and dislodge the enemy. During the skirmish he was abandoned by those Indians who accompanied him, and who joined their own kind, whereupon those who were mounted fled, leaving behind those who were surrounded by the enemy. Twenty-two of the infantry, killed or captured, were lost. Among them were those who had come from Pensacola to drive back cattle for the subsistence of that place, of which they are now deprived. The Indian alcaldes were barbarously burned alive, and sixteen Spaniards were killed. The remainder were ignominiously carried off naked. For each death of a wounded enemy Indian, they retaliated by burning a Spaniard or Indian, as will be evident to Your Excellency from the enclosed letters.

It is learned from captives who have escaped from these raids that these adversaries are planning to join with a band of three thousand pagans raised by the English, and with other rebels, to descend again and ravage the few remaining people in Apalachee, capture the blockhouse, and burn the infantry. With this news and the events already experienced, the Indians are quietly passing to the enemy unopposed as they have no desire to see themselves killed or captured; they are leaving their families, who are Christian and loyal to the King, to be supported by the Spanish. They intimate that even were they given aid and encouragement of future assistance, that because of their need and the injuries they have received, and in order not to experience them further, they would quietly desert to the enemy, for otherwise they would be burned by them. In view of this, and seeking as a last resort to save the lives of those few soldiers and settlers who at the price of their ranches and lives have defended the blockhouse to gain His Majesty's good will, and to save the few vassals who, reduced to only two localities, have remained there, and to maintain them as friends before they become alienated—since now because of the meager resources, they could not be aided from the presidio with men and supplies at a distance of eighty leagues, sixty of which are depopulated, and only traversed with much risk, as they are already occupied by the enemy, and a river which cannot be forded—and since the women and children of some few Spanish families, as well as some priests, have already fled from the danger,

some to Pensacola, others to some islands and because of the uncertain subsistence and loyalty of the Indians—it was decided by a general council that all would be withdrawn to the presidio, the blockhouse dismantled and burned, and the cattle that the enemy had left driven in. This is done in order to deprive them of this sustenance—they have no other—and so that the Indians who can be assembled be also withdrawn to this place, as was proposed by a chief himself and his village of Ivitachuco. It is hoped that God may restore this province and that it may again be garrisoned.

And in this manner, Most Excellent Sir, as a last resort is the province deserted and abandoned. The enemy will eagerly settle it, and will go on, as is known and expected, to besiege this place which is so desired by their royal power, because it offers a situation so convenient to their operations on the mainland through its connection with the settlements to the north, and with ports on the Gulf of Mexico, which they much desire to obtain, since now it is free from the Apalachee. It is known that they are preparing eighteen vessels for Pensacola and for this place thirty vessels, with men and bombs that they bring from Europe. This we submit for the serious consideration of Your Excellency, so that the condition of this garrison may be clear. It is exposed to a misfortune (may God not permit it) from a lack of troops, provisions, and munitions that obliges us to have recourse to the mercy of Your Excellency, to whom we represent the foregoing in order that now, from the solicitude of Your Excellency in that kingdom, we may expect of you the help that necessity requires in this exigency to protect the defenseless lives of this presidio and free them from the barbarous cruelties of the Indians, and especially of the rebellious Christians, so that His Majesty will not lose the territory which is now the Province of Apalachee, of Guale, and part of Timuqua. Of what remains there can be some doubt because of its vulnerability, and the fear of the natives that God may withdraw His law from them. Of all of this we are confident, from the great piety of Your Excellency, on whom alone depend our hopes and aid today, as now there is no other recourse than the aid which we ask and this place expects of Your Excellency. Our Lady protect Your Excellency many happy years in the dignity which you merit.

Source: Mark F. Boyd, et al., eds., *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1951).

100. James Moore, Letters Regarding the English Attack on Spanish Florida, 1704

Introduction

From 1702 to 1713, the English and the Dutch fought France and Spain in the War of the Spanish Succession. Known as Queen

Anne's War in America, the war gave rise to battles in Canada, New England, South Carolina, and Florida. A series of campaigns involving the Spanish and the English and their Indian allies began in 1702. In Charles Town, South Carolina, Gov. James Moore advocated a preemptive strike at the Spanish in St. Augustine, some 250 miles distant. In September 1702, Moore led a combined force of more than 1,000 colonial militia and Indians in a failed campaign against St. Augustine. The Spanish, in turn, attacked Charles Town but their expedition also failed. In 1704, having stepped down as governor, Moore mounted a second expedition against Spanish Florida at his own expense. His 1,000-man army marched overland through Georgia and into northern Florida, burning Spanish missions and communities of Indians who were loyal to the Spanish, and captured more than a thousand Indians to be sold into slavery. Moore's campaign ultimately destroyed three quarters of the Indian population in Spanish territory. In these letters, Moore reports on his success and asserts that his actions have made Carolina secure from Spanish attack.

Primary Source

Colonel Moore's Letter to Sir Nathaniel Johnson, 16 April, 1704

May it please Your honour,

To accept of this short Narrative of what I, with the Army under my Command, have been doing since my departure from the Ockmulgee, which was on the 19th of December. On the 14th of January at the sun rising we came to a Town, a strong and almost regular Fort, called Aiavalla [Ayubale]: At our first approach the Indians in it fired, and shot Arrows at us briskly, from which we hid and Sheltered Ourselves under the Side of a great Mud Walled House, til we could take a View of the Fort, and consider of the best way of assaulting it, which we concluded to be by breaking open the Church doors, which were a part of the Fort, with Axes.

I no sooner proposed this, but my Men readily undertook it, run up to it briskly (the Enemy at the same time shooting at them) were beaten off, without effecting it, and 14 white men wounded. Two hours after that we thought fit to attempt burning the church, which we did, three or four Indians assisting us in it we burnt it. The Indians in it obstinately defended themselves and killed us two men, viz., Francis Plowden and Thomas Dale. After we were within their Fort a Fryar, the only [white] within it, came forth and begged mercy: In this we took 26 men alive and 58 women and children, the Indians took about as many more of each sort. The Fryar told us we killed in the two storms 24 men.

The next morning the Captain of St. Lewis's Fort with 23 Whites and 400 Indians came to fight us, which we did, beat him, and took eight of his men prisoners. And as the Indians (which say the did it) tell us, killed 5 or 6 whites. We have a particular account of 168 Indian men killed and taken in this fight and flight. The Apalatchee Indi-

ans say the lost 200, which we have reason to believe the least. In this fight Captain John Berringer, fighting bravely in the head of our men, was killed at my foot. Captain Fox died of a wound given him on our first storming of the fort.

Two days after I sent to the King of the Attachookas [Ivitachuco] (who with 130 men was in his strong and well-made Fort) to come to me to make this peace with me, he did it, and compounded for it with his church plate and led horses leaded with provision. After this I marched thro' two towns, which have all strong Forts and defenses against small armies, they all submitted and surrendered their Forts to me without conditions. I have now in my company all the whole people of three towns, and the greatest part of four more; we have totally destroyed all the people of two town, so that we have left in Apalatchee but that one town which compounded with me, part of St. Lewis's and the people of one town which run away altogether, their town, church, and fort, we have burnt. The people of St. Lewis's which remain, come unto me every night. I expect, and have advice, that the town which compounded with me, are coming after me. The waiting for these people make any marches slow; for I am willing to bring away free, as many Indians as I can, this being the address of the commons to order it so. This will make my mens part of plunder (which otherwise might have been £100 per man) but small, but I hope with your Honour's assistance, to find a way to gratify them for their bold and stout actions, and their great loss of blood. I never saw, or heard, of a stouter or braver thing done than the storming of the fort; it hath regained the reputation we seemed to have lost under the conduct of Captain Mackie, the Indians having now a mighty value for the whites.

Apalatchee is now reduced to that feeble, and low condition, that it neither can supply St. Augustine with provisions, or disturb, damage or frighten our Indians living between us and Apalatchee, and the French. In short, we have made Carolina as safe as the conquest of Apalatchee can make it.

If I had not had so many men wounded in our first attempt, I had assaulted St. Lewis's fort, in which is now but 28 or 30 men, and 20 of these came thence from Pensacola to buy provisions the first night after I took the first Fort.

On Sunday the 23rd of this month I came out of Apalatchee settlement, and am now about 30 miles in my way home, but do not expect to reach it til about the middle of March, notwithstanding my horses will not be able to carry me [to the] Cherokee nations.

I have had a dirty, tedious and uneasy journey, and tho I have no reason to fear any harm from the enemy, thro the difference between the Whites and the Indians, between Indian and Indian, bad way and false alarms, do still labour under the hourly uneasinesses. The number of free Apalatchee Indians, which are not under my protection, bound with me to Carolina, are 300; the Indians

under my command killed and took prisoners in the plantations, whilst we stormed the Fort, as many Indians as we and they took and killed in the Fort.

I am & Ja. Moore

Extract of colonel Moore's letter to the Lords Proprietors, 16 April, 1704

I will not trouble Your Lordships with a relation of the many hazards and difficulties I underwent in my expedition against Apalatchee, but beg leave to let you know what I have done there.

By my own interest and at my own charge I raised 50 whites, all the Government thought fit to spare out of the settlement at that time; with them and 1000 Indians, which by my own interest I raised to follow me, I went to Apalatchee: The first place I came to was the strongest Fort in Apalatchee, which after nine hours I took, and in it 200 persons alive, and killed 20 men in the engagement. I had killed 3 whites and 4 Indians; of the last there were but 15 ever came within shot of the fort. The next morning the Captain of the fort of St. Lewis and Governor of the Province of Apalatchee, with all the force of Whites and Indians he could raise in the province came and gave me battle in the field; after half an hour's fight we routed them and in the fight and flight killed six Spaniards, one of which was a Fryar; took the Captain and Governor and Adjutant General and Seven men Spaniards prisoners, and killed and took 200 Indian men. In this fight my Captain was killed and 11 of my Indians. I lay in the field of battle four days, some of my wounded men not being in a condition to march, or to be carried any way in this time The next strongest Fort was surrendered to me upon conditions. On the 5th day I marched to two more Forts, both which were delivered up to me, without conditions, and the men, women and children of the whole town, which were in it, prisoners at discretion. In one of these Forts I lodged one night; the next day I marched to two more Forts, both [of] which with the people that were in them were delivered to me without conditions, as were the two other Forts. In one of these I lay two nights, here I offered freedom of persons and goods, to as many Kings, as with all the people under their government would go along with me, and live under and subject themselves to our Government. On these terms four Kings and all their people, came away with me, and part of the people of four more Kings; which I have planted among our Indians, and put them out of a capacity of returning back again alone[.] In this expedition I brought away 300 men, and 1000 women and children, have killed, and taken as slaves 325 men, and have taken slaves 4000 women and children; tho I did not make slave, or put to death one man, woman or child but what were taken in the fight, or in the fort I took by storm. All which I have done with the loss of 4 whites and 15 Indians, and without one penny charge to the publick. Before this expedition we were more afraid of the Spaniards of Apalatchee and their Indians in conjunction the French of Mississippi, and their Indians doing us harm by

land, than of any forces of the enemy by sea. This has wholly disabled them from attempting anything against us by land, the whole strength of Apalatchee not exceeding 300 Indians and 24 Whites, who cannot now (as I have seated our Indians) come at me that way, must they March thro 300 Indian men our friends, which were before this conquest of Apalatchee (for fear of the Spaniards and their Indians) every day moving to the Northway of us.

That colony of the French which is situated on the River Mississippi, are not the French we have reason to fear; they have seated another colony on a river call Coosa six days journey nearer us than Mississippi, and not above 50 miles from us than Apalatchee. These French and Their Indians (if suffered to live where they are now) will be no less a dangerous enemy to us in peace than in war, it being much easier for them to cut off our settlements from this place, than it is for the Canada Indians to cut off the inland towns in New England.

Source: Mark F. Boyd, et al., eds., *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1951).

101. Robert Beverley, *The History*and *Present State of Virginia*,1705 [Excerpt]

Introduction

When the first English settlers came to Virginia in 1607, its native peoples consisted of the Algonquian inhabitants of some thirty villages who accepted the leadership of the chieftain, Powhatan. The 1614 wedding of Powhatan's daughter, Pocahontas, to the Englishman John Rolfe brought about a brief period of peace. By 1622, Powhatan's successor and half-brother Opechancanough laid plans to drive the English from his land. The resulting massacre of more than a third of the Virginia's English population spurred the survivors to launch a brutal reprisal. In 1644, Opechancanough launched another attack on the English. His warriors killed more than 400 frontier settlers. However, the colony had grown to a population of nearly 10,000, while exposure to European diseases and long years of warfare had reduced the Indian population of Virginia to barely half of what it had been when the first Englishmen arrived. In 1646, a treaty with Opechancanough's successor ended the war. The native peoples' territory and freedom of movement were severely restricted. A later frontier war ended in 1677 with a treaty that imposed even greater restrictions. This 1705 history written by a prominent Virginian provides the inevitable end of the story: "The Indians of Virginia are almost wasted..."

Primary Source

The *Indians* of *Virginia* are almost wasted, but such Towns, or People as retain their Names, and live in Bodies, are hereunder set

down; All which together can't raise five hundred fighting men. They live poorly, and much in fear of the Neighbouring *Indians*. Each Town, by the Articles of Peace in 1677. pays 3 *Indian* Arrows for their Land, and 20 Beaver Skins for protection every year.

In Accomack are 8 Towns, viz.

Matomkin is much decreased of late by the Small Pox, that was carried thither.

Gingoteque. The few remains of this Town are joyn'd with a Nation of the *Maryland Indians*.

Kiequotank, is reduc'd to very few Men.

Matchopungo, has a small number yet living.

Occahanock, has a small number yet living.

Pungoteque. Govern'd by a Queen, but a small Nation.

Oanancock, has but four or five Families.

Chiconessex, has very few, who just keep the name.

Nanduye. A Seat of the Empress. Not above 20 Families, but she hath all the Nations of this Shore under Tribute.

In *Northampton. Gangascoe*, which is almost as numerous as all the foregoing Nations put together.

In *Prince George. Wyanoke*, is almost wasted, and now gone to live among other *Indians*.

In *Charles City. Appamattox*. These Live in Collonel *Byrd's* Pasture, not being above seven Families.

In *Surry*. *Nottawayes*, which are about a hundred Bow-men, of late a thriving and increasing People.

By *Nansamond. Menheering*, has about thirty Bow men, who keep at a stand.

Nansamond. About thirty Bow-men: They have increased much of late.

In *King Williams County*, 2. *Pamunkie*, has about forty Bow-men, who decrease.

Chickahomonie, which had about sixteen Bow-men, but lately increas' d.

In *Essex. Rappahannock*, is reduc'd to a few Families, and live scatter'd upon the *English* Seats.

In Richmond. Port-Tabago, has bout five Bow-men, but Wasting.

In *Northumberland. Wiccocomoco*, has but three men living, which yet keep up their Kingdom, and retain their Fashion; they live by themselves, separate from all other *Indians*, and from the *English*.

Thus I have given a succinct account of the *Indians*; happy, I think, in their simple State of Nature, and in their enjoyment of Plenty, without the Curse of Labour. They have on several accounts reason to lament the arrival of the *Europeans*, by whose means they seem to have lost their Felicity, as well as their Innocence. The *English* have taken away great part of their Country, and consequently made every thing less plenty amongst them. They have introduc'd Drunkenness and Luxury amongst them, which have multiply'd their Wants, and put them upon desiring a thousand things, they

never dreamt of before. I have been the more concise in my account of this harmless people, because I have inserted several Figures, which I hope have both supplied the defect of Words, and render'd the Descriptions more clear. I shall in the next place proceed to treat of *Virginia*, as it is now improv'd, (I should rather say alter'd,) by the *English* and of its present Constitution and Settlement.

The End of the Third Book.

Source: Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947).

102. John Williams, *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion*,1707 [Excerpt]

Introduction

From 1702 to 1713, the English and the Dutch fought France and Spain in the War of the Spanish Succession. Known as Queen Anne's War in America, the war gave rise to battles in Canada, New England, South Carolina, and Florida. John Williams, a Harvardeducated Puritan minister in Massachusetts, was among the captives taken in a French and Indian raid on Deerfield in February 1704. The attackers killed Williams's two youngest sons and marched the captives, including his five other children, into Canada. The forced march killed Mrs. Williams. Williams himself gained his freedom late in 1706, after nearly three years of captivity. He participated as a chaplain in a later campaign of the war. Four of the Williams children, who had been scattered among several Indian villages, eventually returned home. One daughter, Eunice, six years old at the time of her capture, spent the remainder of her long life living as an Indian. She became the subject of a 1995 book, The Unredeemed Captive. Warfare between the French and the English in North America involved not only a fight for territory, but also a fight for souls. This excerpt details the variety of ways in which the French captors tried to force Catholicism on their captives.

Primary Source

.... After another days travel, we came to a river where the ice was thawed; we made a canoe of elmbark in one day, and arrived on a Saturday near noon, at Chamblee, a small village, where is a garrison and fort of French soldiers.

[At Chamblee]

This village is about fifteen miles from Montreal. The French were very kind to me. A gentleman of the place took me into his house, and to his table; and lodged me at night on a good feather-bed. The inhabitants and officers were very obliging to me, the little time I staid with them, and promised to write a letter to the governor in

chief, to inform him of my passing down the river. Here I saw a girl taken from our town, and a young man, who informed me that the greatest part of the captives were come in, and that two of my children were at Montreal; that many of the captives had been in three weeks before my arrival. Mercy in the midst of judgment! As we passed along the river towards Sorel, we went into a house, where was an English woman of our town, who had been left among the French in order to her conveyance to the Indian fort. The French were very kind to her, and to myself, and gave us the best provision they had; and she embarked with us, to go down to St. Francois fort. When we came down to the first inhabited house at Sorel, a French woman came to the river side, and desired us to go into her house; and when we were entered she compassioned our state, and told us, she had in the last war been a captive among the Indians, and therefore was not a little sensible of our difficulties. She gave the Indians something to eat in the chimney corner, and spread a cloth on the table for us with napkins; which gave such offence to the Indians, that they hasted away, and would not call in at the fort. But wherever we entered into houses, the French were very courteous. When we came to St. Francois river, we found some difficulty by reason of the ice; and entering into a Frenchman's house, he gave us a loaf of bread, and some fish to carry away with us; but we passed down the river till night, and there seven of us supped on the fish called bull-head or pout, and did not eat it up, the fish was so very large.

The next morning we met with such a great quantity of ice, that we were forced to leave our canoe, and travel on land. We went to a French officer's house, who took us into a private room, out of the sight of the Indians, and treated us very courteously. That night we arrived at the fort called St. Francois; where we found several poor children, who had been taken from the eastward in the summer before; a sight very affecting, they being in habit very much like Indians, and in manners very much symbolizing with them. At this fort lived two jesuits, one of which was made superiour of the jesuits at Quebec. One of the jesuits met me at the fort gate, and asked me to go into the church, and give God thanks for preserving my life. I told him I would do that in some other place. When the bell rang for evening prayers, he that took me, bid me go; but I refused. The jesuit came to our wigwam, and prayed a short prayer, and invited me to sup with them, and justified the Indians in what they did against us; rehearsing some things done by major Walden, above thirty years ago; and how justly God retaliated them in the last war, and inveighed against us for beginning this war with the Indians: And said, we had before the last winter, and in the winter, been very barbarous and cruel, in burning and killing Indians. I told them, that the Indians, in a very perfidious manner, had committed murders on many of our inhabitants, after the signing articles of peace: And as to what they spake of cruelties, they were undoubtedly falsehoods, for I well knew the English were not approvers of any inhumanity or barbarity towards enemies. They said, an Englishman had killed one of St. Casteen's relations, who occasioned this war; for, say they, the nations, in a general counsel, had concluded not

to engage in the war, on any side, till they themselves were first molested, and then all of them, as one, would engage against them that began a war with them; and that upon the killing of Casteen's kinsman, a post was dispatched to Canada, to advertise the Macquas, and Indians, that the English had begun a war: On which they gathered up their forces, and that the French joined with them, to come down on the eastern parts; and that when they came near New England, several of the eastern Indians told them of the peace made with the English, and the satisfaction given them from the English for that murder. But the Macquas told them, it was now too late; for they were sent for, and were now come, and would fall on them, if without their consent they made a peace with the English. Said also, that a letter was shown them, sent from the governour of Port-Royal, which, he said, was taken in an English ship, being a letter from the queen of England to our governour, writing how she approved his designs to ensnare and deceitfully to seize on the Indians; so that being enraged from that letter, and being forced, as it were, they began the present war. I told them the letter was a lie, forged by the French.

The next morning the bell rang for mass: My master bid me go to church: I refused: He threatened me, and went away in a rage. At noon, the jesuits sent for me to dine with them; for I eat at their table all the time I was at the fort. And after dinner, they told me, the Indians would not allow of any of their captives staying in their wigwams, whilst they were at church; and were resolved by force and violence to bring us all to church, if we would not go without. I told them it was highly unreasonable so to impose upon those who were of a contrary religion; and to force us to be present at such service, as we abhorred, was nothing becoming christianity. They replied, they were savages, and would not hearken to reason, but would have their wills: Said also, if they were in New-England themselves, they would go into their churches, to see their ways of worship. I answered, the case was far different, for there was nothing (themselves being judges) as to matter or manner of worship, but what was according to the word of God, in our churches; and therefore it could not be an offence to any man's conscience. But among them, there were idolatrous superstitions in worship. To which I answered, That I was not to do evil that good might come on it; and that forcing in matters of religion was hateful. They answered, The Indians were resolved to have it so, and they could not pacify them without my coming; and they would engage they should offer no force or violence to cause any compliance with their ceremonies.

The next mass, my master bid me go to church: I objected; he arose, and forcibly pulled me by the head and shoulders out of the wigwam to the church, which was near the door. So I went in, and sat down behind the door; and there saw a great confusion, instead of any gospel order; for one of the jesuits was at the altar, saying mass in a tongue unknown to the savages; and the other, between the altar and the door, saying and singing prayers among the Indians at the same time; and many others were at the same time saying over their

pater nosters, and Ave Mary, by tale from their chapelit, or beads on a string. At our going out, we smiled at their devotion so managed; which was offensive to them; for they said we made a derision of their worship. When I was here, a certain savages died; one of the jesuits told me she was a very holy woman, who had not committed one sin in twelve years. After a day or two, the Jesuits asked me what I though of their way, now I saw it? I told them, I thought Christ said of it as Mark vii. 7,8,9. Howbeit, in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. For laying aside the commandment of God, ye bold the tradition of men, as the washing of pots and cups; and many other such like things ye do. And he said unto them, Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition. They told me, they were not the commandments of men, but apostolical tradition, of equal authority with the holy scriptures: And that after my death, I should bewail my not praying to the Virgin Mary; and that I should find the want of her intercession for me with her son; judging me to hell for asserting the scriptures to be a perfect rule of faith: And said, I abounded in my own sense, entertaining explications contrary to the sense of the pope, regularly fitting with a general council, explaining scripture, and making articles of faith. I told them, it was my comfort that Christ was to be my judge, and not they, at the great day; and as for their censuring and judging me, I was not moved with it.

One day, a certain savage, taken prisoner in Philip's war, who had lived at Mr. Buckley's at Weathersfield, called Ruth, who could speak English very well, who had been often at my house, but was now proselyted to the Romish faith, came into the wigwam, and with her an English maid, who was taken the last war, who was dressed up in Indian apparel, unable to speak one word of English, who said she could neither tell her own name, or the name of the place from whence she was taken. These two talked in the Indian dialect with my master a long time; after which, my master bade me cross myself; I told him I would not; he commanded me several times, and I as often refused. Ruth said, Mr. Williams, you know the scripture, and therefore act against your own light; for you know the scripture faith, servants obey your masters; he is your master, and you his servant. I told her she was ignorant, and knew not the meaning of the scripture, telling her, I was not to disobey the great God to obey any master, and that I was ready to suffer for God, if called thereto: On which she talked to my master; I suppose she interpreted what I said. My master took hold of my hand to force me to cross myself; but I struggled with him, and would not suffer him to guide my hand; upon this, he pulled off a crucifix from his own neck, and bade me kiss it; but I refused once and again; he told me he would dash out my brains with his hatchet if I refused. I told him I should sooner choose death than to sin against God. Then he ran and catched up his hatchet, and acted as though he would have dashed out my brains. Seeing I was not moved, he threw down his hatchet, saying he would first bite off all my nails if I still refused. I gave him my hand, and told him I was ready to suffer; he set his teeth in my thumb nail, and gave a gripe with his teeth, and the said,

no good minister, no love God, as bad as the devil; and so left off. I have reason to bless God, who strengthened me to withstand. By this he was so discouraged as never more to meddle with me about my religion. I asked leave of the jesuits to pray with those English of our town who were with me; but they absolutely refused to give us any permission to pray one with another, and did what they could to prevent our having any discourse together.

After a few days, the governour de Vaudreuil, governour in chief, sent down two men with letters to the jesuits, desiring them to order my being sent up to him to Montreal; upon which, one of the jesuits went with my two masters, and took me along with them, as also two more of Deerfield, a man, and his daughter about seven years of age. When we came to the lake, the wind was tempestuous, and contray to us, so that they were afraid to go over; they landed and kindled a fire, and said they would wait a while to see whether the wind would fall or change. I went aside from the company, among the trees, and spread our case, with the temptations of it, before God, and pleaded that he would order the season so, that we might not go back again, but be furthered on our voyage, that I might have opportunity to see my children and neighbours, and converse with them, and know their state. When I returned, the wind was more boisterous; and then a second time, and the wind was more fierce. I reflected upon myself for my unquietness, and the want of a resigned will to the will of God. And a third time went and bewailed before God my anxious cares, and the tumultuous working of my own heart, begged a will fully resigned to the will of God, and thought that by the grace of God I was brought to say amen to whatever God should determine. Upon my return to the company, the wind was yet high: The jesuit and my master said, Come, we will go back again to the fort, for there is no likelihood of proceeding in our voyage, for very frequently such a wind continues three days, sometimes six. After it continued so many hours, I said to them, The will of the Lord be done; and the canoe was put again into the river, and we embarked. No sooner had my master put me into the canoe, and put off the shore, but the wind fell; and coming into the middle of the river, they said, We may go over the lake well enough: And so we did. I promised, if God gave me opportunity, I would stir up others to glorify God in a continued persevering, committing their straits of heart to him. He is a prayer-hearing God, and the stormy winds obey him. After we passed over the lake, the French, wherever we came, were very compassionate to us.

[At Montreal.]

When I came to Montreal, which was eight weeks after my captivity, the governour de Vaudreuil redeemed me out of the hands of the Indians, gave me good clothing, took me to his table, gave me the use of a very good chamber, and was in all respects, relating to my outward man, courteous and charitable to admiration. At my first entering into his house, he sent for my two children, who were in the city, that I might see them; and promised to do what he could to get all my children and neighbours out of the hands of the sav-

ages. My change of diet, after the difficulties of my journeys, caused an alteration in my body: I was physicked, blooded, and very tenderly taken care of in my sickness.

Source: Alden T. Vaughan and Edward W. Clark, eds., *Puritans among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1676–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).

103. John Lawson, *A New Voyage* to Carolina, 1709 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The English naturalist John Lawson arrived in Charles Town (Charleston, South Carolina) in 1701. He traveled through both Carolinas and visited numerous Indian villages. In A New Voyage to Carolina, published in London in 1709 and excerpted here, he wrote of the Indians' generosity and civility. Lawson bought land and settled in eastern North Carolina. Despite his admiration for the Indians, he died at their hands. In September 1711, Lawson, along with the Swiss nobleman Christoph von Graffenried and two slaves, was captured by Tuscarora Indians while exploring along the Neuse River. Graffenried had recently established the town of New Bern with some 400 new inhabitants. The Tuscaroras executed Lawson, thinking he was trying to claim their land. They spared the other captives, out of sympathy with black slaves, and possibly in the mistaken belief that Graffenried was the colonial governor. At dawn on September 22, 1711, the Tuscarora mounted a surprise attack on the farms around New Bern, killing some 130 colonists and beginning the Tuscarora War. The colonists inflicted a decisive defeat on the Tuscaroras in 1713. Most of the Tuscaroras then migrated to New York and became the sixth nation in the Iroquois Confederation.

Primary Source

And since I hinted at a Regulation of the Savages, and to propose a way to convert them to Christianity, I will first particularize the several Nations of Indians that are our Neighbours, and then proceed to what I promis'd.

Tuskeruro Indians are fifteen Towns, viz. Haruta, Waqui, Contahnah, Anna Ooka, Conauh-Kare Harooka, Una Nauhan, Kentanuska, Chunaneets, Kenta, Eno, Naur-hegh-ne, Oonossoora, Tosneoc, Nonawharitse, Nursoorooka; Fighting Men 1200. Waccon, Towns 2, Yupwauremau, Tooptatmeer, Fighting Men 120. Machapunga, Town 1, Maramiskeet, Fighting Men 30. Bear River, Town 1, Raudauqua-quank, Fighting Men 50. Maherring Indians, Town 1, Maherring River, Fighting Men 50. Chuwon Indians, Town 1, Bennets Creek, Fighting Men 15. Paspatank Indians, Town 1, Paspatank River, Fighting Men 10. Poteskeit, Town 1, North River, Fighting Men 30. Nottaway Indians,

Town 1, Winoack Creek, Fighting Men 30. Hatteras Town 1, Sand Banks, Fighting Men 16. Connamox Indians, Towns 2, Coranine, Raruta, Fighting Men 25. Neus Indians, Towns 2, Chattooka, Rouconk, Fighting Men 15. Pampticough Indians, Town 1, Island, Fighting Men 15. Jaupim Indians, 6 People. These five Nations of the Totero's, Sapona's, Keiauwee's, Aconechos, and Schoccories, are lately come amongst us, and may contain, in all, about 750 Men, Women and Children. Total 4780.

Now, there appears to be one thousand six hundred and twelve Fighting Men, of our Neighbouring Indians; and probably, there are three Fifths of Women and Children, not including Old Men, which amounts to four thousand and thirty Savages, besides the five Nations lately come. Now, as I before hinted, we will see what grounds there are to make these People serviceable to us, and better themselves thereby.

On a fair Scheme, we must first allow these Savages what really belongs to them, that is, what good Qualities, and natural Endowments, they possess, whereby they being in their proper Colours, the Event may be better guess'd at, and fathom'd.

First, they are as apt to learn any Handicraft, as any People that the World affords; I will except none; as is seen by their Canoes and Stauking Heads, which they make of themselves; but to my purpose, the Indian Slaves in South Carolina, and elsewhere, make my Argument good.

Secondly, we have no disciplin'd Men in Europe, but what have, at one time or other, been branded with Mutining, and Murmuring against their Chiefs. These Savages are never found guilty of that great Crime in a Soldier; I challenge all Mankind to tell me of one Instance of it; besides, they never prove Traitors to their Native Country, but rather chuse Death than partake and side with the Enemy.

They naturally possess the Righteous Man's Gift; they are Patient under all Afflictions, and have a great many other Natural Vertues, which I have slightly touch'd throughout the Account of these Savages.

They are really better to us, than we are to them; they always give us Victuals at their Quarters, and take care we are arm'd against Hunger and Thirst: We do not so by them (generally speaking) but let them walk by our Doors Hungry, and do not often relieve them. We look upon them with Scorn and Disdain, and think them little better than Beasts in Humane Shape, though if well examined, we shall find that, for all our Religion and Education, we possess more Moral Deformities, and Evils than these Savages do, or are acquainted withal.

We reckon them Slaves in Comparison to us, and Intruders, as oft as they enter our Houses, or hunt near our Dwellings. But if we will admit Reason to be our Guide, she will inform us, that these Indians are the freest People in the World, and so far from being Intruders upon us, that we have abandon'd our own Native Soil, to drive them out, and possess theirs....

Source: John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* . . . (London, 1709). Reprint, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967, ed. Hugh Talmage Lefler.

104. Christoph von Graffenried, Account of the Tuscarora Attack in North Carolina, 1711 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In 1710, the Swiss baron Christoph von Graffenried, established the town of New Bern with some 400 new inhabitants. This proved to be the last straw for the Tuscaroras, who had long resented unfair treatment by white traders. In September 1711, Graffenried, along with the English naturalist John Lawson and two slaves, were captured by Tuscaroras while exploring along the Neuse River. The Tuscaroras executed Lawson but spared the other captives, out of sympathy with black slaves, and possibly in the mistaken belief that Graffenried was the colonial governor. They revealed to Graffenried their plans to attack the colonists, but Graffenried could not escape to raise the alarm. At dawn on September 22, 1711, the Tuscaroras mounted a surprise attack on the farms around New Bern, killing some 130 colonists. In this excerpt, Graffenried describes these events as he observed them during his captivity. With help from South Carolina forces and Yamasees warriors, the colonists inflicted a decisive defeat on the Tuscaroras in 1713. Most of the Tuscaroras then migrated to New York and joined the Iroquois Confederation. The Yamasees rose against the colonists of South Carolina in 1715 and killed several hundred. An alliance with the Cherokees proved crucial to the colonists' victory.

Primary Source

They let my negro loose also, but I never saw him again. Poor Lawson remaining in the same place could easily guess that it was all over and no mercy for him. He took his leave of me striving to see me in his danger; and I, not daring to speak with him or give him the least consolation, indicated my sympathy by some signs which I gave him.

A little while after this, the man who had spoken for me in the council led me to his hut, where I was to remain quietly until further orders, and in this interval the unfortunate Lawson was executed; with what sort of death I really do not know. To be sure I had heard before from several savages that the threat had been made that he was to have his throat cut with a razor which was found in his sack. The smaller negro, who was left alive, also testified to this; but some

say he was hanged; others that he was burned. The savages keep it very secret how he was killed. May God have pity on his soul.

The day after the execution of Surveyor General Lawson the chief men of the village came to me with the report that they had it in mind to make war on North Carolina. Especially did they wish to surprise the people of Pamtego, Neuse, and Trent Rivers, and Core Sound. So that for good reasons they could not let me go until they were through with this expedition. What was I to do? I had to have patience, for none of my reasons helped. A hard thing about it was that I had to hear such sad news and yet could not help nor let these poor people know the least thing of it. It is true, they promised that Caduca, which is the old name of the little city of New Bern, should receive no harm; but the people of the colony should come down into the little city, otherwise they could not promise much for the damage. These were good words, but how was I to let the poor people know? Since no savage would take the warning to them, I had to leave this also to the Most High. There were about five hundred fighting men collected together, partly Tuscaroras, although the principal villages of this nation were not involved with them. The other Indians, the Marmuskits, those of Bay River, Weetock, Pamtego, Neuse, and Core began this massacring and plundering at the same time. Divided into small platoons these barbarians plundered and massacred the poor people at Pamtego, Neuse, and Trent. A few days after, these murderers came back loaded with their booty. Oh what a sad sight to see this and the poor women and children captives. My heart almost broke. To be sure I could speak with them, but very guardedly. The first came from Pamtego, the others from Neuse and Trent. The very same Indian with whom I lodged brought a young boy with him, one of my tenants, and many garments and house utensils that I recognized. Oh how it went through my heart like a knife thrust, in the fear that my colony was all gone, and especially when I asked the little fellow what had happened and taken place. Weeping bitterly he told me that his father, mother, brother, yes, the whole family had been massacred by the very same Indian above mentioned. With all this I dared not act in any way as though I felt it. For about six weeks I had to remain a prisoner in this disagreeable place, Catechna, before I could go home. In what danger, terror, disgrace, and vexation is easily to be thought.

All sorts of things happened in this time. Once I was in great perplexity. The men folks were all on this massacring expedition, the women all somewhat distant to get cherries, others to dig sweet potatoes, a species of yellow roots, very good and pleasant. And so I found myself entirely alone that same day in the village. A struggle arose in me whether I should get away from there and go home or not. I studied long over it, considered it best to call upon my God for help in this doubt, so that he would put it into my mind what I should do in such critical circumstance. After I had made my prayer, examined and treated the matter pro et contra, I finally considered the better way would be to stay; comforting myself with this

that He who had saved me from the first extreme peril would still help me further. Again, if any Indian met or saw me I should be a dead man, for there would be no hope of mercy. In addition they would be so embittered that before I could get home, since I did not know the way, everything would be plundered, burned, and murdered. Experience proved afterwards that I chose the better way.

After these heathens had made their barbarous expedition they came home and rested for a time. Then I watched the opportunity and when I found the chiefs of the village in good humor I asked whether I might not soon go home. To bring them to a favorable disposition I proposed to make a separate peace with the, promised at the same time each chief of the ten villages a cloth coat, something in addition for my ransom; to the king, two flasks of powder, five hundred bullets, two bottles of rum, a brandy made of sugar. But the Indians wanted to have much more, such as guns, more powder, and lead or bullets; but I told them this was contraband, that is, ware which was forbidden to offer for sale under penalty of hanging; that I would, at least, have to be neutral and help neither one side not the other: Otherwise there would nothing come of our peace. They accepted these and other reasons, and so we made an agreement as your Highness will see in the enclosed article of the treaty.

But although we made our treaty, still these suspicious fellows did not want to let me go without more secure and certain guarantee.

Source: Vincent H. Todd, ed., *Christoph von Graffenreid's Account of the Founding of New Bern* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Co., 1920).

105. Louis XIV, Patent to Trade in Louisiana granted to Anthony Crozat, September 14, 1712 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Rene-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, explored the Mississippi River Valley in 1682 and planned to use it as a French base to attack adjacent Spanish possessions. He was murdered by mutinous subordinates in Texas in 1687. His loyal friend Henri Joutel published a memoir of La Salle's last expedition, to which this letter is appended. In it Louis XIV delineates the vast territory explored by La Salle—called Louisiana and bounded by Carolina, New Mexico, and the Gulf of Mexico—and declares his intention to annex Louisiana to New France. King Louis also cites the continual warfare as the reason for the 30-year delay between La Salle's 1682 discoveries and the issuance of the patent. Indeed, France was involved in King William's War (also called the War of the Grand Alliance or the Nine Years' War) from 1689 to 1697 and Queen Anne's War (also called the War of the Spanish Succession) from 1702 to 1713. The patent grants to the merchant Anthony Crozat

exclusive trading rights in Louisiana for 15 years, plus the right to mine precious metals and to transport slaves from Africa for sale in Louisiana. In return Crozat was required to provide free trans-Atlantic passage to Louisiana for French troops and colonists. In the ensuing decades, French traders competed with the British for the loyalty of Indians residing in this territory.

Primary Source

The Letters Patent granted by the King of France to M. Crozat.

.... We did in the Year 1683 give our orders to undertake a Discovery of the Countries and Lands which are situated in the Northern Part of America, between New France and New Mexico: And the Sieur de la Sale, to whom we committed that Enterprize, having had Success enough to confirm a Belief that a Communication might be settled from New France to the Gulph of Mexico by Means of large Rivers; This obliged us immediately after the Peace of Ryswick to give Orders for the establishing a Colony there, and maintaining a Garrison which has kept and preserved the Possession, we had taken in the very Year 1683 of the Lands, Coasts and Islands which are situated in the Gulph of Mexico, between Carolina on the East, and Old and New Mexico on the West. But a new War having broke out in Europe shortly after, there was no Possibility, till now, of reaping from that new Colony the Advantages that might have been expected from thence, because the private Men, who are concerned in the Sea Trade, were all under Engagements with other Colonies, which they have been obliged to follow: And whereas upon the Information we have received concerning the Disposition and Situation of the said Countries known at present by the Name of the Province of *Louisiana*, we are of Opinion that there may be established therein a considerable Commerce, so much the more advantageous to our Kingdom in that there has hitherto been a Necessity of fetching from Foreigners the greatest Part of the Commodies which may be brought from thence, and because in Exchange thereof we need carry thither nothing but Commodities of the Growth and Manufacture of our own Kingdom; we have resolved to grant the Commerce of the Country of Louisiana to the Sieur Anthony Crozat our Councellor, Secretary of the Household, Crown and Revenue, to whom we entrust the Execution of this Project. We are the more readily inclined hereunto, because his Zeal and the singular Knowledge he has acquired in maritime Commerce, encourage us to hope for as good Success as he has hitherto had in the divers and sundry Enterprizes he has gone upon, and which have procured to our Kingdom great Quantities of Gold and Silver in such Conjunctures as have rendered them very welcome to us.

.... We by these Presents, signed by our Hand, have appointed and do appoint the said Sieur Crozat solely to carry on a Trade in all the Lands possessed by Us, and bounded by New Mexico, and by the Lands of the English of Carolina, all the Establishment, Ports, Havens, Rivers, and principally the Port and Haven of the Isle Dauphine, heretofore called Massacre; the River of St. Lewis, heretofore called

Missisipi, from the Edge of the Sea as far as the Islinois; together with the River of St. Philip, heretofore called the Missourys, and of St. Jerome, heretofore called Ovabache, with all the Countries, Territories, Lakes within Land, and the Rivers which fall directly or indirectly into that Part of the River of St. Lewis.

The ART I C L E S.

I. Our Pleasure is, that all the aforesaid Lands, Countries Streams, Rivers and Islands be and remain comprised under the Name of *The Government of Louisiana*, *which shall be dependant upon the General Government of New France*, to which it is subordinate; and further, that all the Lands which we possess from the *Islinois* be united, so far as Occasion requires, to the General Government of *New France*, and become Part thereof, reserving however to Ourselves the Liberty of enlarging as We shall think fit the Extent of the Government of the said Country of *Louisiana*.

II. We grant to the said Sieur Crozat far Fifteen successive Years, to be reckon'd from the Day of Inrolling these presents, a Right and Power to transport all Sorts of Goods and Merchandize from France into the said Country of Louisiana, and to traffick thither as he shall think fit. We forbid all and every Person and Persons, Company and Companies of what Quality or Condition soever, and under any Pretence whatever, to trade thither, under Penalty of Confiscatian of Goods, Ships, and other more severe Punishments, as Occasion shall require; for this Purpose we order our Governours and other Officers commanding our Troops in the said Country forcibly to abet, aid and assist the Directors and Agents of the said Sieur Crozat.

III. We permit him to search for, open and dig all Sorts of Mines, Veins and Minerals throughout the whole Extent of the said Country of *Louisiana*, and to transport the Profits thereof into any Part of *France* during the said Fifteen Years; and we grant in Perpetuity to him, his Heirs, and others claiming under him or them, the Property of, in and to the Mines, Veins and Minerals which he shall bring to bear, paying us, in Lieu of all Claim, the Fifth Part of the Gold and Silver which the said *Sieur Crozat* shall cause to be transported to *France* at his own Charges into what Part he pleases, (of which Fifth we will run the Risque of the Sea and of War,) and the Tenth Part of what Effects he shall draw from the other Mines, Veins and, Minerals, which Tenth he shall transfer and convey to our Magazines in the said Country of *Louisiana*.

We likewise permit him to search for precious Stones and Pearls, paying us the Fifth Part in the same Manner as is mention'd for the Gold and Silver.

 $[\ldots]$

IV. The said *Sieur Crozat* may vend all such Merchandize, Goods, Wares, Commodities, Arms, and Ammunition as he shall have caused

to be transported into the said Country and Government of *Louisiana*, as well to the *French*, as *Savages* who are or shall be there setled; nor shall any Person or Persons under any Pretence whatsoever be capable of doing the like without his Leave expressed in Writing.

V. He may purchase in the said Country, all Sorts of Furs, Skins, Leather, Wool, and other Commodities and Effects of the said Country, and transport them to *France* during the said Fifteen Years: And as our Intention is to favour, as much as we can, our Inhabitants of *New France*, and to hinder the Lessening of their Trade, we forbid him Trafficking for Castor in the said Country under any Pretence whatsoever; nor to Convey any from thence into our Kingdom or Foreign Countries.

VI. We Grant to the *Sieur Crozat*, his Heirs or those claiming under him or them, the Property of, in and to all Settlements and Manufactories which he shall erect or set up in the said Country for Silk, Indigo, Wooll, Leather, Mines, Veins and Minerals, as likewise the Property of, in and to the Lands which he shall cause to be Cultivated with the Mansions, Mills, and Structures which he shall cause to be built thereon, taking Grants thereof from Us, which Grants he shall obtain upon the Verbal Process and Opinion of our Governor and of the Subdelegate of the Intendant of New France in the said Country, to be by him Reported unto Us.

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VII. Our Edicts, Ordinances and Customs, and the Usages of the Mayoralty and Shreevalty of *Paris*, shall be observed for Laws and Customs in the said Country of *Louisiana*.

VIII. The said Sieur Crozat shall be oblig'd to send to the said Country of Louisiana Two Ships every Year, which he shall cause to set out in the proper Season, in each of which Ships he shall cause to be imbark'd, without paying any Freight, 25 Tun of Victuals, Effects and necessary Ammunition, for the Maintenance of the Garrison and Forts of the Louisiana; and in Case we should cause to be laden above the said 25 Tun in each Ship, we consent to pay the Freight to the said Sieur Crozat, at the common Merchantile Rates.

He shall be oblig'd to convey our Officers of *Louisiana* in the Ships which he shall send thither, and to furnish them with Subsistance and a Captain's Table for 30 Sols per Day, which we will cause to be paid for each.

He shall likewise give Passage in the said Ships, to the Soldiers, which we shall please to send to the said Country; and we will cause the necessary Provisions for their Subsistance to be furnish'd to him, or will pay him far them at the same Price as is paid to the Purveyor-General of our Marine.

He shall be furthermore oblig'd ta send on Board each Ship, which he shall cause to set out far the said Country, Ten young Men or Women, at his awn Election. IX. We will cause to be deliver'd out of our Magazines to the said *Sieur Crozat*, 10000 Weight of Gunpowder every Year, which he shall pay us for at the Price that it shall cost us, and this for so long Time as the present Privilege shall last.

X. The Wares and Merchandize which the said *Sieur Crozat* shall consign to the said Country of Louisiana shall be exempt from all Duties of Exportation, laid or to be laid, on Condition, that his Directors, Deputies or Clerks, shall engage to give within the Space of a Year, to be reckon'd from the Date thereof, a Certificate of their Unlading in the said Country of Louisiana; under Penalty, in Case of Contravention, to pay the Quadruple of the Duties, reserving to our selves the Power of giving him a longer Respite in such Cases and Occurrences as we shall think proper.

XI. And as for the Goods and Merchandize, which the *Sieur Crozat* shall cause to be brought from the said Country of *Louisiana*, and upon his Account, into the Ports of our Kingdom, and shall afterwards cause to be transported into Foreign Countries, they shall pay no Duties either of Importation or Exportation, and shall be deposited in the Custom-House, Warehouses of Ports where they shall arrive, until they be taken away; and when the Deputies and Clerks of the said *Sieur Crozat* shall be minded to cause them to be transported in Foreign Countries, either by Sea or Land, they shall be oblig'd to give Security to bring within a certain Time, a Certificate from the last Office, containing what they Exported there, and another Certificate of their unlading in Foreign Countries.

XII. In Case the said *Sieur Crozat* be obliged, for the furtherance of his Commerce to fetch from Foreign Countries some Goods and Merchandize of Foreign Manufacture, in order to Transport them into the said Country of *Louisiana*. He shall make Us Acquainted therewith, and lay before Us States thereof; upon which we, if we think fit, will Grant him our Particular Permission with Exemptions from all Duties of Importation and Exportation, Provided the said Goods and Merchandize be Deposited afterwards in our Custom-House Ware-houses until they be Laden in the Ships of the said *Sieur Crozat*, who shall be obliged to bring in one Year, to be reckoned from the Day of the Date hereof, a Certificate of their unlading in the said Country of *Louisiana*, under Penalty, in Case of Contraventian, to pay quadruple the Duties: Reserving to our selves, in like Manner, the Liberty of granting to the said *Sieur Crozat*, a longer Respite, if it be necessary.

[...]

XIV. If for the Cultures and Plantations which the said *Sieur Crozat* is minded to make he finds it proper to have Blacks in the said Country of the *Louisiana*, he may send a Ship every Year to trade for them directly upon the Coast of *Guinea*, taking Permission from the *Guinea* Company so to do, he may sell those Blacks, to the Inhabitants of the Colony of *Louisiana*; and we forbid all other Companies

and Persons whatsoever, under any Pretence whatsoever, to introduce Blacks or Traffick for them in the said Country, nor shall the said *Sieur Crozat* carry any Blacks else where.

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XVI. The said *Sieur Crozat* shall be obliged, after the Expiration of the first nine Years of this Grant, to Pay the Officers and the Garrison which shall be in the said Country During the Six last Years of the Continuance of this Present Priviledge: The said *Sieur Crozat* may in that Time propose and nominate the Officers, as Vacancies shall fall, and such Officers, shall be Confirmed by us, if we approve of them.

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Source: Henri Joutel, *The Last Voyage Perform'd by de la Sale* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966).

106. Treaty of Utrecht, 1713 [Excerpt]

Introduction

From 1702 to 1713, the English and the Dutch fought France and Spain in the War of the Spanish Succession. Known as Queen Anne's War in America, the war gave rise to battles in Canada, New England, South Carolina, and Florida. In New England, French and Indian forces from New France destroyed numerous English settlements. In the south, Carolinians and Indians led by Gov. James Moore cut a swath of destruction through the Spanish missions and Indian villages of Spanish Florida. The English colonists' campaign against Florida ultimately destroyed three-quarters of Florida's Spanish loyal Indian population and made slaves of more than a thousand Indians. The Treaty of Utrecht was actually a series of treaties signed between the major European powers to bring the war to an end. The treaties were signed over a period of several months, lasting from April 11, 1713, to September 7, 1714. Although the French had sued for peace, the various powers made a number of exchanges in territory and a wide variety of concessions to one another, with France losing more than the other nations. Below is an excerpt of the treaty signed between Britain and Spain in the summer of 1713.

Primary Source

Peace-Treaty between His Catholic Majesty Felipe the Fifth & Her Highness Queen Anne Stuart, Queen of England.

The English negotiators were The Bishop of Bristol and the Earl of Stratford; the Spanish, the Duke of Osuna and the Marquis of Monteleón. They did unanimously compact the following Peace-Treaty comprising twenty-five Articles:

I. There shall be a binding peace between the two Sovereigns and Their successors, and each shall endeavour to ensure that His subjects observe this peace.

II. That all fears that the Realms of France and Spain might ever be conjoined in one Person shall be allayed, and that the peace herein convened between the two Powers shall be firmly established and the proper balance of forces ever guaranteed and peace thereby ensured, His Catholic Majesty does here reiterate and reaffirm the abdication of all His rights to the Crown of France. Hereto were appended the Act of Abdication, the resolution of the Cortes, the Royal Decree naming the House of Savoy as lawful heirs and successors to the Spanish Throne, the Acts of Renunciation made by the French Royal Family of all Their claims and rights to the Throne of Spain, and the epistle of His Most Christian Majesty.

III. All those acts of hostility occasioned by this present war shall now pass into the annals of history and no more shall men remind themselves of them.

IV. All prisoners-of-war shall be straightways set at liberty upon the ratification of this present Treaty.

V. His Catholic Majesty does hereby solemnly pledge Himself to recognise the limits placed on the succession to the British Throne, with respect to the House of Hanover.

VI. His Catholic Majesty does hereby enter into a solemn undertaking that He shall henceforth never commit any act of hostility against Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain nor any of Her line who do succeed her.

VII. All the Tribunals and Petty Sessions shall once again be established and convened, that all subjects of either Monarch shall be entitled to seek satisfaction at law in respect of all their claims and allegations.

VIII. Both parties shall enjoy all shipping concessions and rights and permission to trade freely the one with the other, as is their wont in time of peace, and as was the inviolable rule during the reign of King Carlos the Second; and all such freedoms shall apply to the trafficking in negroes as is set out in Article twelve.

IX. Each and every subject of the one Realm shall enjoy the same privileges and enfranchisements as do the subjects of the other, and do those subjects of the French Realm and all members of all other Nations whatsoever.

X. His Catholic Majesty does hereby cede all rights to the townships and stronghold of Gibraltar to the Crown of Great Britain; yet with the proviso that the cession and granting of such rights shall in no way imply the granting of any territorial jurisdiction and that it shall in no wise be taken to include any rights whatever to open communication with those Spanish cities and lands that do surround the said township and stronghold; and Her Britannic Majesty does hereby enter into an undertaking that no Jews nor any Moors shall enjoy the right to be elected to positions of authority in the said township and fortress nor to reside therein, and does pledge Herself to exclude all Moorish men-o'-war from the said port and harbour. She does furthermore hereby grant licence to all inhabitants of the said township to practise whatever Faith they do profess.

XI. His Catholic Majesty does hereby in like wise cede to the Crown of Great Britain the island of Minorca together with the harbour, city and fortress of Mahón, on the same terms as those stipulated above in respect of the cession of Gibraltar, with the proviso that, should the said Crown at any time wish to relinquish these same rights, she shall not do so to any third Power without first offering them to the Crown of Spain.

XII. His Catholic Majesty does hereby cede to Her Britannic Majesty and the Company of her subjects for the period of thirty years from the first day of May, 1713, exclusive rights to import negroes into His colonies in the Americas, on the same conditions as those hitherto applying to the similar rights enjoyed by the Crown of France, and on the terms set down in the Treaty of Settlement drawn up in Madrid on the 26th of March in this present year, 1713, which Treaty shall be deemed to be included herein word for word, precisely as though it had here been inserted in its entirety.

XIII. Seeing that Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain does intercede on behalf of the inhabitants of Catalonia and does beseech that they be granted pardon and the restoration of their ancient rights and estates, His Catholic Majesty shall be pleased to grant not only that these rights and estates be fully restored unto them but that they shall henceforth enjoy also those privileges that do attach to the inhabitants of the two Castilles.

XIV. His Majesty does also hearken to the entreaties of Her Britannic Majesty and does herein admit Her request that the Realm of Sicily be ceded to His Royal Highness Victor Amadeo, Duke of Savoy, and Her Britannic Majesty shall undertake to use Her every good office to ensure that, should the male line of the House of Savoy at any time cease to enjoy proper continuance, this Realm shall revert to the Crown of Spain; and She does hereby enter into an obligation to guarantee that the said Realm shall never be made over in gift to another Head of State, for whatever reason and whatever pretext, unless that other person be His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain or one such among His heirs and successors.

XV. Their Royal Majesties do hereby reiterate all Peace-Treaties and all Pacts of Confederation and all Trade Agreements compacted hitherto between Their two Crowns, and do reaffirm them, save that they be in contraction of the Articles contained herein; and Her Britannic Majesty is pleased to recognise all rights and privileges claimed by the Basque peoples and by other subjects of the Spanish Crown to fish in the waters that do surround the Island of Newfoundland, and is pleased to ratify them.

XVI. All the provisions for requital and restitution contained in the Cease-Fire Treaty agreed on the 22nd August between His Most Christian Majesty and Her Britannic Majesty, and prorogued until the 22nd of April of this present year, shall have full and lawful effect.

XVII. Should any subject of either Monarch flout any of the stipulations contained herein, this shall not be sufficient and necessary cause for hostilities to be renewed, but rather shall any such felon be punished in accordance with established law.

XVIII. Should some stroke of fate occasion a renewal of hostilities (God forbid), there shall be a moratorium of the persecution of individuals of either Nation such that they shall be vouchsafed six months during which they may either remove or sell all the property and interests they do possess on the soil of the other.

XIX. All those Rulers named in this Treaty and all those which shall be named herein by mutual consent within six months of the date of this Treaty, shall be deemed to have concurred with all the provisions contained herein.

XX. All the Articles of the Peace-Treaty which is about to be concerted between His Catholic Majesty and the King of Portugal shall be deemed to form part of this present Treaty and Her Britannic Majesty does hereby constitute Herself guarantor of this.

XXI. All the agreements reached on that same day between His Catholic Majesty and His Royal Highness, the Duke of Savoy, shall be deemed to form part of this present Treaty and Her Britannic Majesty does hereby pledge Herself to observe all agreements so reached.

XXII. His Majesty the King of Sweden, His Highness the Duke of Tuscany and His Highness the Duke of Parma, together with their subjects and all their rights and liberties shall be admitted with due solemnity as co-signatories to this Treaty.

XXIII. The Most Serene Republic of Venice shall be deemed cosignatory to this Treaty.

XXIV. It is furthermore the avowed wish of Their Majesties that the Most Serene Republic of Genoa be deemed co-signatory to this Treaty and that Her subjects enjoy all those trading rights which were ever theirs during the reign of Carlos the Second, King of Spain.

XXV. The City of Danzig shall be deemed co-signatory to this Treaty.

XXVI. This Treaty shall be ratified within six weeks.

... This same Peace-Treaty was confirmed by Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain in Kensington on the 31st day of July of this same year, and by His Catholic Majesty in Madrid on the 4th of August; peace thereby being established between Their two Crowns, to the great joy of all Their subjects. (10th July, 1713.)

Source: Chalmers, George. *A Collection of Treaties Between Great Britain and Other Powers.* London: J. Stockdale, 1790.

107. Cato's Letters, 1721 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Written by British radicals John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, Cato's Letters were among the most influential of the writings of the Whig party. In Great Britain, the liberal Whigs championed civil rights and democracy. Cato's Letters first appeared in two English newspapers, the *London Journal* and the *British Journal*, between November 5, 1720, and July 27, 1723. The 144 original letters, published under the name "Cato," a long-dead Roman opponent of Julius Caesar, were frequently re-published as collections or printed as individual essays in newspapers in both Britain and the American colonies. Many educated American colonists owned collections of Cato's Letters, and their popularity persisted for decades. The letters addressed various events and issues of the period, including the importance of allowing colonists to profit

from their own labor. Trenchard and Gordon asserted the existence of a right to civil and religious liberty and argued the need to guard against abuses of power. They also favored freedom of speech and opposed standing armies. More than 50 years later, Cato's letters influenced Americans in their desire for independence from Great Britain.

Primary Source

Vol. 1; NO. 33. SATURDAY, JUNE 17, 1721. Cautions Against the Natural Encroachments of Power.

Sir, Considering what sort of a creature man is it is scarce possible to put him under too many restraints, when he is possessed of great power: He may possibly use it well; but they act most prudently, who, supposing that he would use it ill, inclose him within certain bounds, and make it terrible to him to exceed them.

Men that are above all fear, soon grow above all shame. Rupto pudore-metu, suo tantum ingenio utebatur, says Tacitus of Tiberius. Even Nero had lived a great while inoffensively, and reigned virtuously: But finding at last that he might do what he would, he let loose his appetite for blood, and committed such mighty, such monstrous, such unnatural slaughters and outrages, as none but a heart bent on the study of cruelty could have devised. The good counsels of Seneca and Burrhus were, for some time, checks upon his wolfish nature; and doubtless he apprehended, that if he made direct and downright war upon his people, they would use resistance and make reprisals: But discovering, by degrees, that they would bear any thing, and his soldiers would execute every thing, he grew into an open defiance with mankind, and daily and wantonly wallowed in their blood. Having no other rival, he seemed to rival himself, and every day's wickedness was blacker than another.

Yet Nero was not the worst of all men: There have been thousands as bad as he, and only wanted the same opportunity to shew it. And there actually have been many princes in the world who have shed more blood, and done more mischief to mankind, than Nero did. I could instance in a late one, who destroyed more lives than ever Nero destroyed, perhaps an hundred to one. It makes no difference, that Nero committed butcheries out of cruelty, and the other only for his glory: However the world may be deceived by the change of names into an abhorrence of the one, and an admiration of the other; it is all one to a nation, when they are to be slaughtered, whether they be slaughtered by the hangman or by dragoons, in prison or in the field; nor is ambition better than cruelty, when it begets mischief as great.

It is nothing strange, that men, who think themselves unaccountable, should act unaccountably, and that all men would be unaccountable if they could: Even those who have done nothing to displease, do not know but some time or other they may; and no man

cares to be at the entire mercy of another. Hence it is, that if every man had his will, all men would exercise dominion, and no man would suffer it. It is therefore owing more to the necessities of men, than to their inclinations, that they have put themselves under the restraint of laws, and appointed certain persons, called magistrates, to execute them; otherwise they would never be executed, scarce any man having such a degree of virtue as willingly to execute the laws upon himself; but, on the contrary, most men thinking them a grievance, when they come to meddle with themselves and their property. Suarum legum auctor & eversor, was the character of Pompey: He made laws when they suited his occasions, and broke them when they thwarted his will. And it is the character of almost every man possessed of Pompey's power: They intend them for a security to themselves, and for a terror to others. This shews the distrust that men have of men; and this made a great philosopher call the state of nature, a state of war; which definition is true in a restrained sense, since human societies and human laws are the effect of necessity and experience: Whereas were all men left to the boundless liberty which they claim from nature, every man would be interfering and quarrelling with another; every man would be plundering the acquisitions of another; the labour of one man would be the property of another; weakness would be the prey of force; and one man's industry would be the cause of another man's idleness.

Hence grew the necessity of government; which was the mutual contract of a number of men, agreeing upon certain terms of union and society, and putting themselves under penalties, if they violated these terms, which were called laws, and put into the hands of one or more men to execute. And thus men quitted part of their natural liberty to acquire civil security. But frequently the remedy proved worse than the disease; and human society had often no enemies so great as their own magistrates; who, where-ever they were trusted with too much power, always abused it, and grew mischievous to those who made them what they were. Rome, while she was free (that is, while she kept her magistrates within due bounds) could defend herself against all the world, and conquer it: But being enslaved (that is, her magistrates having broke their bounds) she could not defend herself against her own single tyrants, nor could they defend her against her foreign foes and invaders; for by their madness and cruelties they had destroyed her virtue and spirit, and exhausted her strength. This shews that those magistrates that are at absolute defiance with a nation, either cannot subsist long, or will not suffer the nation to subsist long; and that mighty traitors, rather than fall themselves, will pull down their country.

What a dreadful spirit must that man possess, who can put a private appetite in balance against the universal good of his country, and of mankind! Alexander and Caesar were that sort of men; they would set the world on fire, and spill its blood, rather than not govern it. Caligula knew that he was hated, and deserved to be hated; but it did not mend him. Oderint dum metuant [Let them hate so long as they fear], was his by-word: All that the monster aimed at, was to be great and terrible. Most of these tyrants died as became

them; and, as they had reigned, by violence: But that did not mend their successors, who generally earned the fate of those that went before them, before they were warm in their place. Invenit etiam aemulos infelix nequitia: Quid si floreat vigeatque? [Even unfruitful wickedness finds imitators. What if it were to flourish and prosper?"] "If unfortunate villainy thus finds rivals, what shall we say, when it exalts its head and prospers?"

There is no evil under the sun but what is to be dreaded from men, who may do what they please with impunity: They seldom or never stop at certain degrees of mischief when they have power to go farther; but hurry on from wickedness to wickedness, as far and as fast as human malice can prompt human power. Ubi semel recto de erratum est. in praeceps pervenitur a rectis in vitia, a vitiis in prava, a pravis in praecipitia [Whenever one wanders from the right, one quickly descends into danger—from propriety to depravity, from depravity to crime, from crime to the abyss.], says a Roman historian; who in this speaks the truth, though in other instances he tells many lies; I mean that base flatterer of power, Velleius Paterculus. So that when we see any great mischief committed with safety, we may justly apprehend mischiefs still greater.

The world is governed by men, and men by their passions; which, being boundless and insatiable, are always terrible when they are not controuled. Who was ever satiated with riches, or surfeited with power, or tired with honours? There is a tradition concerning Alexander, that having penetrated to the Eastern Ocean, and ravaged as much of this world as he knew, he wept that there was never another world for him to conquer. This, whether true or no, shews the spirit of the man, and indeed of human nature, whose appetites are infinite.

People are ruined by their ignorance of human nature; which ignorance leads them to credulity, and too great a confidence in particular men. They fondly imagine that he, who, possessing a great deal by their favour, owes them great gratitude, and all good offices, will therefore return their kindness: But, alas! how often are they mistaken in their favourites and trustees; who, the more they have given them, are often the more incited to take all, and to return destruction for generous usage. The common people generally think that great men have great minds, and scorn base actions; which judgment is so false, that the basest and worst of all actions have been done by great men: Perhaps they have not picked private pockets, but they have done worse; they have often disturbed, deceived, and pillaged the world: And he who is capable of the highest mischief, is capable of the meanest: He who plunders a country of a million of money, would in suitable circumstances steal a silver spoon; and a conqueror, who steals and pillages a kingdom, would, in an humbler fortune, rifle a portmanteau, or rob an orchard.

Political jealousy, therefore, in the people, is a necessary and laudable passion. But in a chief magistrate, a jealousy of his people is not so justifiable, their ambition being only to preserve themselves; whereas it is natural for power to be striving to enlarge itself, and to

be encroaching upon those that have none. The most laudable jealousy of a magistrate is to be jealous for his people; which will shew that he loves them, and has used them well: But to be jealous of them, would denote that he has evil designs against them, and has used them ill. The people's jealousy tends to preserve liberty; and the prince's to destroy it. Venice is a glorious instance of the former, and so is England; and all nations who have lost their liberty, are melancholy proofs of the latter.

Power is naturally active, vigilant, and distrustful; which qualities in it push it upon all means and expedients to fortify itself, and upon destroying all opposition, and even all seeds of opposition, and make it restless as long as any thing stands in its way. It would do what it pleases, and have no check. Now, because liberty chastises and shortens power, therefore power would extinguish liberty; and consequently liberty has too much cause to be exceeding jealous, and always upon her defence. Power has many advantages over her; it has generally numerous guards, many creatures, and much treasure; besides, it has more craft and experience, less honesty and innocence: And whereas power can, and for the most part does, subsist where liberty is not, liberty cannot subsist without power; so that she has, as it were, the enemy always a ther gates.

Some have said, that magistrates being accountable to none but God, ought to know no other restraint. But this reasoning is as frivolous as it is wicked; for no good man cares how many punishments and penalties lie in his way to an offence which he does not intend to commit: A man who does not mean to commit murder, is not sorry that murder is punished with death. And as to wicked men, their being accountable to God, whom they do not fear, is no security to use against their folly and malice; and to say that we ought to have no security against them, is to insult common sense, and give the lie to the first law of nature, that of self-preservation. Human reason says, that there is no obedience, no regard due to those rulers, who govern by no rule but their lust. Such men are no rulers; they are outlaws; who, being at defiance with God and man, are protected by no law of God, or of reason. By what precept, moral or divine, are we forbid to kill a wolf, or burn an infected ship? Is it unlawful to prevent wickedness and misery, and to resist the authors of them? Are crimes sanctified by their greatness? And is he who robs a country, and murders ten thousand, less a criminal, then he who steals single guineas, and takes away single lives? Is there any sin in preventing, and restraining, or resisting the greatest sin that can be committed, that of oppressing and destroying mankind by wholesale? Sure there never were such open, such shameless, such selfish impostors, as the advocates for lawless power! It is a damnable sin to oppress them; yet it is a damnable sin to oppose them when they oppress, or gain by oppression of others! When they are hurt themselves ever so little, or but think themselves hurt, they are the loudest of all men in their complaints, and the most outrageous in their behaviour: But when others are plundered, oppressed, and butchered, complaints are sedition; and to seek redress, is damnation. Is not this to be the authors of all wickedness and falsehood?

To conclude: Power, without control, appertains to God alone; and no man ought to be trusted with what no man is equal to. In truth there are so many passions, and inconsistencies, and so much self-ishness, belonging to human nature, that we can scarce be too much upon our guard against each other. The only security which we can have that men will be honest, is to make it their interest to be honest; and the best defence which we can have against their being knaves, is to make it terrible to them to be knaves. As there are many men wicked in some stations, who would be innocent in others; the best way is to make wickedness unsafe in any station.

I am, &c.

Source: Trenchard, John. *Cato's Letters: or, Essays on Liberty, Civil and Religious, and Other Important Subjects.* 6th ed., vol. 1. London: Printed for J. Walthoe, T. and T. Longman, C. Hitch and L. Hawes, J. Hodges, A. Millar, J. and J. Rivington, and M. Cooper, 1755, pp. 255–263.

108. Quoted by Antoine le Page du Pratz, Reply of the Stung Serpent, 1723

Introduction

The Frenchman Rene-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, explored a vast North American territory, encompassing the Mississippi River Valley, in 1682. Two wars intervened before King Louis XIV of France could spare the resources to annex and colonize the land—called Louisiana and bounded by Carolina, New Mexico, and the Gulf of Mexico. In 1712, as Queen Anne's War (also called the War of the Spanish Succession) drew to a close, Louis XIV granted a French merchant a patent to establish trade relations and settlements in Louisiana. The first Frenchmen received a warm welcome from the Natchez Indians of southern Mississippi. The French built a fort, but the fort's commandant mistreated the Indians. The Natchez came to realize that they were materially worse off than they had been before French colonization, and their resentment grew over the course of several years. They planned an attack to eject the French from their country. On November 29, 1729, the Natchez mounted a coordinated attack and killed at least 200 Frenchmen. When news of the attack reached New Orleans, French vengeance was swift. Within a year they had destroyed the Natchez as a people. This 1723 account provides early evidence of the building Natchez resentment of the French presence.

Primary Source

Reply of the Stung Serpent

"Why," continued he, with an air of displeasure, "did the French come into our country? We did not go to seek them: they asked for land of us, because their country was too little for all the men that were in it. We told them they might take land where they pleased, there was enough for them and for us; that it was good the same sun should enlighten us both, and that we would walk as friends in the same path; and that we would give them of our provisions, assist them to build, and to labour in their fields. We have done so; is not this true? What occasion then had we for Frenchmen? Before they came, did we not live better than we do, seeing we deprive ourselves of a part of our corn, our game, and fish, to give a part to them? In what respect, then, had we occasion for them? Was it for their guns? The bows and arrows which we used, were sufficient to make us live well. Was it for their white, blue, and red blankets? We can do well enough with buffalo skins, which are warmer; our women wrought feather-blankets for the winter, and mulberry-mantles for the summer; which indeed were not so beautiful; but our women were more laborious and less vain than they are now. In fine, before the arrival of the French, we lived like men who can be satisfied with what they have; whereas at this day we are like slaves, who are not suffered to do as they please."

Source: Antoine le Page du Pratz, *The History of Louisiana*... (London, 1774). Colin G. Calloway, ed., *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America* (Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

109. Molasses Act, May 1733 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Enacted by the British Parliament in May 1733, the Molasses Act placed a high duty on all foreign molasses, rum, and sugar imported into the North American colonies. Parliament intended this law to protect British West Indian sugar planters from French competition. The Molasses Act was the latest in a long series of Navigation Acts. The acts were designed to prevent Spanish, Dutch, and French traders from competing with the British for North American customers. Colonial Americans had grown wealthy by exporting fish, lumber, and farm produce to the West Indies, importing molasses, and distilling it into rum. They exported the rum, trading it for European manufactured goods and slaves for West Indian planters. To evade the consequences of the earlier Navigation Acts, the colonists had already developed a complex network of smuggling operations, and the Molasses Act only encouraged them to continue smuggling. Not only did the colonists ignore the Molasses Act, but they persisted in trading with the French during the French and Indian War, thus prolonging the conflict. The Sugar Act (1764) eventually replaced the Molasses Act. Although it dramatically reduced the duty, it called for a strict enforcement. Such laws eventually contributed to the outbreak of the American Revolution.

Primary Source

An act for the better securing and encouraging the trade of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America.

WHEREAS the welfare and prosperity of your Majesty's sugar colonies in America are of the greatest consequence and importance to the trade, navigation and strength of this kingdom: and whereas the planters of the said sugar colonies have of late years fallen under such great discouragements, that they are unable to improve or carry on the sugar trade upon an equal footing with the foreign sugar colonies, without some advantage and relief be given to them from Great Britain: for remedy whereof...be it enacted.... That from and after . . . [December 25, 1733,] . . . there shall be raised, levied, collected and paid, unto and for the use of his Majesty . . . , upon all rum or spirits of the produce or manufacture of any of the colonies or plantations in America, not in the possession or under the dominion of his Majesty . . . , which at any time or times within or during the continuance of this act, shall be imported or brought into any of the colonies or plantations in America, which now are or hereafter may be in the possession or under the dominion of his Majesty . . . , the sum of nine pence, money of Great Britain,... for every gallon thereof, and after that rate for any greater or lesser quantity: and upon all molasses or syrups of such foreign produce or manufacture as aforesaid, which shall be imported or brought into any of the said colonies or plantations . . . , the sum of six pence of like money for every gallon thereof . . . ; and upon all sugars and paneles of such foreign growth, produce or manufacture as aforesaid, which shall be imported into any of the said colonies or plantations . . . a duty after the rate of five shillings of like money, for every hundred weight Avoirdupoize. . . .

IV. And be it further enacted . . . , That from and after . . . [December 25, I733,] . . . no sugary paneled syrups or molasses, of the growth, product and manufacture of any of the colonies or plantations in America, nor any rum or spirits of America, except of the growth or manufacture of his Majesty's sugar colonies there, shall be imported by any person or persons whatsoever into the kingdom of Ireland, but such only as shall be fairly and bona fide loaden and shipped in Great Britain in ships navigated according to the several laws now in being in that behalf, under the penalty of forfeiting all such sugar, paneles, syrups or molasses, rum or spirits, or the value thereof, together with the ship or vessel in which the same shall be imported, with all her guns, tackle, furniture, ammunition, and apparel. . . .

IX. And it is hereby further enacted . . . , That in case any sugar or paneles of the growth, produce or manufacture of any of the colonies or plantations belonging to or in the possession of his Majesty . . . , which shall have been imported into Great Britain after . . . June 24, I733,] . . . shall at any time within one year after the importation thereof, be again exported out of Great Britain, . . . all the residue and remainder of the subsidy or duty, by any former act or acts of parliament granted and charged on such sugar or paneles as aforesaid, shall without any delay or reward be repaid to such merchant or merchants, who do export the same, within one month after demand thereof.

X. And it is hereby further enacted . . . , That from and after . . . [June 24, 1733,] . . . for every hundred weight of sugar refined in Great Britain . . . , which shall be exported out of this kingdom, there shall be, by virtue of this act, repaid at the customhouse to the exporter, within one month after the demand thereof, over and above the several sums of three shillings and one shilling per hundred, payable by two former acts of parliament, one of them made in the ninth and tenth years of the reign of his late Majesty King William the Third, and the other in the second and third years of the reign of her late Majesty Queen Anne, the further sum of two shillings, oath or solemn affirmation as aforesaid, being first made by the refiner, that the said sugar so exported, was produced from brown and muscovado sugar, and that as he verily believes, the same was imported from some of the colonies or plantations in America belonging to and in the possession of the crown of Great Britain, and that as he verily believes the duty of the said brown and muscovado sugar was duly paid at the time of the importation thereof, and that the same was duly exported. . . .

Source: Pickering, Danby. *Statutes at Large* . . . Vol. XVI: Cambridge: J. Bentham, 1765.

110. The Libel Case of John Peter Zenger, 1734 [Excerpt]

Introduction

John Peter Zenger, the immigrant printer of the New York Weekly Journal, became a symbol of the cause of freedom of the press when he was arrested for publishing articles critical of New York's royal governor, William Cosby. The free press enshrined in the U.S. Constitution lay years in the future. Criticizing the government in print was against the law in colonial America, and thus automatically considered libelous. Governor Cosby was greedy and corrupt. His political enemies persuaded Zenger, an immigrant printer who needed new business, to start a newspaper and publish opposition views. Zenger had nothing to do with the opinions expressed in his paper. However, New York authorities arrested him in November 1734 and set his bail so high that he remained in prison until his August 1735 trial. Cosby disbarred Zenger's local defense attorneys, so Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia volunteered to defend him. In the trial proceedings excerpted here, Hamilton wins Zenger's acquittal by arguing that a statement is not libelous if it is known to be true. He also instructs the jurors to defy the judge and make their own decision on whether the words in question were actually libelous. The Journal article reprinted here accuses Cosby of being a French sympathizer and allowing French visitors to acquire valuable military intelligence.

Primary Source

 $[\ldots]$

Mr. Hamilton. I thank your Honour. Then Gentlemen of the Jury, it is to you we must now appeal, for Witnesses, to the Truth of the

Facts we have offered, and are denied the Liberty to prove; and let it not seem strange, that I apply my self to you in this Manner, I am warranted so to do both by Law and Reason. The Law supposes you to be summoned, out of the Neighbourhood where the Fact is alledged to be committed; and the Reason of your being taken out of the Neighbourhood is, because you are supposed to have the best Knowledge of the Fact that is to be tried. And were you to find a Verdict against my Client, you must take upon you to say, the Papers referred to in the Information, and which we acknowledge we printed and published, are false, scandalous and seditious; but of this I can have no Apprehension. You are citizens of New York, you are really what the Law supposes you to be, honest and lawful Men; and according to my Brief, the Facts which we offer to prove were not committed in a Corner; they are notoriously known to be true; and therefore in your Justice lies our Safety. And as we are denied the Liberty of giving Evidence, to prove the Truth of what we have published, I will beg Leave to lay it down as a standing Rule in such Cases: That the suppressing of Evidence ought always to be taken for the strongest Evidence; and I hope it will have that Weight with you. But since we are not admitted to examine our Witnesses, I will endeavour to shorten the Dispute with Mr. Attorney, and to that End, I desire he would favour us with some Standard Definition of a Libel, by which it may be certainly known, whether a Writing be a Libel, yea or not.

Mr. Attorney. The Books, I think, have given a very full Definition of a Libel; they say it is in a strict Sense taken for a malicious Defamation, expressed either in Printing or Writing, and tending either to blacken the Memory of one who is dead, or the Reputation of one who is alive, and expose him to publick Hatred, Contempt or Ridicule. But it is said, That in a larger Sense the Notion of a Libel may be applied to any Defamation whatsoever, empressed either by Signs or Pictures, as by fixing up a Gallows against a Man's Door, or by painting him in a shameful and igmoninious Manner. And since the chief Cause for which the Law so severely punishes all Offences of this Nature, is the direct Tendency of them to a Breach of Publick Peace, by provoking the Parties injured, their Friends and Families to Acts of Revenge, which it would be impossible to restrain by the severest Laws, were there no Redress from Publick Justice for Injuries of this kind, which of all others are most sensibly felt; and since the plain Meaning of such Scandal as is expressed by Signs or Pictures, is as obvious to common Sense, and as easily understood by every common Capacity, and altogether as provoking as that which is expressed by Writing or Printing, why should it not be equally criminal? And from the same Ground it seemeth also clearly to follow, That such Scandal as is expressed in a scoffing and ironical Manner, makes a Writing as properly a Libel, as that which is expressed in direct Terms; as where a Writing, in a taunting Manner reckoning up several Acts of publick charity done by one, says You will not play the Jew, nor the Hypocrite, and so goes on in a Strain of Ridicule to insinuate, that what he did was owing his Vain-Glory; or where a Writing, pretending to recommend to one the Characters of several great men for his Imitation, instead of taking Notice of what they are generally esteemed famous for, pitched on such Qualities only which their Enemies charge them with the Want of, as by proposing such a one to be imitated for his Courage, who is known to be a great Statesman, but no Soldier, and another to be imitated for his Learning, who is known to be a great General, but no Scholar, &c. which Kind of Writing is as well understood to mean only to upbraid the Parties with the Want of these Qualities, as if it had directly and expressly done so.

Mr. Hamilton. Ay, Mr Attorney; but what certain Standard Rule have the Books laid down, by which we can certainly know, whether the Words or the Signs are malicious? Whether they are defamatory? Whether they tend to the Breach of the Peace, and are sufficient Ground to provoke, a Man, his Family, or Friends to Acts of Revenge, especially those of the *ironical* sort words? And what Rule have you to know when I write *ironically*? I think it would be hard, when I say, such a Man is a very worthy honest Gentleman, and of fine Understanding, that therefore I meant he was a Knave or a Fool.

Mr. Attorney. I think the Books are very full; it is said in I Hawk. p. 193 just now read, That such Scandal as is expressed in a scoffing and ironical Manner, makes a Writing as properly a Libel, as that which is expressed direct Terms; as where a Writing, in a taunting Manner says, reckoning up several Acts of Charity done by one, says, You will not play the Jew or Hypocrite, and so goes on to insinuate, that what he did was owing to his Vain-Glory &c. Which Kind of Writing is as well understood to mean only to upbraid the Parties with the Want of these Qualities, as if it had directly and expressly done so. I think nothing can be plainer or more full that these Words.

Mr. Hamilton. I agree the Words are very plain, and I shall not scruple to allow (when we are agreed that the Words are false and scandalous, and were spoken in an ironical and scoffing Manner, &c.) that they are really libellous; but here still occurs the Uncertainty, which makes the Difficulty to know, what Words are scandalous and what are not; for you say, they may be scandalous, true or false; besides, how shall we know whether the Words were spoke in a scoffing and ironical manner or seriously? Or how can you know, whether the Man did not think as he wrote? For by your rule, if he did, it is no Irony, and consequently no Libel. But under Favour, Mr. Attorney, I think the same Book, and the same Section will shew us the only Rule by which all these things are to be known. The Words are these; which Kind of Writing is as well UNDERSTOOD to mean only to upbraid the Parties with the Want of these Qualities, as if they had directly and expressly done so. Here it is plain, the words are scandalous, scoffing and ironical, only as they are UNDERSTOOD. I know no rule laid down in the Books but his, I mean, as the Words are understood.

Mr. Ch. Just. That is certain. All Words are libellous or not, as they are *understood*. Those who are to judge of the Words, must judge whether they are *scandalous* or *ironical*, *tend to the Breach of the Peace*, or are *seditious*: There can be no Doubt of it.

Mr. *Hamilton*. I thank Your Honour; I am glad to find the Court of this Opinion. Then it follows that those twelve Men must Understand the Words in the Information to be *scandalous*, that is to say *false*; for I think it is not pretended they are of the *ironical* Sort; and when they understand the Words to be so, they will say we are guilty of publishing a *false Libel*, and not otherwise.

Mr. Ch. Just. No, Mr. *Hamilton*; the Jury may find that *Zenger* printed and published those papers, and leave it to the Court to judge whether they are libellous; you know this is very common; it is in the Nature of special Verdict, where the Jury leave the matter of Law to the Court.

Mr. Hamilton. I know, may it please Your Honour, the Jury may do so; but I do likewise know, they may do otherwise. I know they have the Right beyond all Dispute, to determine both the Law and the Fact, and where they do not doubt of the Law, they ought to do so. This of leaving it to the Judgment of the Court, whether the Words are libellous or not, in Effect renders Juries useless to say no worse) in many Cases; but this I shall have Occasion to speak to by and by; and I will with the Court's Leave proceed to examine the Inconveniencies that must inevitably rise from the Doctrines Mr. Attorney has laid down; and I observe, in support of this Prosecution, he has frequently repeated the Words taken from the Case of Libel, famous, in 5 Co. This is indeed the leading Case, and to which almost all the other Cases upon the Subject of Libels do refer; and I must insist upon saying, That according as this Case seems to be understood by the Court and Mr. Attorney, it is not Law at this Day: for tho' I own it to be base and unworthy to scandalize any Man, yet I think it is even villainous to scandalize a Person of publick Character, and I will go so far into Mr. Attorney's Doctrine as to agree, that if the Faults, Mistakes, nay even the Vices of such a Person be private and personal, and don't affect the Peace of the publick, or the Liberty or Property of our Neighbour, it is unmanly and unmannerly to expose them either by Word or Writing. But when a Ruler of a People brings his personal Failings, but much more his Vices, into his Administration, and the People find themselves affected by them, either in their Liberties or Properties, that will alter the Case mightily, and all the high Things that are said in Favour of Rulers, and of Dignities, and upon the side of Power, will not be able to stop People's Mouths when they feel themselves oppressed, I mean in a free government. It is true in Times past it was a Crime to speak Truth, and in that terrible Court of Star Chamber, many worthy and brave Men suffered for so doing; and yet even in that Court, and in those bad Times, a great and good Man durst say, what I hope will not be take amiss of me to say in this place, to wit, The Practice of Informations for Libels is a Sword in the Hands of a wicked King, and an arrand Coward, to cut down and destroy the innocent; the one cannot, because of his high Station, and the other dares not, because of his Want of Courage, revenge himself in another Manner.

Mr. Attorney. Pray Mr. *Hamilton*, have a Care what you say, don't go too far neither, I don't like those Liberties.

[...]

Mr. Hamilton. I hope to be pardon'e Sir for my Zeal upon this Occasion; it is an old and wise Caution. That when our Neighbour's House is on Fire, we ought to take Care of our own. For tho' Blessed be God, I live in a Government where Liberty is well understood, and freely enjoyed; yet Experience has shewn us all (I'm sure it has to me) that a bad Precedent in one Government, is soon set up for an Authority in another; and therefore I cannot but think it mine, and every Honest Man's duty, that (while we pay all due Obedience to Men in Authority) we ought at the same Time to be upon our Guard against Power, wherever we apprehend it may affect ourselves or our Fellow-Subjects.

I am truly very unequal to such an Undertaking on many Accounts. And you see I labour under the Weight of many Years, and am born down with great Infirmities of Body; yet Old and Weak as I am, I should think it my duty if required, to go to the utmost Part of the Land, where my Service cou'd be of any Use in assisting to quence the Flame of Prosecutions upon Informations, set on Foot by the Government, to deprive a People of the Right of Remonstrating, (and complaining too) of the arbitrary Attempts of Men in Power. Men who injure and oppress the People under their Administration, provoke them to cry out and complain; and then make that very Complaint the Foundation for new Oppressions and Prosecutions. I wish I could say there were no Instances of this Kind. But to conclude; the Question before the Court and you Gentlemen of the Jury, is not so small nor private Concern, it is not the Cause of a poor Printer, nor of New-York alone, which you are not trying: No! It may in its Consequence, affect every Freeman that lives under a British Government on the main of America. It is the best Cause. It is the Cause of Liberty; and I make no Doubt but your upright Conduct, this Day, will not only entitle you to the Love and Esteem of your Fellow-Citizens; but every Man who prefers Freedom to a Life of Slavery will bless and honour You, as Men who have baffled the Attempt of Tyranny; and by an impartial and uncorrupt Verdict, have laid a noble Foundation for securing to ourselves, our Posterity, and our Neighbours, That, to which Nature and the Laws of our Country have given us a Right,—The Liberty—both of exposing and opposing arbitrary Power (in these Parts of the World, at least) by speaking and writing Truth.

Mr. Ch. Just. Gentlemen of the Jury. The great Pains Mr. Hamilton has taken to shew how little Regard Juries ought to pay to the Opinion of the Judges; and his insisting so much upon the Conduct of some Judges in Tryals of this kind; is done no doubt, with a Design that you should take but very little Notice of what I might say upon this Occasion. I shall therefore only observe to you that as the Facts or Words in the Information are confessed, the only thing that can come in Question before you is, whether the Words as set forth in

the Information made a Libel. And that is a Matter of Law, no doubt, an which you may leave to the Court. But I shall trouble you no further with any Thing more of my own, but read to you the Words of a learned and upright Judge in a Case of the like Nature.

'To say that corrupt Officers are appointed to administer Affairs, is certainly a Reflection on the Government. If People should not be called to account for possessing the People with an ill Opinion of the Government, no Government can subsist. For it is very necessary for all Governments that the People should have a good opinion it. And nothing can be worse to any Government, than to endeavour to procure Animosities; as to the Management of it, this has been always look'd upon as a Crime, and no Government can be safe without it be punished.'

'Now you are to consider, whether these Words I have read to you, do not tend to beget an ill Opinion of the Administration of the Government? To tell us, that those that are employed know nothing of the matter, and those that do know are not employed. Men are not adapted to Offices, but Offices to Men, out of a particular Regard to their Interest, and not to their Fitness for the Places; this is the Purport of these Papers.'

Mr. *Hamilton*. I humbly beg your Honours Pardon: I am very much misapprehended, if you suppose what I said was so designed.

Sir, you, know, I made an Apology for the Freedom I found my self under a Necessity of using upon this Occasion. I said, there was Nothing personal designed; it arose from the nature of our Defence.

The Jury withdrew, and in a small Time returned, and being asked by the Clerk whether they were agreed on their Verdict, and whether *John Peter Zenger* was guilty of Printing and Publishing the Libels in the Information mentioned? They answered by *Thomas Hunt*, their Foreman, *Not Guilty*. Upon which there were three Huzzas in the Hall which was crowded with People, and the next Day I was discharged from my Imprisonment.

New York Weekly Journal 12–17-1733

It is agreed on all Hands, that a Fool may ask more Questions than a wise Man can answer, or perhaps will answer if he could; but notwithstanding that, I would be glad to be satisfied in the following Points of Speculation that the above Affidavits afford. And it will be no great Puzile to a wife man to answer with a *Yea*, or a *Nay*, which is the most that will be required in most of those Questions.

- Q. 1. It is prudent in the French governours not to suffer an Englishman to view their Fortifications, sound their harbours, tarry in their country to discover their Strength?
- Q. 2. It is prudent in an English Governour to suffer a French man to view our Fortifications, sound our harbours? &c.

- Q. 3. If the above Affidavits be true, had the French a bad Harvest in Canada? Or do they want Provisions?
- Q. 4. Was the Letter from the Governour of Louisburg to our Governour true?
- Q. 5. Might not our Governour as easily have discovered the falsehood of it as any body else; if he would?
- Q. 6. Ought he not to have endeavored to do it?
- Q. 7. Did our governour endeavour to do it?
- Q. 8. Was it not known to the greatest Part of the town, before the Sloop Le Caesar left New-York, that the French in the Sloop Le Caesar had founded and taken the Land-Marks from without Sandyhook up to New-York? Had taken the View of the Town? Had been in the Fort?
- Q. 9. Might not the governour have known the same Thing, if he would?
- Q. 10. Is there not great Probability that he did know it?
- Q. 11. Was it four our Benefit or that of the French these soundings and Land-marks were taken, and View made?
- Q. 12. Could we not, by seizing their Papers, and confining their Persons, have prevented them in great Measure from making use of the Discoveries they made?
- Q. 13. Ought they not to have been so prevented?
- Q. 14. Was it prudent to suffer them to pass through Hellgate, and also to discover that Way of Access to us?
- Q. 15. If a French Governour had suffered an English Sloop and company to do what a French sloop and Company has done here, would he not have deserved to be ______?
- Q. 16. Since it appears by the Affidavits, there was no such scarcity of provisions as by the letter from the Governour of Louisburgh to our Governour, since the conduct of the French to the English that happen to go to Canada, shews they think it necessary to keep us ignorant of their State and Condition as much as they can. Since the Sounding our harbours, viewing our Fortifications, and the honourable Treatment they have received here (the reverse of what we receive in Canada) has let them into a perfect Knowledge of our State and Condition. And since their Voyage must appear to any Man of the least Penetration to have been made with an Intent to make that Discovery, and only with that Intent. Whether it would not be reasonable in us to provide as well and as soon as we can for our Defence?

- Q. 17. Whether that can be done any way so well and effectually as by calling the Assembly very together?
- Q. 18. If this be not done, and any dangerous consequences follow after so full Warning, Who is Blameable?

Source: James Alexander, *A Brief Narrative of the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger, Printer of the* New York Weekly Journal, ed. Stanley Nider Katz (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963).

111. The Walking Purchase, August 25, 1737

Introduction

William Penn's three sons inherited the proprietorship of Pennsylvania. Thomas Penn came to Pennsylvania in 1732, hoping to restore his family's fortunes by selling land to the growing population of new settlers. First he had to purchase land from the Indians. He did not share his father's sense of fairness toward the native peoples. Helped by James Logan, their late father's secretary, the Penn brothers plotted the infamous Walking Purchase. Having been pushed off their ancestral land in Delaware and New Jersey, the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware, Indians lived in the upper Delaware and Lehigh river valleys of eastern Pennsylvania. On August 25, 1737, the Delawares succumbed to pressure and ratified an alleged 1686 deed-probably fake—that gave the Penns all the land that a man could walk in a day and a half. On September 18, 1737, the Penns' three hired runners traversed paths that had been cleared in advance, and the Delaware witnesses could not keep up. Forced to relinquish a huge tract of land, the Delawares made a formal complaint to colonial officials, to no avail. A future generation of Delawares avenged themselves on frontier settlers during the French and Indian War.

Primary Source

We, Teesshakomen, alias Tisheekunk, and Tootamis alias Nutimus, two of the Sachem's or Chiefs of the Delaware Indians, having, almost three Years ago, at Durham, begun a treaty with our honourable Brethren John and Thomas Penn, and from thence another Meeting was appointed to be at Pensbury, the next Spring Following, to which We repaired with Lappawinzoe and Several others of the Delaware Indians, At which Treaty Several Deeds were produced and Shewed to us by our said Bretheren, concerning Several Tracts of Land which our Forefathers had, more than fifty Years ago, Bargained and Sold unto our good Friend and Brother William Penn, the Father of the said John and Thomas Penn, and in particular one Deed from Mayhkeerickkishsho, Sayhoppy and Taughhaughsey, the Chiefs or Kings of the Northern Indians on Delaware, who, for large Quantities of Goods delivered by the Agents of William Penn, to those Indian Chiefs, did Bargain and Sell unto the said William Penn, All those Tract or Tracts of Landlying and being in the Province of Pennsylvania, Beginning upon a line formerly laid out from a Corner Spruce Tree by the River Delaware, about Makeerickkitton, and from thence running along the ledge or foot of the Mountains, West North West to a corner white Oak marked with the Letter P, Standing by the Indian Path that Leadeth to an Indian town called Playwickey, and from thence extending Westward to Neshameney Creek, from which said line the said Tract or Tracts therebyi Granted, doth extend itself back into the Woods as far as a Man can goe in one day and a helf, and bounded on the Westerly side with the Creek called Neshameny, or the most Westerly branch thereof, So far as the said Branch doth extend, and from thence by line to the utmost extent of the said one day and a half's Journey, and from thence to the aforesaid River Delaware, and from thence down the Several Courses of the said River to the first mentioned Spruce tree. And all this did likewise appear to be true by William Biles and Joseph Wood, who upon their Affirmations, did solemnly declare that they well remembred the Treaty held between the Agents of William Penn and those Indians. But some of our Old Men being then Absent, We requested of our Brethren John Penn and Thomas Penn, that We might have more time to Consult with our People concerning the same, which request being granted us, We have, after more than two Years since the Treaty at Pensbury, now come to Philadelphia, together with our chief Sachems Monochyhickan, and several of our Old Men, and upon a further Treaty held upon the same Subject, We Do Acknowledge Ourselves and every of Us, to be fully satisfyed that the above described Tract or Tracts of Land were truly Granted and Sold by the said Mayhkeericckkishsho, Sayhoppy, and Taughhaughsey, unto the said William Penn and his heirs, And for a further Confirmation thereof, We, the said Monockyhickan, Lappawinzoe, Tisheekunk, and Nutimus, Do, for ourselves and all other the Delaware Indians, fully, clearly and Absolutely Remise, Release, and forever Quit claim unto the said John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn, All our Right Title, Interest, and pretentions whatsoever of, in, or to the said Tract or Tracts of Land, and every Part and Parcel thereof, So that neither We, or any of us, or our Children, shall or may at any time hereafter, have Challenge, Claim, or Demand any Right, Title or Interest, or any pretentions whatsoever of, in, or to the said Tract or Tracts of Land, or any Part thereof, but of and from the same shall be excluded, and forever Debarred. And We do hereby further Agree, that the extent of the said Tract or Tracts of Land shall be forthwith Walked, Travelled, or gone over by proper Persons to be appointed for that Purpose, According to the direction of the aforesaid Deed.

In Witness whereof, We have hereunto set our hands and Seals, at Philadelphia, the Twenty-fifth day of the Month called August, in the Year, According to the English account, one thousand Seven hundred and thirty-seven.

MANAWKYHICKON, his X mark LAPPAWINZOE, his X mark TEESHACOMIN, his X mark NOOTIMUS his X mark The above Deed being read and explained to all the Indians at this Treaty, the following Persons, on behalf of themselves and all the other Indians now present, have agreed to Sign or put their Names to the same as Witnesses, in Token of their free and full consent to what the above named Monochyhickan, Llappawinzoe, Tisheekunk, and Nutimus, have signed and Sealed.

Sealed, Subscribed and Delivered, Tameckapa, his X mark, In the presence of us, Oochqueahgtoe, his X mark,

James Logan, Wayshaghinichon, his X mark,
A. Hamilton, Nectotaylemet, his X mark,
Rd. Assheton, Taarlichigh, his X mark,
James Steel, Neeshalinicka, his X mark,

Thomas Griffitt, Neepaheeiloman, alias Jo Tunum, his X mark, William Allen, Ayshaataghoe, alias Cornelius, his X mark,

Thomas Freame, Aysolickon, his X mark
John Georges, Chichagheway, his X mark
John Hans, his X mark
Edward Shippen, Shawtagh, his X mark

Wm. Logan, James Letort, Robt. Charles, James Steel, Jun., James Steel

Bearefoot Brunson, Interpreter.

Source: Pennsylvania Archives, First Series, vol. 1, pp. 541–543. http://www.docheritage.state.pa.us/documents/walkingpurchase-trans.asp.

112. Iroquois Responses to the Walking Purchase, July 12, 1742

Introduction

William Penn's son and heir, Thomas Penn, came to Pennsylvania in 1732. Penn hoped to restore his family's fortunes by selling land to the growing population of new settlers. Seeking to purchase land from the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware, Indians, he did not share his father's sense of fairness toward the native peoples. Helped by James Logan, their late father's secretary, the Penn brothers devised the Walking Purchase. Having been pushed off their ancestral land in Delaware and New Jersey, the Delaware Indians lived in the upper Delaware and Lehigh river valleys of eastern Pennsylvania. On August 25, 1737, the Delawares succumbed to pressure and ratified an alleged 1686 deed—probably fake—that gave the Penns all the land that a man could walk in a day and a half. On September 18, 1737, the Penns' three hired runners traversed paths that had been cleared in advance, and the Delawares were thus forced to relinquish a huge tract of land. The Delawares refused to vacate the land

and made a formal complaint to colonial officials. The Penns then appealed to the Iroquois, who dominated the Delawares. In their response, below, the Iroquois chastised the Delawares and ordered them off the land. A future generation of Delawares, forced to move westward, avenged themselves on frontier settlers during the French and Indian War.

Primary Source

At a COUNCIL held at the Proprietor's, July 12, 1742.

PRESENT

The Honourable GEORGE THOMAS, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor. James Logan, Thomas Lawrence, Robert Strettel, Clement Plumsted, Abraham Taylor, Esqrs.

Mr. Richard Peters.

CANASSATEGO, SHICKCALAMY, And sundry Chiefs of the Six Nations.

SASSOONAN, and the Delawares.

NUTTIMUS, and the Fork-Indians

CONRAD WEISER, Interpreter.

Pisquetoman, Cornelius Spring, Nicholas Scull, Interpreters to the Fork-Indians.

CANASSATEGO said:

BRETHREN, the Governor and Council,

The other Day you informed us of the Misbehaviour of our Cousins the Delawares, with respect to their continuing to claim, and refusing to remove from some Land on the River Delaware, notwithstanding their Ancestors had sold it by a Deed under their Hands and Seals to the Proprietaries, for a valuable Consideration, upward of fifty Years ago; and notwithstanding that, they themselves had also not many Years ago, after a long and full Examination, ratified that Deed of their Ancestors, and given a fresh one under their Hands and Seals; and then you requested us to remove them, inforcing your Request with a String of Wampum.—Afterwards we laid on the Table our own Letters by Conrad Weiser; some of our Cousins Letters, and the several Writings to prove the Charge against our Cousins, with a Draught of the Land in Dispute.—We now tell you, we have perused all these several Papers: We see with our own Eyes, that they have been a very unruly People, and are altogether in the Wrong in their Dealings with you.—We have concluded to remove them, and oblige them to go over the River Delaware, and quit all Claim to any Lands on this Side for the future, since they have received Pay for them, and it is gone thro' their Guts long ago.—To confirm to you that we will see your Request executed, we lay down this String of Wampum in return for yours.

Then turning to the Delawares, holding a Belt of Wampun in his Hand, he spoke to them as follows:

COUSINS,

Let this belt of Wampum serve to chastise you. You ought to be taken by the Hair of the Head and shaked severely, till you recover your Senses and become sober. You don't know what Ground you stand on, nor what you are doing. Our Brother Onas's Cause is very just and plain, and his Intentions to preserve Friendship. On the other Hand, Your Cause is bad; your Heart far from being upright; and you are maliciously bent to break the Chain of Friendship with our Brother Onas and his people. We have seen with our Eyes a Deed sign'd by nine of your Ancestors above fifty Years ago for this very Land, and a Release sign'd not may Years since, by some of yourselves and Chiefs now living, to the Number of fifteen or upwards.—But how come you to take upon you to sell Land at all? We conquered you; we made Women of you; you know you are Women, and can no more sell Land than Women; nor is it fit you should have the Power of selling Lands, since you would abuse it. This Land that you claim is gone through your Guts, you have been furnish'd with Cloaths, Meat and Drink, by the Goods paid you for it, and now you want it again, like children as you are.—But what makes you sell Land in the Dark? Did you ever tell us that you had sold this Land? Did we ever receive any Part, even the Value of a Pipe-Shank, from you for it? You have told us a blind Story, that you sent a Messenger to us to inform us of the Sale, but he never came amongst us, nor we never head any thing about it.—This is acting in the Dark, and very different from the conduct our Six Nations observe in their Sales of Land; on such Occasions they give publick Notice, and invite all the Indians of their united Nations, and give them all a Share of the Present they receive for their Lands.—This is the Behaviour of the wise united Nations.—But we find you are none of our Blood: You act a dishonest Part, not only in this but in other matters; Your Ears are never open to Slanderous Reports about our Brethren; you receive them with as much Greediness as lewd Women receive the Embraces of bad Men. And for all these Reasons we charge you to remove instantly; we don't give you the Liberty to think about it. You are Women. Take the Advice of a wise Man, and remove immediately. You may return to the other Side of Delaware where you came from: But we do not know whether, considering how you have demean'd yourselves, you will be permitted to live there; or whether you have not swallowed that Land down your throats as well as the Land on this Side. We therefore assign you two Places to go, either to Wyomen or Shamokin. You may go to either of thesse Places, and then we shall have you more under our Eye, and shall see how you behave. Don't deliberate; but remove away, and take this Belt of Wampum.

After our just Reproof, and absolute Order to depart from the Land, you are now to take Notice of what we have further to say to you. This String of Wampum serves to forbid you, your Children and Grand-Children, to the latest Posterity forever, medling in Land-Affairs; neither you nor any who shall descent from you, are ever hereafter to presume to sell any Land: For which Purpose, you are to preserve this String, in Memory of what your Uncles have this

Day given you in Charge.—We have some other Business to transact with our Brethren, and therefore depart the Council, and consider what has been said to you.

Source: Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada*, vol. 2 (New York: Allerton Book Co., 1904). Colin G. Calloway, ed., *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America* (Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

113. Eyewitness Account and Official Report of the Stono Rebellion, 1739, 1740 [Excerpt]

Introduction

South Carolina's plantation economy required numerous slaves. By 1730, slaves in South Carolina outnumbered white colonists two to one. The Carolina constitution of 1669 had granted white Carolinians absolute power over their slaves. As a result, Carolina slave owners both treated their slaves with great cruelty and feared that their slaves might turn on them at any time. Slave revolts had occurred in other colonies, but the Stono Rebellion of September 1739 was the largest such revolt in colonial America. A small group of slaves, communicating with drums, assembled, captured a store at Stono Bridge (near Charleston), killed the owner, and seized guns and ammunition. They set off on a march to Florida, where they believed that the Spanish, then at war with the British, would set them free. As they progressed, beating drums to recruit others, at least 60 more slaves joined them. The growing rebel force burned several plantations and killed a number of white people. The colonists quickly assembled a militia and, within a day, captured and executed most of the rebels. South Carolina later passed restrictive laws promoting harsher treatment of slaves, including one prohibiting slaves from having drums. The following excerpts are an eyewitness account and an official report of the rebellion.

Primary Source

Lieutenant Governor Bull's Eyewitness Account

My Lords,

I beg leave to lay before your Lordships an Account of our Affairs, first in regard to the desertion of Our Negroes, who are encouraged to it by a Certain Proclamation published by the King of Spain's Order at St. Augustine declaring Freedom to all Negroes who should desert thither from the British Colonies; Since which Several parties have deserted and are there openly received and Protected, many attempts of others have been discovered and prevented, notwithstanding which on the 9th of September last at Night a great number of Negroes Arose in Rebellion, broke open a Store where they got Arms, killed twenty one White Persons, and were march-

ing the next morning in a Daring manner out of the Province, killing all they met, and burning Several Houses as they passed along the road. I was returning from Granville County with four Gentlemen and met these rebels at Eleven a Clock in the forenoon, and fortunately deserned the approaching Danger time enough to avoid it, and to give notice to the Militia who on that Occasion behaved with so much expedition and bravery, as by four a Clock the Same day to come up with them and killed and took so many as put a stop to any further mischief at that time, forty four of them have been killed and Executed some few yet remain concealed in the Woods expecting the same Fate, seem desparate. If Such an attempt is made in a time of peace what might be expected if an Enemy Should appear upon our Frontier with a design to Invade us? which we have great reason to expect upon the first Notice of a Rupture, being fully informed by Several hands of the great Preparations made sometime ago at the Havana, which according to late accounts lye ready waiting only for Orders to put that Design in Execution.

It was the Opinion of His Majesty's council with several other Gentlemen that one of the most Effectual means that could be used at present to prevent such desertion of our Negroes, is to encourage some Indians by a suitable Reward to pursue and if possible to bring back the Deserters, and while the Indians are thus Employed they would be in the way ready to intercept others that might attempt to follow, and I have sent for the Chiefs of the Chickasaws living at new Windsor and the Catawbaw Indians for that purpose . . .

The Official Report

. . . . In September 1739, our Slaves made an Insurrection at Stono in the Heart of our Settlements not twenty miles from Charles Town, in which they massacred twenty-three Whites after the most cruel and barbarous Manner to be conceived and having got Arms and Ammunition out of a Store they bent their Course to the Southward burning all the Houses on the Road. But they marched so slow, in full Confidence of their own Strength from the first Success, that they gave Time to a Party of our Militia to come up with them. The Number was in a Manner equal on both Sides and an Engagement ensued such as may be supposed in such a Case wherein one fought for Liberty and Life, the other for their Country and every Thing that was dear to them. But by the Blessing of God the Negroes were defeated, the greatest Part being killed on the Spot or taken, and those that then escaped were so closely pursued and hunted Day after Day that in the End all but two or three were taken and executed. That the Negroes would not have made this Insurrection had they not depended on St. Augustine for a Place of Reception afterwards was very certain; and that the Spaniards had a Hand in prompting them to this particular Action there was but little Room to doubt, for in July preceding Don Piedro, Captain of the Horse at St. Augustine, came to Charles Town in a Launch with twenty or thirty men (one of which was a Negro that spoke English very well) under Pretence of delivering a Letter to General Oglethorpe although he could not possibly be ignorant that the General resided at Frederica not Half the Distance from St. Augustine and in his Return he was seen at Times to put into every one of our Inlets on the Coast. And in the very Month in which the above Insurrection was made the General acquainted our Lieutenant Governour by Letter that the magistrates of Georgia had seized a Spaniard whom he took to be a Priest, and that they thought from what they had discovered that he was employed by the Spaniards to procure a general Insurrection of the Negroes.

On this Occasion every Breast was filled with Concern. Evil brought Home to us within our very Doors awakened the Attention of the most Unthinking. Every one that had any Relation, any tie of nature; every one that had a Life to lose were in the most sensible Manner shocked at such Danger daily hanging over their Heads. With Regret we bewailed our peculiar Case, that we could not enjoy the Benefits of Peace like the rest of Mankind and that our own Industry should be the means of taking from us all the Sweets of Life and of rendering us liable to the Loss of our Lives and Fortunes. With Indignation we looked at St. Augustine (like another Sallee) that Den of Thieves and Ruffians! Receptacle of Debtors, Servants and Slaves! Bane of Industry and Society! And revolved in our Minds all the Injuries this province had received from thence ever since it[s] first Settlement, that they had from first to last, in Times of profoundest Peace, both publickly and privately, by themselves and Indians and Negroes, in every Shape molested us not without some instances of uncommon Cruelty....

Source: Mark M. Smith, ed., *Stono: Documenting and Interpreting a Southern Slave Revolt* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005).

114. Accounts of the War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739, 1740, 1742 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In 1565, the Spanish founded St. Augustine, Florida, and in subsequent years established forts and missions along the Georgia coast. English colonists from South Carolina made several incursions into Georgia during the early 1700s and drove the Spanish back into Florida. The first permanent English settlers of Georgia, led by James Oglethorpe, came to Savannah in 1733. General Oglethorpe was an idealistic, educated member of Parliament with military experience. He established friendly relations with the native peoples of the region. In October 1739 Great Britain declared war on Spain, and the news reached Savannah in May 1740. Known as the War of Jenkins' Ear, it involved rivalry over trade with American colonies and skirmishes over the boundary between English Georgia and Spanish Florida. In 1739, the Spanish raided the Georgia coast and Oglethorpe responded with raids into Florida. In 1740,

Oglethorpe led an unsuccessful campaign against St. Augustine. Georgia then repulsed a 1742 Spanish invasion, and in 1743 Oglethorpe led another failed siege of St. Augustine. He was recalled to Britain to account for his failures and never returned to Georgia. These letters, by Oglethorpe and other participants, report on the 1739 and 1742 Spanish invasions and the 1740 campaign against Florida.

Primary Source

JAMES OGLETHORPE TO THE TRUSTEES Frederica November 16, 1739

Gentlemen:

The Spaniards have fallen upon Amelia and killed two unarmed sick men. One of the scout boats being there took the alarm and they and a party from the garrison pursued the Spaniards very briskly. We have not so much as given the least provocation to the Spaniards as yet, but most manfully they surprised two poor sick men, cut off their heads, mangled their bodies most barbarously, and as soon as a party and boat appeared, which together did not make their number, they retired with the utmost precipitation.

A number of scout boats are absolutely necessary. The men of war stationed at Charles town can not be here. Since Captain Burrish went away, we have had no man of war except Captain Fanshaw, and he did not stay above eight or ten days. The launches from Augustine can run into almost every inlet in the province. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that the Trustees should apply to Parliament for at least five ten-oared boats and a troop of Rangers, otherwise there will be no possibility of the people's going out to plant without being murdered as those Highlanders were. The regiment can defend the parts they are in, but they cannot march on foot over the waters without boats nor overtake horse or Indians on foot in the vast woods on the continent.

The French have attacked the Carolina Indians and the Spaniards have invaded us. I wish it may not be resolved between them to root the English out of America. We here are resolved to die hard and will not lose one inch of ground without fighting. But we cannot do impossibilities. We have no cannon from the King, nor any others but some small iron guns bought by the Trust. We have very little powder, we have no horse for marching and very few boats, and no fund for paying the men, but of one boat. The Spaniards have a number of launches, also horse and a fine train of artillery well provided with all stores. The best expedient I can think of is to strike first and, as our strength consists in men and that the people of the colony as well as the soldiers handle their arms well and are desirous of action, I think the best way is to make use of our strength and beat them out of the field and destroy their plantations and out-set-tlements (in which the Indians who are very faithful can assist us)

and to form the siege of Augustine, if I can get artillery. It is impossible to keep this province or Carolina without either destroying Augustine or keeping horse rangers and scout boats sufficient to restrain their nimble parties. I must therefore again desire you would insist for our having an Establishment of four ten-oared boats to the Southward, and one at Savannah, a small train of artillery, some gunners and at least 400 barrels of cannon, and 100 of musket powder with bullets proportionable.

JAMES OGLETHORPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE Florida May 15, 1740

My Lord:

Since the taking Saint Diego I have taken two large launches, which the Spaniards call half-galleys, who came up the river from Augustine to attempt the relief of Saint Diego. They quitted the galleys, threw their guns overboard and escaped into the woods. I have left a garrison in Saint Diego, it being necessary, and appointed Lieutenant Dunbar Fort Major, who signalized himself on their occasion. I hope Your Grace will intercede with His Majesty that he may have the appointments for that post, I have also begun to increase the fortifications of Saint Diego, which blocks Augustine on one side. In the taking Saint Diego, His Majesty's troops and the Indians behaved with great bravery. There were two Spaniards wounded, but one of His Majesty's hurt. I shall send Your Grace the particulars by the first occasion and am, My Lord, Your Grace's most obedient, humble servant.

FRANCIS MOORE TO HARMAN VERELST Frederica June 9, 1740

Sir:

I am come up hither to carry some cash and other things down to the General, who I expect to meet at Augustine. I am sorry to tell you when I left him (which was on the 6th instant at Fort Diego in Florida) he was ill, though much better than he had been for some time before.

I must not omit acquainting you that this day, month, the General landed on the Spanish shore and the next day marched about 16 miles along the sea beach, then struck inland about 7 or 8 miles more, and there found a fort called Saint Diego. The next morning he began to attack it and the enemy returned the fire very vigorously, so that they were most part of the next day firing at one another. The next morning the General sent a Spaniard (one of those before taken at Saint Francis de Pupa, and of whom you have doubtless long since had a particular account) with a drum to summon the garrison. He acquainted them with the good usage he had met with from the Eng-

lish, and upon that they treated and the same day surrendered the fort and all belonging to it to the General, in which were two pieces of large cannon, 9 swivel guns, 70 small arms, 50 prisoners and a good deal of ammunition. The troops and Indians feed plentifully upon fat Spanish beef, there being some thousand head about Fort Diego, to which place I am going in a day or two.

 $[\ldots]$

P.S. We have had lately two duels in Florida. In one of them Mr. Eyles, A Surgeon's Mate, was killed. In the other Mr. Peter Grant, Naval Officer, had the same fate.

CAPTAIN NORBURY TO WALTER HAYTER From camp before Saint Augustine June 30, 1740

Sir:

I have just time to acquaint you that I, General Oglethorpe and all his officers and his regiment are well, and that now we are very busy in bombarding and cannonading the town and castle of Saint Augustine and have made our approaches with our cannon and mortars within half a mile of the town and have done great execution in knocking down and burning with our shells part of the town and castle. And the enemy fire upon us day and night from the town, castle and their galleys and launches balls from 24-, 18- and 9pounders but as yet have done us little damage. Only one of our men had both his legs taken off with one of them. We are all very well entrenched and are now going to attack the town and castle. General Oglethorpe is marched with a strong detachment from off this island to the main called Moucey or the Negroes' Fort, to attack the town and castle and to surround them and keep them in. the remainder of our forces with the Carolina Regiment, commanded by Colonel Vanderdussen, Rangers and Indians are to attack on the left of the town and, the men of war's men to the amount of 200 are to attack the Spanish galleys in their boats and galleys, and by a signal given we all storm at once, and under God and in so just a war, we shall carry it. I am now marching into our trenches.

JAMES OGLETHOPE TO THE TRUSTEES From Camp before Saint Augustine July 19, 1740

Gentlemen:

I acquainted you with my taking the fort of Saint Francis Picolata and Saint Diego, and about eighty prisoners from the Spaniards, and also of several Indians joining us, and that the Assembly of Carolina had voted an assistance of one regiment &c. for besieging Saint Augustine. But it was so late before they got all things ready that the month of May was come in before we got to the rendezvous,

whereas we ought to have taken the field at farthest in March. I undertook the siege because Saint Augustine in January was scarce of food, the castle had no covered way, the entrenchments 'round the covered way was weak, and, if the town was taken and the people drove into the castle, a bombardment would soon oblige them to surrender for want of room. The troops of the garrison were not complete, and a great number of transport pioneers were in the place desirous to desert. I then laid it down that they should take the advantage of the circumstance and immediately invest the town or at least stop up their communications by sea, which, if they did not, succours would come from the Havana, they would fortify the town and a bombardment world be of little service, since the inhabitants would have large room to avoid it and the season of the year would oblige the men of war to go off the coast and the troops to retire from the heats or perish with sickness. After I had left Charles Town and before we could invest the place, the half-galleys got in from Cuba. We had no pioneers to open trenches, no engineers but Colonel Cook and Mr. Mace, no bombardiers nor gunner that understood the service and no sufficient train.

After April the Spaniards pardoned the transports and completed the garrison with them and entrenched the two strongly towards the land. However I agreed with the Commodore that, if they would attack the half-galleys and the Carolina Regiment attack the side of the town, I would storm the entrenchment by land.

The fleet landed two hundred men, with the Captains Warren, Laws and Townshend, on the Island Saint Anastasia and gave the utmost assistance in putting the few guns and mortars that we had into battery. We summoned the Governour who refused to surrender. We cannonaded and bombarded the town for above twenty days. The Commodore acquainted me upon mature examination, the council of war found it impracticable to attack the half-galleys and that on the 5th July they must be obliged to retire into harbour for fear of hurricane storms. The Indians also acquainted me that the heat and heavy rains would be unhealthy to keep the field and resolved to return home.

About the same time Captain Fanshaw, who was cruising off the Metanza's, which is the Southern entrance of Augustine and the Musquetoes, acquainted the commodore that there were seven vessels loaded with provision &c. got into the Musquetoes and that he could not get at them. Soon after that they got most of their provision into Saint Augustine.

It being impossible to continue the siege I prevailed with the men of war to stay some days longer and ordered Colonel Cook and Colonel Van Dussen to embark with the train, ammunition, troops &c. on board the vessels (they being on the island), which they did, and sent them into this river.

The Spaniards made a sally on me (with about 500 men) who lay on the land side. I ordered Ensign Cathcart with 20 men, supported by

Major Hern and Captain Desbrisay with upwards of one hundred men, to attack them. I followed with the body. We drove them into the works and pursued them to the very barriers of the covered way. After the train and provision were embarked and safe out of the harbour, I marched with drums beating, colours flying in the day from my camp near the town to a camp three miles distance, where I lay that night. The next day I marched nine miles, where I emcamped that night. We discovered a party of Spanish horse [and] Indians, whom we charged, took one Spanish horseman, killed two Indians, the rest run into garrison.

[...]

JAMES OGLETHORPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE Frederica July 30, 1742

My Lord:

I am to acquaint Your Grace with the success of His majesty's arms here. The Spaniards with a fleet of 51 sail and a land army on board, under the command of General Montiano and Major General Antonio Arodondo, who was also Engineer General, attacked the colony of Georgia. The fleet was separated, 14 sail of half-galleys and small craft attempted Fort William but were repulsed by Captain Dunbar. They then came into Cumberland Sound to have intercepted me, going with some boats to reinforce Fort William. I fought my way through them and God blessed us with such success that the whole 14 sail stood out to sea and only 10 of them ever joined their fleet.

On the 28th June part of their fleet, consisting of 36 sail, came and lay off this bar 'till 5th July. They several times attempted to land and were disappointed. At last they run into the harbour and after an hot engagement, which lasted four hours, passed by all our batteries and ships and got into the River Frederica. In the fight one of the guard vessels in His Majesty's Service belonging to this colony was disabled and sunk, also several trading vessels. But I got one ship and two vessels, in spite of the enemy, out of the harbour and sent to Charles Town. I marched to Frederica to defend it, on which they landed at Saint Simon's, and attempted to march by land. We engaged two parties making near 500 men one day in the woods, whom we entirely defeated, taking one Captain and 18 men prisoner and killing upwards of 200. They attempted the town by water and were also repulsed and we, continually harassing of them, forced them to reembark, The Cuba fleet, being 20 sail, run out to sea and General Montiano went to Fort Saint Andrew's which I had slighted and abandoned, and from thence went to Fort William where, attempting to land, [he] was repulsed and them attacked the fort by water and, after the assault of three hours, were beat off and drove to sea. I followed them to Fort William, but Don Manuel never stopped 'till he got to Augustine.

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Source: Map: Hargrett Manuscript and Rare Book Collection, University of Georgia Library. Mills Lane, ed., *General Oglethorpe's Georgia: Colonial Letters 1733–1743*, vol. 2 (Savannah: Beehive Press, 1975).

115. Jonathan Edwards, *Sinnersin the Hands of an Angry God*,1741 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The reverend Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) was a leading figure of the Great Awakening, a religious revival that swept through England's American colonies from the 1720s through the 1740s. The Great Awakening led to a renewal of religious fervor among Protestants and made Christian faith more accessible to the masses. It developed in reaction to the widespread conviction that people were losing religious faith and becoming materialistic. English and American evangelists preached to enthusiastic crowds about their faith in personal salvation. Jonathan Edwards, a dynamic speaker, brilliant religious thinker, and minister of a Congregationalist (formerly Puritan) congregation in Connecticut, fired the spirit of revivalism throughout western New England. His 1741 sermon, Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God, became his most famous work, widely republished throughout colonial North America. It contained graphic depictions of the punishment he believed awaited sinners. Edwards became embroiled in one of the many religious controversies that arose from the Great Awakening and was dismissed from his congregation. He later served as a missionary to the Indians and shortly before his death was appointed president of the College of New Jersey, the future Princeton University.

Primary Source

[…]

The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider, or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked: his wrath towards you burns like fire; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else, but to be cast into the fire; he is of purer eyes than to bear to have you in his sight; you are ten thousand times more abominable in his eyes, than the most hateful venomous serpent is in ours. You have offended him infinitely more than ever a stubborn rebel did his prince; and yet it is nothing but his hand that holds you from falling into the fire every moment. It is to be ascribed to nothing else, that you did not go to hell the last night; that you was suffered to awake again in this world, after you closed your eyes to sleep. And there is no other reason to be given, why you have not dropped into hell since you arose in the morning, but that God's hand has held you up. There is no other reason to be given why you have not gone to hell, since you have sat here in the house of God, provoking his pure eyes by your sinful wicked manner of attending his solemn worship. Yea, there is nothing else that is to be given as a reason why you do not this very moment drop down into hell.

O sinner! Consider the fearful danger you are in: it is a great furnace of wrath, a wide and bottomless pit, full of the fire of wrath, that you are held over in the hand of that God, whose wrath is provoked and incensed as much against you, as against many of the damned in hell. You hang by a slender thread, with the flames of divine wrath flashing about it, and ready every moment to singe it, and burn it asunder; and you have no interest in any Mediator, and nothing to lay hold of to save yourself, nothing to keep off the flames of wrath, nothing of your own, nothing that you ever have done, nothing that you can do, to induce God to spare you one moment.—

And consider here more particularly,

1. Whose wrath it is: it is the wrath of the infinite God. If it were only the wrath of man, though it were of the most potent prince, it would be comparatively little to be regarded. The wrath of kings is very much dreaded, especially of absolute monarchs, who have the possessions and lives of their subjects wholly in their power, to be disposed of at their mere will. Prov. 20:2. "The fear of a king is as the roaring of a lion: Whoso provoketh him to anger, sinneth against his own soul." The subject that very much enrages an arbitrary prince, is liable to suffer the most extreme torments that human art can invent, or human power can inflict. But the greatest earthly potentates in their greatest majesty and strength, and when clothed in their greatest terrors, are but feeble, despicable worms of the dust, in comparison of the great and almighty Creator and King of heaven and earth. It is but little that they can do, when most enraged, and when they have exerted the utmost of their fury. All the kings of the earth, before God, are as grasshoppers; they are nothing, and less than nothing: both their love and their hatred is to be despised. The wrath of the great King of kings, is as much more terrible than theirs, as his majesty is greater. Luke 12:4,5. "And I say unto you, my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that, have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom you shall fear: fear him, which after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell: yea, I say unto you, Fear him."

2. It is the *fierceness* of his wrath that you are exposed to. We often read of the fury of God; as in Isa. 59:18. "According to their deeds, accordingly he will repay fury to his adversaries." So Isa. 66:15. "For behold, the Lord will come with fire, and with his chariots like a whirlwind, to render his anger with fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire." And in many other places. So, Rev. 19:15, we read of "the wine press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God." The words are exceeding terrible. If it had only been said, "the wrath of God," the words would have implied that which is infinitely dreadful: but it is "the fierceness and wrath of God." The fury of God! the fierceness of Jehovah! Oh, how dreadful that must be! Who can utter or conceive what such expressions carry in them! But it is also "the fierceness and wrath of almighty God." As though there would be a very great manifestation of his almighty power in what the fierceness of his wrath should inflict, as though omnipotence should be

as it were enraged, and exerted, as men are wont to exert their strength in the fierceness of their wrath. Oh! then, what will be the consequence! What will become of the poor worms that shall suffer it! Whose hands can be strong? And whose heart can endure? To what a dreadful, inexpressible, inconceivable depth of misery must the poor creature be sunk who shall be the subject of this!

Consider this, you that are here present, that yet remain in an unregenerate state. That God will execute the fierceness of his anger, implies, that he will inflict wrath without any pity. When God beholds the ineffable extremity of your case, and sees your torment to be so vastly disproportioned to your strength, and sees how your poor soul is crushed, and sinks down, as it were, into an infinite gloom; he will have no compassion upon you, he will not forbear the executions of his wrath, or in the least lighten his hand; there shall be no moderation or mercy, nor will God then at all stay his rough wind; he will have no regard to your welfare, nor be at all careful lest you should suffer too much in any other sense, than only that you shall not suffer beyond what strict justice requires. Nothing shall be withheld, because it is so hard for you to bear. Ezek. 8:18. "Therefore will I also deal in fury: mine eye shall not spare, neither will I have pity; and though they cry in mine ears with a loud voice, yet I will not hear them." Now God stands ready to pity you; this is a day of mercy; you may cry now with some encouragement of obtaining mercy. But when once the day of mercy is past, your most lamentable and dolorous cries and shrieks will be in vain; you will be wholly lost and thrown away of God, as to any regard to your welfare. God will have no other use to put you to, but to suffer misery; you shall be continued in being to no other end; for you will be a vessel of wrath fitted to destruction; and there will be no other use of this vessel, but to be filled full of wrath. God will be so far from pitying you when you cry to him, that it is said he will only "laugh and mock," Prov. 1:25,26,&c.

How awful are those words, Isa. 63:3, which are the words of the great God. "I will tread them in mine anger, and will trample them in my fury, and their blood shall be sprinkled upon my garments, and I will stain all my raiment." It is perhaps impossible to conceive of words that carry in them greater manifestations of these three things, viz. contempt, and hatred, and fierceness of indignation. If you cry to God to pity you, he will be so far from pitying you in your doleful case, or showing you the least regard or favour, that instead of that, he will only tread you under foot. And though he will know that you cannot bear the weight of omnipotence treading upon you, yet he will not regard that, but he will crush you under his feet without mercy; he will crush out your blood, and make it fly, and it shall be sprinkled on his garments, so as to stain all his raiment. He will not only hate you, but he will have you in the utmost contempt: no place shall be thought fit for you, but under his feet to be trodden down as the mire of the streets.

3. The *misery* you are exposed to is that which God will inflict to that end, that he might show what that wrath of Jehovah is. God hath had it on his heart to show to angels and men, both how excellent his love is, and also how terrible his wrath is. Sometimes earthly kings have a mind to show how terrible their wrath is, by the

extreme punishments they would execute on those that would provoke them. Nebuchadnezzar, that mighty and haughty monarch of the Chaldean empire, was willing to show his wrath when enraged with Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego; and accordingly gave orders that the burning fiery furnace should be heated seven times hotter than it was before; doubtless, it was raised to the utmost degree of fierceness that human art could raise it. But the great God is also willing to show his wrath, and magnify his awful majesty and mighty power in the extreme sufferings of his enemies. Rom. 9:22. "What if God, willing to show his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction?" And seeing this is his design, and what he has determined, even to show how terrible the unrestrained wrath, the fury and fierceness of Jehovah is, he will do it to effect. There will be something accomplished and brought to pass that will be dreadful with a witness. When the great and angry God hath risen up and executed his awful vengeance on the poor sinner, and the wretch is actually suffering the infinite weight and power of his indignation, then will God call upon the whole universe to behold that awful majesty and mighty power that is to be seen in it. Isa. 33:12-14. "And the people shall be as the burnings of lime, as thorns cut up shall they be burnt in the fire. Hear ye that are far off, what I have done; and ye that are near, acknowledge my might. The sinners in Zion are afraid; fearfulness hath surprised the hypocrites," &c.

Thus it will be with you that are in an unconverted state, if you continue in it; the infinite might, and majesty, and terribleness of the omnipotent God shall be magnified upon you, in the ineffable strength of your torments. You shall be tormented in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb; and when you shall be in this state of suffering, the glorious inhabitants of heaven shall go forth and look on the awful spectacle, that they may see what the wrath and fierceness of the Almighty is; and when they have seen it, they will fall down and adore that great power and majesty. Isa. 66:23,24. "And it shall come to pass, that from one new moon to another, and from one sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord. And they shall go forth and look upon the carcasses of the men that have transgressed against me; for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched, and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh."

4. It is everlasting wrath. It would be dreadful to suffer this fierceness and wrath of Almighty God one moment; but you must suffer it to all eternity. There will be no end to this exquisite horrible misery. When you look forward, you shall see a long for ever, a boundless duration before you, which will swallow up your thoughts, and amaze your soul; and you will absolutely despair of ever having any deliverance, any end, any mitigation, any rest at all. You will know certainly that you must wear out long ages, millions of millions of ages, in wrestling and conflicting with this almighty merciless vengeance; and then when you have so done, when so many ages have actually been spent by you in this manner, you will know that all is but a point to what remains. So that your punishment will indeed be infinite. Oh, who can express what the state of a soul in

such circumstances is! All that we can possibly say about it, gives but a very feeble, faint representation of it; it is inexpressible and inconceivable: For "who knows the power of God's anger?"

How dreadful is the state of those that are daily and hourly in the danger of this great wrath and infinite misery! But this is the dismal case of every soul in this congregation that has not been born again, however moral and strict, sober and religious, they may otherwise be. Oh that you would consider it, whether you be young or old! There is reason to think, that there are many in this congregation now hearing this discourse, that will actually be the subjects of this very misery to all eternity. We know not who they are, or in what seats they sit, or what thoughts they now have. It may be they are now at ease, and hear all these things without much disturbance, and are now flattering themselves that they are not the persons, promising themselves that they shall escape. If we knew that there was one person, and but one, in the whole congregation, that was to be the subject of this misery, what an awful thing would it be to think of! If we knew who it was, what an awful sight would it be to see such a person! How might all the rest of the congregation lift up a lamentable and bitter cry over him! But, alas! instead of one, how many is it likely will remember this discourse in hell? And it would be a wonder, if some that are now present should not be in hell in a very short time, even before this year is out. And it would be no wonder if some persons, that now sit here, in some seats of this meeting-house, in health, quiet and secure, should be there before tomorrow morning. Those of you that finally continue in a natural condition, that shall keep out of hell longest will be there in a little time! your damnation does not slumber; it will come swiftly, and, in all probability, very suddenly upon many of you. You have reason to wonder that you are not already in hell. It is doubtless the case of some whom you have seen and known, that never deserved hell more than you, and that heretofore appeared as likely to have been now alive as you. Their case is past all hope; they are crying in extreme misery and perfect despair; but here you are in the land of the living and in the house of God, and have an opportunity to obtain salvation. What would not those poor damned hopeless souls give for one day's opportunity such as you now enjoy!

And now you have an extraordinary opportunity, a day wherein Christ has thrown the door of mercy wide open, and stands in calling and crying with a loud voice to poor sinners; a day wherein many are flocking to him, and pressing into the kingdom of God. Many are daily coming from the east, west, north and south; many that were very lately in the same miserable condition that you are in, are now in a happy state, with their hearts filled with love to him who has loved them, and washed them from their sins in his own blood, and rejoicing in hope of the glory of God. How awful is it to be left behind at such a day! To see so many others feasting, while you are pining and perishing! To see so many rejoicing and singing for joy of heart, while you have cause to mourn for sorrow of heart, and howl for vexation of spirit! How can you rest one moment in such a condition? Are not your souls as precious as the souls of the people at Suffield, where they are flocking from day to day to Christ?

Are there not many here who have lived long in the world, and are not to this day born again? and so are aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and have done nothing ever since they have lived, but treasure up wrath against the day of wrath? Oh, sirs, your case, in an especial manner, is extremely dangerous. Your guilt and hardness of heart is extremely great. Do you not see how generally persons of your years are passed over and left, in the present remarkable and wonderful dispensation of God's mercy? You had need to consider yourselves, and awake thoroughly out of sleep. You cannot bear the fierceness and wrath of the infinite God.—And you, young men, and young women, will you neglect this precious season which you now enjoy, when so many others of your age are renouncing all youthful vanities, and flocking to Christ? You especially have now an extraordinary opportunity; but if you neglect it, it will soon be with you as with those persons who spent all the precious days of youth in sin, and are now come to such a dreadful pass in blindness and hardness.—And you, children, who are unconverted, do not you know that you are going down to hell, to bear the dreadful wrath of that God, who is now angry with you every day and every night? Will you be content to be the children of the devil, when so many other children in the land are converted, and are become the holy and happy children of the King of kings?

And let every one that is yet out of Christ, and hanging over the pit of hell, whether they be old men and women, or middle aged, or young people, or little children, now hearken to the loud calls of God's word and providence. This acceptable year of the Lord, a day of such great favour to some, will doubtless be a day of as remarkable vengeance to others. Men's hearts harden, and their guilt increases apace at such a day as this, if they neglect their souls; and never was there so great danger of such persons being given up to hardness of heart and blindness of mind. God seems now to be hastily gathering in his elect in all parts of the land; and probably the greater part of adult persons that ever shall be saved, will be brought in now in a little time, and that it will be as it was on the great out-pouring of the Spirit upon the Jews in the apostles' days; the election will obtain, and the rest will be blinded. If this should be the case with you, you will eternally curse this day, and will curse the day that ever you was born, to see such a season of the pouring out of God's Spirit, and will wish that you had died and gone to hell before you had seen it. Now undoubtedly it is, as it was in the days of John the Baptist, the axe is in an extraordinary manner laid at the root of the trees, that every tree which brings not forth good fruit, may be hewn down and cast into the fire.

Therefore, let every one that is out of Christ, now awake and fly from the wrath to come. The wrath of Almighty God is now undoubtedly hanging over a great part of this congregation. Let every one fly out of Sodom: "Haste and escape for your lives, look not behind you, escape to the mountain, lest you be consumed."

Source: Edwards, Jonathan. *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God. A Sermon Preached at Enfield, July 8, 1741.* 4th Edition. Salem: Reprinted and Sold by G. Roulstone, 1786.

116. George Whitefield, *Directions How to Hear Sermons* [Excerpt]

Introduction

The reverend George Whitefield (1714-1770) was a leading figure of the Great Awakening, a religious revival that swept through England's American colonies from the 1720s through the 1740s. A corresponding movement, called Evangelicalism, arose in England. The Great Awakening led to a renewal of religious fervor among Protestants and made Christian faith more accessible to the masses. It developed in reaction to the widespread conviction that people were losing religious faith and becoming materialistic. English and American evangelists preached to enthusiastic crowds about their faith in personal salvation. The English-born evangelist George Whitefield came to Georgia in 1738 to serve as a missionary. He had experienced a religious conversion in his youth. Beginning in 1739, Whitefield toured the colonies and preached to vast audiences, winning hundreds of converts. His popularity drew the resentment of established religious authorities, who scorned him as an outsider. In 1748 he returned to Great Britain and spent his remaining years preaching throughout the British Isles.

Primary Source

Luke viii.18.

Take Heed therefore, how you hear,

The Occasion of our Lord's giving this Caution, was this: Perceiving that much People were gathered together, to hear him out of every City, and knowing (for he is God, and knoweth all things) that many, if not most of them, would be Hearers only, and not Doers of the Word, he spake to them by a Parable, wherein, under the Similitude of a Sower, that went out to sow his Seed, he plainly intimated, how few there were amongst them, who would receive any saving Benefit from his Doctrine, or bring forth Fruit unto Perfection.

The Application, one would imagine, should be plain and obvious: but the Disciples, as yet unenlightened in any great Degree by the Holy Spirit, and therefore unable to see into the hidden Mysteries of the Kingdom of God, dealt with our Savior, as People ought to deal with their Ministers,—discoursed with him privately about the Meaning of what he had taught them in Publick, and with a sincere Desire of doing their Duty, asked for an Interpretation of the Parable.

Our blessed Lord, as he always was willing to instruct those that were teachable (herein setting his Ministers an Example to be courteous and easy of Access) freely told them the Signification of it. And withal, to make them more cautious and more attentive to his Doctrine for the future, He tells them, that they were in an especial Manner to be the Light of the World, and were to proclaim on the House-top whatsoever he told them in Secret. And as their improv-

ing the Knowledge already imparted, was the only Condition upon which more was to be given them, it therefore highly concerned them to *take Heed how they heard*.

From the Context then it appears, that the Words were primarily spoken to the Apostles themselves. But because they were the Representatives of the whole Church, and 'tis to be feared, out of those many Thousands that flock to hear Sermons, but few, comparatively speaking, are effectually influenced by them; I cannot but think it very necessary to remind you of the Caution given by our Lord to his Disciples, and to exhort you with the utmost Earnestness to *take heed how you hear*.

In Prosecution of which Design I shall in the following Discourse, I. First, Prove that every One ought to take all Opportunities of hearing Sermons. And,

II. Secondly, I shall lay down some Cautions and Directions, in order to your hearing them with Profit and Advantage.

I. And, first, I am to prove that every One ought to take all Opportunities of hearing sermons.

That there have always been particular Persons set apart by God to instruct and exhort his People to practice what he should require of them, is evident from many Passages of Scripture.—St. Jude tells us, that *Enoch* the seventh from *Adam*, prophesied, or preached, concerning the Lord's coming with ten Thousand of his Saints to Judgment. And *Noah*, who lived not long after, is stiled by St. *Peter*, *a preacher of righteousness*. And though in all the intermediate Space between the Flood and giving of the Law, we hear but of few Preachers, yet we may reasonably conclude, that God never left himself without Witness, but at sundry Times, and after diverse Manners, spoke to our Fathers by the Patriarchs and Prophets.

But however it was before, we are assured that after the Delivery of the law, God has constantly separated to himself a certain Order of Men to preach to, as well as pray for his People; and commanded them to inquire their Duty at the Priests Mouths. And though the *Jews* were frequently led into Captivity, and for their Sins scattered abroad through the Face of the Earth; yet he never utterly forsook his Church, but still kept up a Remnant of Prophets and Preachers, as *Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Daniel*, and others, to reprove, instruct, and call them to Repentance.

[...]

II. Second general Thing proposed, To lay down some Cautions and Directions, in order to your hearing Sermons with Profit and Advantage.

And here, if we reflect on what has been already delivered, and consider that Preaching is an Ordinance of God, a Means appointed by

Jesus Christ himself for promoting his Kingdom amongst Men, you cannot reasonably be offended, if, in order that you may hear Sermons with Profit and Advantage, I

First, direct or intreat you to come to hear them, not out of Curiosity, but from a sincere desire to know and do your Duty.

Formality and Hypocrisy in any religious Exercise, is an Abomination unto the Lord. And to enter his House merely to have our Ears entertained, and not our Hearts reformed, must certainly be highly displeasing to the Most High God, as well as unprofitable to ourselves.

Hence it is, that so many remain Unconverted, yea, Unaffected with the most Evangelical Preaching; so that like St. Paul's Companions, before his conversion, they only hear the Preacher's Voice with their outward Ears, but do not experience the Power of it inwardly in their Hearts. Or, like the Ground near Gideon's Fleece, they remain untouched; whilst others, who came to be fed with the sincere Milk of the Word, like the Fleece itself, are watered by the Dew of God's Heavenly Blessing, and grow thereby.

Flee therefore, my Brethren, flee Curiosity; and prepare your Hearts by a humble Disposition, to receive with Meekness the engrafted Word, and then it will be a Means, under God, to quicken, build up, purify, and save your Souls.

A Second Direction I shall lay down for the same Purpose, is, not only to prepare your Hearts before you hear, but also to give diligent heed to the Things that are spoken, whilst you are hearing the Word of God.

[...]

Third direction,—not to entertain any the least Prejudice against the Minister.

For could a Preacher speak with the Tongue of Men and Angels, if his Audience was prejudiced against him, he would be but as sounding Brass, or tinkling Cymbal.

That was the Reason why Jesus Christ himself, the eternal Word, could not do many mighty Works, nor preach to any great effect among those of his own country; for they were offended at him. And was this same Jesus, this God incarnate, again to bow the heavens, and to come down speaking as never Man spake, yet, if we were prejudiced against him, as the *Jews* were, we should harden our hearts as the *Jews* did theirs.

Take Heed therefore, my Brethren, and beware of entertaining any Dislike against those whom the Holy Ghost has made Overseers over you. Consider that the Clergy are Men of like Passions with yourselves. And tho' we should even hear a Person teaching others to do, what he has not learned himself; yet, that is no sufficient Reason for rejecting his Doctrine: For ministers speak not in their own, but Christ's Name. And we know who commanded the People to do whatsoever the Scribes and Pharisees should say unto them, though they said but did not.

But Fourthly, as you ought not to be prejudiced against, so you should be careful not to depend too much on a Preacher, or think more highly of him than you ought to think. For though this be an Extreme that People seldom run into, yet preferring one Teacher in Opposition to another, has been of ill Consequence to the Church of God.

 $[\ldots]$

A Fifth Direction I would recommend is, to make a particular Application of every Thing that is delivered to your own Hearts.

When our Savior was discoursing at his last Supper with his beloved Disciples, and foretold that one of them should betray him, each of them immediately applied it to his own Heart, and said, Lord, is it I? And would Persons in like Manner, when Preachers are dissuading from any Vice, or persuading to any Virtue, instead of crying, this was designed against such and such a one, turn their Thoughts inwardly, and say, Lord, is it I? How far more beneficial should we find Discourses to be, than now they generally are now?

But we are apt to wander too much abroad: Always looking at the Mote with is in our Neighbor's Eye, rather than at the beam which is in our own.

Haste we now to the Sixth and last Direction: If you would receive a Blessing from the Lord, when you hear his Word preached, pray to him, both before, in, and after every Sermon, to endue the Minister with Power to speak, and to grant you a Will and Ability to put in Practice, what he shall shew from the Book of God to be your Duty.

This would be an excellent Means to render the Word preached effectual to the enlightening and enflaming your Hearts, and without this all the other Means before prescribed will be in vain.

[...]

But still *take heed how you hear*. For upon your improving the Grace you have, more shall be given, and you shall have abundance. For he is faithful that has promised, Who also will do it. Nay, God from out of Sion, shall so bless you, that every Sermon you hear shall communicate to you a fresh Supply of Spiritual Knowledge. The Word of God shall dwell in you richly; you shall go on from Strength to Strength, from one Degree of Grace unto another, till being grown up to be perfect Men in Christ Jesus, and filled with all the fullness

of God, you shall be translated by Death to see Him as he is, and to sing Praise before his Throne with Angels and Archangels, Cherubim and Seraphim, and the general Assembly of the First-born, whose names are written in Heaven, for ever and ever.

Which God of his infinite Mercy grant, &c.

Source:

http://www.reformed.org/documents/Whitefield/WITF_028.html.

117. Treaty at Lancaster, June–July, 1744 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The Iroquois had considered the French to be their enemies since French explorers had attacked them in the early 1600s. They maintained a strong alliance with the English and cooperated with them in controlling the movements of other Indians in New York, Pennsylvania, and surrounding areas. For example, when the Delawares tried to resist the Walking Purchase in eastern Pennsylvania, the Iroquois ordered them to move on in 1742. In turn, the Iroquois received gifts from colonial authorities. The European war called the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) spilled over into North America when France entered the war against Great Britain. This became King George's War, fought in America between France and Great Britain from 1744 to 1748. In 1744, warriors and sachems (chiefs) of the Iroquois Six Nations met in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, with Gov. George Thomas of Pennsylvania, colonial officials from Virginia and Maryland, and the interpreter Conrad Weiser. The English wished to secure a trading route through Iroquois territory. During the multi-day negotiations, the Iroquois complained of how cheaply they had sold their land to the English. The colonial officials then imparted news of France's entry into the war and called on the Iroquois to support the English colonists against those of New France. The Iroquois reaffirmed their alliance with the English.

Primary Source

[...

Lancaster Meeting June 30, 1744

We do remember we were employed by Maryland to conquer the Conestogoes, and that the second time we were at War with the, we carried them all off.

Brother Assaragoa,

You charge us with not acting agreeable to our Peace with the Catawbas, we will repeat to you truly what was done. The Governor of New-York, at Albany, in Behalf of Assaragoa, gave us several Belts

of Wampum from the Cherikees and Catawbas, and we agreed to a Peace, if those nations would send some of their great Men to us to confirm it Face to Face, and that they would trade with us; and desired that they would appoint a Time to meet at Albany for that Purpose, but they never came.

Brother Assaragoa,

We then desired a Letter might be sent to the Catawbas and Cherikees, to desire them to come and confirm the Peace. It was long before and Answer came; but we met the Cherikees, and confirmed the Peace, and sent some of our People to take care of them, until they returned to their own Country.

The Catawbas refused to come, and sent us work, That we were but Women, that they were Men, and double Men, that they could make women of us, and would be always at War with us. They are a deceitful People. Our Brother Assaragoa is deceived by them; we don't blame him for it, but are sorry he is so deceived.

Brother Assaragoa,

We have confirmed the Peace with the Cherikees, but not with the Catawbas. They have been treacherous, and know it; so that the War must continue till one of us is destroyed. This we think proper to tell you, that you may not be troubled at what we do to the Catawbas.

Brother Assaragoa.

We will now speak to the Point between us. You say you will agree with us as to the Road; we desire that may be the road which was last made (the Waggon-road.) It is always, a Custom among Brethren or Strangers to use each other kindly; you have some very ill-natured People living up there; so that we desire the Persons in Power may know that we are to have reasonable victuals when we are in want.

You know very well, when the white People came first here they were poor; but now they have got our lands, and are by them become rich, and we are not poor; what little we have had for the Land goes soon away, but the Land lasts for ever. You told us you had brought with you a Chest of Goods, and that you have the Key in your Pockets; but we have never seen the Chest, nor the Goods that are said to be in it; it may be small, and the Goods few; we want to see them, and are desirous to come to some Conclusion. We have been sleeping here these ten Days past, and have not done any thing to the Purpose.

The Commissioners told they should see the goods on Monday.

July 3, 1744

The Great King of ENGLAND and the French King have declared War against each other. Two Battles have been fought, one by Land,

and the other by Sea. The great King of ENGLAND commanded the Land-Army in Person, and gained a compleat victory. Numbers of the French were killed and taken Prisoners, and the rest were forced to pass a River with Precipitation to save their Lives. The Great God covered the King's Head in that Battle, so that he did not receive the least Hurt; for which you, as well as we, have Reason to be very thankful.

THE Engagement at Sea was likewise to the Advantage of the English. The French and Spaniards joined their Ships together, and came out to fight us. The brave English Admiral burnt one of their largest Ships, and many others were so shattered, that they were glad to take the Opportunity of a very high Wind, and a dark Night, to run away, and to hide themselves again in their own Harbours. Had the Weather proved fair, he would, in all Probability, have taken or destroyed them all.

I need not put you in mind how much William Penn and his Sons have been your Friends, and the Friends of all the Indians. You have long and often experienced their Friendship for you; nor need I repeat to you how kindly you were treated, and what valuable Presents were made to you two Years ago by the Governor, the Council, and the Assembly of Pensylvania. The Sons of William Penn are all now in England, and have left me in their Place, well knowing how much I regard you and all the Indians. As a fresh Proof of this, I have left my house, and am come thus far to see you, to renew our Treaties, to brighten the Covenant-Chain, and to confirm our Friendship with you. In Testimony whereof, I present you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the Yo-hah.

As your Nations have engaged themselves by Treaty to assist us, your Brethren of Pensylvania, in case of a War with the French, we do not doubt but you will punctually perform an engagement so solemnly entered into. A War is now declared, and we expect that you will not suffer the French, or any of the Indians in Alliance with them, to march through your country to disturb any of our Settlements; and that you will give us the earliest and best Intelligence of any Designs that may be formed by them to our Disadvantage. . . .

"That War had been declared between the great King of ENGLAND and the French King; that two great Battles had been fought, one by Land, and the other at Sea; with many other Particulars." We are glad to hear the Arms of the King of England were successful, and take part with you in your Joy on this Occasion. You then came nearer Home, and told us, "You had left your House, and were come thus far on Behalf of the whole People of Pensylvania to see us; to renew your Treaties, to brighten the Covenant-Chain, and to confirm your Friendship with us." We approve the Proposition, we thank you for it. We own, with Pleasure, that the Covenant-Chain between us and Pensylvania is of old Standing, and has never con-

tracted any Rust; we wish it may always continue as bright as it has done hitherto; and, in Token of the Sincerity of our Wishes, we present you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the Yo-hah.

Brother Onas,

You was pleased Yesterday to remind us of our mutual obligation to assist each other in case of a War with the French, and to repeat the Substance of what we ought to do by our Treaties with you; and that as a War had been already entered into with the French, you called upon us to assist you, and not to suffer the French to march through our Country to disturb any of your Settlements.

IN answer, we assure you we have all these particulars in our Hearts, they are fresh in our Memory. We shall never forget that you and we have but one Heart, one Head, one Eye, one Ear, and one Hand. We shall have all your Country under our Eye, and take all the care we can to prevent any Enemy from coming into it; and, in proof of our Care, we must inform you, that before we came here, we told Onadio, our Father, as he is called, that neither he, nor any of his People, should come through our Country, to hurt our Brethren the English, or any of the Settlements belonging to them; there was Room enough at Sea to fight, there he might do what he pleased, but he should not come upon our Land to do any Damage to our Brethren. And you may depend upon our using our utmost Care to see this effectually done; and, in token of our Sincerity, we present you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

Source: Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada*, vol. 2 (New York: Allerton Book Co., 1904).

118. Stephen Williams, *Louisbourg Journals*, 1745 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The European conflict called the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) spilled over into North America when France entered the war against Great Britain. This became King George's War, fought in America between France and Great Britain from 1744 to 1748. At the end of the previous French-English conflict in North America, Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), the French had been forced to cede Acadia, the main part of present-day Nova Scotia, but had then built the fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. This strategic location dominated the entrance to the St. Lawrence River and provided access to abundant North Atlantic fishing grounds. At the outbreak of King George's War, New Englanders organized a 4,000-man force to move against Louisbourg, which

they captured after a 55-day siege in 1745. After the New Englanders took possession of the fort and settled in for the winter, many succumbed to disease from the unsanitary conditions. This excerpt is from the journal of the chaplain accompanying a Massachusetts unit, describing his unending work ministering to the sick and dying. The victorious New Englanders were disgusted when Louisbourg was returned to France at war's end. The British captured Louisbourg again, for the last time, during the French and Indian War.

Primary Source

[...]

19 at the Hospitall—and citadel,—one Garretson dyd in the Hositall—and one math peters very Sick—that I discoursd with—he belonged to the Rhodeisland recruits—severall others—are very bad in the Hospitall—one of the men of warrs men, told me, they had four men dyd within 48 hours—some of them—ly dead, in the Hositall—tis dull weather—I feel dull, and Heavy—this day dr [Joseph] Pynchon—came on shore and brot me some letters from Home—informing me—my family are in walking Health—I bless God—the Lord is our preserver, at Home, and abroad—I visitd capt. [Isaac] Coltons company E. B. [Ebenezer Bliss] I hope is better—R. [Roger] Cooly is ill—the Lord be our helper this day one dakin dyd in the Hospitall. As did Lt Gross-of Hartford, belonging to the Connecticutt colony Sloop. I dind at Home, visitd capt [Charles] Doolittle-the men, are concerned-about their Homes—I walkd—on the walls, wth dr p, and mr Russell—prayd in the Hospitall, in Evening collonell [John] Choat—was much amiss, he took—Some herb-drink—at night—and Sweat kindly. [Loring? Lowry?] sat up with him, and—I lay on my own bed, with Woodberry-was much distressed by the fleas-but Slept-Some.—last night stayd—up Stairs with Collonell R [Sylvester Richmond]—we were visited in the Evening by Collonell Burry [Andrew Burr]

 $[\ldots]$

9. morning citadell—walked—the walls—. Visitd—capt: [John] Heuston, who was asleep—visitd—Charles Colton—visitd— Joseph Cooley—I hope they are Better—but Israel Warner—is new—taken—I prayd—with them—vistd the House—where deacon Shaw—lies Sick—and prayd—with them. Some in that House are very Low—an indian of collonell [Sylvester] Richmonds company dyd—. I went this afternoon to monsieur—Costeens and Bought—some cuffs in the Evening I was calld to See mr Commissary [William] Rogers—who is in Great distress and trouble of mind—the Lord—Grant it may issue well—one of the man of warrs men was burid—

10 and Sabbath. Morning citadel mr Fairweather—preachd for me, both in the forenoon and afternoon—. I preachd—an Evening Lecture—to a great Auditory—the Lord Grant Good—may be done

thereby—. I dind at the Admiralls—. I went to See—Hancock (at capt: [Isaac] Coltons house) who is much Amiss—is relapsd—this day were burid—one Ebenezer Stevens. And Amos Hovey both of Collonell [Jeremiah] Moltons company, and one mudget, of capt: [John] Lights company of New-Hampshire; and one Slate an Indian of collonell [John] Broadstreets company—and a Lt——of capt. [Benjamin or Joseph] Goldthwaits company.

11 morning citadel at the collonells House—at capt: [Isaac] Coltons, with old mr Goodhue, in the forenoon—afternoon at the House were capt: [John] Baker dwelt and with capt: [John] Heuston, and with ISrael warner—and with one Caule of capt: [Jonathan] Hubbards company this day were burid capt: Jeremiah Weston, of collonell [Sylvester] Richmonds company, and Samuell durton of collonell [Jeremiah] Moltons regiment. William Ripley of Brigadier [Joseph] dwights regiment. Thomas Robins, of Brigadier [Samuel] Waldos—and Roger Mather belonging to a transport of New-Hampshire. And a Lad belonging to the Ships—

12 morning citadel-visitd—collonell [William] Williams company—capt: [Isaac] Coltons, and capt: [Thomas] chenys and visitd—apt. [Daniel] mac-gregory, who is very Sick—. dind at Home—had collonell [Samuel] Moor collonell [William] Williams and mr m—. —at dinr—after dinr—visitd—the Revd—mr—Wood—who gave me a fine pair of Stockings—this day were burid—Nathaniell magiston, and Joseph dodge—of capt: William: Smiths—company and of the Generalls regiment—and Joseph Squire of collonell [Samuel] Willards—regiment

13 morning citadel—visitd—capt: [Isaac] Coltons—men—and capt: [Thomas] Chenys—and capt: [Adonijah] Fitchs men in Evening, —and prayd—with them. dind with the Generall in the Evening—was calld to see capt: mac-gregory—who is Soposd to be dyeing. I visitd allso—the poor men in the Barracks—where mr [Ebenezer] Raynolds—Lay—who are in a destressed case, and complain they are neglected—and I fear tis the case. this day were Burid Capt: [Robert] Glovers negro, peter, and Newport Cofew a free Negro, of capt: Mountfords [richard Mumford] company and one Thos: Groton of capt: [Jeremiah] Fosters company and Francis deal, and Amos Goodsal, these two of capt: [James?] Frys company and one John procter of capt: King's company, and one daniel Call.

14 morning Citadel. visitd—at capt: [Charles] doolittles he is Sick and severall of the men, visitd—at the House where capt: Baker lived—and at the collonell House—went in to see dr [Gilliam] Taylor—who is I hope, upon the Recruit—then, I went into the Hospitall, and prayd with them and I found six men dead there. Two of the men of warrs men, and the other four were. One Kelly of capt: [Jonathan] prescots—company, one Coreh of Rhodeisland one of capt: J [John] Warners—men, or capt: [Oliver?] Howards—and one of collonell [Sylvester] Richmonds men, his name I could not learn this morning were burid—Thos parry clark of capt: [Thomas]

chenys company, and one nathaniell Richmond. Last night capt: [Daniel] mac, Gregory abovd mentioned dyd, as did one Little of major [Moses] Titcombs company—and one of collonell [Sylvester] Richmonds men, namd Robert Browning. Afternoon—visitd—dr Morrison, and at the House where Joseph Cooley—lives, and found Severall of them much amiss. As I went from there, I met two men, carrying to the Grave that belongd—to capt: [William] Smith of Rhodeisland.

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Source: Louis Effingham de Forest, ed., *Louisbourg Journals 1745* (New York: Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York, 1932).

119. Six Nations Meet with Colonial Officials at Albany, August 19, 1746

Introduction

The Iroquois had considered the French to be their enemies since French explorers had attacked them in the early 1600s. They maintained a strong alliance with the English and cooperated with them in controlling the movements of other Indians in their territory. They lived in northern New York and Pennsylvania, and served as a buffer between Canada and the British colonies. The European war called the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) spilled over into North America when France entered the war against Great Britain. This became King George's War, fought in America between France and Great Britain from 1744 to 1748. In 1744, warriors and sachems of the Iroquois Six Nations met colonial officials in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and reaffirmed their alliance with the English. During a meeting in Albany, New York, two years later, New York officials urged the Iroquois to join them in a major operation against Canada. In his attempt to sway the Iroquois, the speaker cited French and Indian attacks on the English frontier, the necessity of avenging one's ancestors, and the opportunity to attain glory.

Primary Source

"The King your Father, having been informed of the unmanly Murders committed on the Frontiers of New-England, and of this Province, is resolved to subdue the Country of Canada, and thereby put an End to all the mischievous Designs of the French in these Parts. And for this purpose, he has ordered his, Governors of Virginia, Maryland, Pensylvania, and New-Jersey, to join their Forces to the Forces of this Province, to attack Canada by Land: They are all now upon their march, and you will soon see them here.

"At the same Time the Forces of the Massachusets- Bay, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, and New-Hampshire, are to go in Ships to Cape-Breton, and there join with his Majesty's Ships of War, and a great Army of experienc'd Soldiers from Great-Britain.

"Many Ships of War are already arrived there, and some thousand of Soldiers; many more Ships and Soldiers are following; and I expect every Hour to hear of their Arrival; after which the Attack upon Canada will be made on all Sides, both by Sea and Land.

"You may perceive the King has ordered a Strength sufficient to subdue Canada; but at the same Time, the King your Father expects and orders you his Children, to join with your whole Force in this Enterprize; and thereby gives the Six Nations a glorious Opportunity of establishing their Fame and Renown over all the Indian Nations in America, in the Conquest of your inveterate Enemies the French; who, however they may dissemble and profess Friendship, can never forget the Slaughter which your Fathers made of them; and for that purpose, caress those Nations who have always been your inveterate Enemies, and who desire nothing so much as to seethe Name of the Six Nations become obliterate, and forgot for ever.

[Gave a Belt.]

"Brethren, The French, on all Occasions, shew, that they act against your Brethren the English, like Men that know they dare not look them in the Face in Day-Light; and therefore, like Thieves, steal upon poor People, who do not expect them, in the Night, and consequently are not prepared for them: Your Brethren in their Revenge have acted like Men of Courage; they do not attack poor Farmers at their Labour, but boldly attempted the Reduction of Louisburg, the strongest Town the French had in America, in the fortifying of which they had spent above twenty Years: It was surrounded with strong Walls and Forts, in which they had planted their largest Cannon in every Place, where they thought the English could come near them; notwithstanding of all these Precautions and Advantages, they were forced to submit to the English Valour.

"You must have heard from your Fathers, and I doubt not several of your old Men still remember what the French did at Onondaga; how they surprized your Countrymen at Cadarackui; how they invaded the Senekas, and what Mischiefs they did to the Mohawks; how many of your Countrymen suffered by the Fire at Montreal. Before they entered upon these cruel and mischievous Designs, they sent Priests among you to delude you, and lull you asleep, while they were preparing to knock you on the Head; and I hear they are attempting to do the same now.

[Gave a Belt.]

"I need not put you in mind what Revenge your Fathers took for these Injuries, when they put all the Island of Montreal, and a great Part of Canada, to Fire and Sword; can you think that the French forget this? No, they have the Ax privately in their Hands against you, and use these deceitful Arts, by which only they have been able to gain Advantage over you, that by your trusting to them, they may at some time or other, at one Blow, remove from the Face of the

Earth, the Remembrance of a People that have so often put them to Shame and Flight.

"If your Fathers could now rise out of their Graves, how would their Hearts leap with Joy to see this Day; when so glorious an Opportunity is put into their Hands to revenge all the Injuries their Country has received from the French, and be never more exposed to their Treachery and Deceit.

"I make no doubt you are the true Sons of such renowned and brave Ancestors, animated with the same Spirit for your Country's Glory, and in Revenge of the Injuries your Fathers received, uncapable of being deluded by the flattering Speeches of them, who always have been, and always must be, in their Hearts, your Enemies, and who desire nothing more, than the Destruction of your Nations.

"I therefore invite you, Brethren, by this Belt, to join with us, and to share with us, in the Honour of the Conquest of our and your deceitful Enemies; and that you not only join all the Force of the Six Nations with us, but likewise invite all the Nations depending on you, to take a Share in this glorious Enterprize: And I will furnish your fighting Men with Arms, Ammunition, Cloathing, Provisions, and every Thing necessary for the War; and in their Absence, take Care of their Wives and Children.

Source: Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada*, vol. 2 (New York: Allerton Book Co., 1904).

120. Conrad Weiser, Journal of an Envoy to the Indians, 1748 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The European war called the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) had spilled over into North America when France entered the war against Great Britain. This became King George's War, fought in America between France and Great Britain from 1744 to 1748. Shortly after the war ended in 1748, Conrad Weiser met with representatives of several Indian nations in western Pennsylvania to reaffirm English-Indian friendship. The German-born Weiser had come to New York at the age of 14, learned the Mohawk language, and was adopted into the Mohawk tribe, one of the six Iroquois nations. He moved to Pennsylvania and worked for most of his adult life as a trader and interpreter, representing English interests in negotiations with the Iroquois and other native peoples. In 1748, although France and Britain had just declared a cease-fire, Weiser traveled to western Pennsylvania to represent Virginia and Pennsylvania in their efforts to gain reassurance of the Indians' loyalty to the English. In his journal, Weiser recounts his argument that they could not depend on the French to adhere to a cease-fire.

Primary Source

7th. Being inform'd that the Wondats had a mind to go back again to the French, & had endeavour'd to take the Delawares with them to recommend them to the French, I sent Andrew Montour to Beaver Creek with a string of Wampum to inform himself of the Truth of the matter; they sent a String in answer to let me know they had no Correspondence that way with the Wondats, and that the aforesaid Report was false.

8th.... I treated them [*the Wyandot*] with a quart of Whiskey & a Roll of Tobacco; they expressed their good Wishes to King George & all his People, & were mightily pleas'd that I look'd upon the as Brethren of the English.

This Day I desir'd the Deputies of all the nations of Indians settled on the Waters of Ohio to give me a List of their fighting Men, which they promis'd to do. A great many of the Indians went away this Day because the goods did not come, & the People in the Town cou'd not find Provision enough, the number was so great.

The following is the number of every nation, given to me by their several Deputies in Council, in so many Sticks tied up in a bundle:

The Senacas 163, Shawonese 162, Owendaets [*Wyandot*] 100, Tisagechroanu [*Huron*] 40, Mohawks 74, Mohickons 15, Onondagers 35, Cajukas [*Cayuga*] 20, Oneidos 15, Delawares 165, in all 789....

 $10^{\rm th}$. A great many of the Indians got drunk; one Henry Noland had brought near 30 Gallons of Whiskey to the Town. . . .

11th. George Croghan & myself staved and 8 Gallon Cag of Liquor belonging to the aforesaid Henry Norland, who could not be prevail'd on to hide it in the Woods, but would sell it & get drunk himselfe....

15th. I let the Indians know that I wou'd deliver my Message to morrow, & the Goods I had, & that they must send Deputies with me on my returning homewards, & wherever we shou'd meet the rest of the Goods I wou'd send them to them if they were not taken by the Enemy, to which they agree. . . .

17th. It rained very hard, but in the Afternoon it held up for about 3 hours; the Deputies of the several Nations met in council & I delivered them what I had to say from the President & Council of Pennsylvania by Andrew Montour.

'Brethren, you that live on Ohio: . . . some of you have been in Philadelphia last Fall & acquainted us that You had taken up the English Hatchet, and that You had already made use of it against the French, & that the French had very hard heads, & Your country afforded nothing but Sticks & Hickerys which was not sufficient to break them. You desir'd your Brethren wou'd assist You with some

Weapons sufficient to do it. . . . you receiv'd a Supply by George Croghan sent you by your said Brethren; but before George Croghan came back from Ohio News came from over the Great Lake that the King of Great Britain & the French King has agreed upon a Cessation of Arms for Six Months & that a Peace was very likely to follow. Your Brethren, the President & council, were then in a manner at a loss what to do. . . . but as your Brethren never miss'd fulfilling their Promises, they have upon second consideration thought proper to turn the intended supply into a civil & Brotherly Present. . . . A French Peace is a very uncertain One, they keep it no longer than their Interest permits, then they break it without provocation given them.

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Source: John W. Harpster, ed., *Pen Pictures of Early Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1938).

121. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The European war called the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) spilled over into North America when France entered the war against Great Britain. This became King George's War, fought in America between France and Great Britain from 1744 to 1748. The war had begun in Europe in 1740, but France did not enter the war until 1744, when it declared war on Britain and attacked the British-held town of Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia. Much of King George's War took place in Canada, but French and Native American raiders also attacked settlements on the New England frontier. The agreement that ended the War of the Austrian Succession, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed in October 1748, recognized the right of Holy Roman Empress Maria Theresa to succeed her father to the throne, although she was forced to relinquish some of her territory. The treaty also gave Nova Scotia to the British, while returning the hard-won fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island to the French. The peace proved short-lived, however, as the Seven Years' War erupted between the powers in the mid-1750s.

Primary Source

The Definitive Treaty of Christian, Universal, and Perpetual Peace, Friendship and Union, Concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 18th of October, 1748

Article I

There shall be a Christian, Universal, and Perpetual Peace, both by Sea and Land, and a sincere and constant Friendship between the High Powers before mentioned, and between their Heirs and Successors, Kingdoms, States, Provinces, Countries, Subjects and Vassals, of what Quality or Condition soever, without Exception of Place or Person, in such a Manner that the High Contracting Parties must have a constant attention to maintain between them and their said States and Subjects, this reciprocal Friendship and Correspondence without permitting either one Party or the other to commit any Sort of Hostilities on any Account or Pretence whatever, and shunning every Thing which may tend to alter the happy Union happily re-established between them; engaging themselves, on the contrary, to procure on all Occasions whatever may contribute to their mutual Glory, Interests and Advantages, without giving any Succour or Protection, directly or indirectly, to those who may so much as attempt to prejudice either one or other of the said High contracting Parties.

Article II

There shall be a general Oblivion of all that has been done or committed during the War which is now put an End to, and each on the Day of Exchange of the Ratifications of all the Parties shall be restored to the Possession of all his Effects, Dignities, Ecclesiastical Benefices, Honours and Revenues, which he enjoyed on the Commencement of the War, notwithstanding all the Possessions, Seizures or Confiscations occasioned by said War.

Article III

The Treaties of Westphalia of 1648; those of Madrid, between the Crowns of England and Spain, of 1667 and 1670; the Treaties of Peace of Nimeguen of 1678 and 1679; of Ryswick of 1697; of Utrecht of 1713; of Baden of 1714; the Treaty of the Triple Alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the Quadruple Alliance of London of 1718; and the Treaty of Peace of Vienna of 1738, shall serve as a Basis and Foundation to the General Peace and to the present Treaty, and for this Effect they shall be renewed and confirmed in the best Form, and as if they were inserted Word for Word, and are still to be exactly observed in their whole Tenor, and religiously executed on all Sides, excepting however some Points which are derogated by the present Treaty.

Article IV

The Prisoners made on all Sides, as well by Sea as Land, and the Hostages required or given during the War, to this Day, shall be restored without Ransom in six Weeks or sooner, to reckon from the Exchange of the Ratification of the present Treaty, and to be proceeded on immediately after this Exchange; and all the Ships either of War, or Merchants, which may have been taken since the Expiration of the Times agreed on for the Cessation of Hostilities by Sea, shall be restored *bona fida*, with all their Equipages and Cargoes, and Security given on both Sides for the Payment of Debts which the Prisoners or Hostages may have contracted in the Countries wherein they have been detained to the Time they are set at Liberty.

Article V

All the Conquests which have been made since the Commencement of the War, or which since the Conclusion of the Preliminary Articles signed the 30th of the Month of April last may have been, or are, made, either in Europe or the East Indies, or any other Part of the World whatever, must be restored without Exception, conformable to what has been stipulated by the said preliminary Articles and by the Declaration since signed, the High Parties engaging to proceed immediately to this Restitution, as well as to put the serene Infant Don *Philip* into Possession of the states which are to be ceded in Virtue of the said Preliminaries, the said Parties renouncing solemnly, both for themselves and their Heirs and Successors, all their Rights and Pretentions, under what Title and Pretext forever, to all the States, Countries and Places which they have respectively engaged to give up or cede, saving however the stipulated Reversion of the States ceded to the serene Infant Don *Philip*.

Article VI

It is determined and agreed, that all the respective Restitutions and Cessions in Europe, shall be entirely made and executed on all Sides in the Space of six Weeks, or sooner if possible, form the Day of the Exchange of the Ratifications of the present Treaty of all the eight Parties before mentioned; so that within the same Term of six Weeks, the most Christian King shall restore, as well to the Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, as to the States General of the united Provinces, all the Places he has taken from them during the War.

The Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, in Consequence hereof, must be replaced in the full and peaceable Possession of all that she enjoyed before the present War in the Low Countries and elsewhere, except what is regulated otherwise by the present Treaty. At the same Time the Lords of the States General of the united Provinces are to be put in the full and peaceable Possession, such as they enjoyed before the present War, of the Towns of Bergen op Zoom and Maestricht, and of all that they possessed before the present War in Dutch Flanders, in Brabant, Holland and elsewhere.

And the Towns and Places in the Low Countries, whereof the Sovereignty belonged to the Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, in which their High Mightinesses have the Right of Garrison, shall be evacuated to the Troops of the Republick in the same Space of Time. The King of Sardinia to be, in the same Time and Manner, entirely re-established and maintained in the Dutchy of Savoy and in the County of Nice, and likewise in all the States, Countries, Places and Forts, taken from him on Account of the present War.

The serene Duke of Modena, and the serene Republick of Genoa, shall be at the same Time entirely re-established and maintained in the States, Countries, Places and Forts, taken from them during the

present War, and this conformable to the Tenor of the thirteenth and fourteenth Articles of this Treaty relating thereto.

All the Restitutions and Cessions of the said Towns, Forts, and Places, shall be made with all the Artillery and Ammunition found therein on the Day of their Occupation in the Course of the War by the Powers which have made the said Cessions and Restitutions, and this according to the Inventories which have been made, or which shall be delivered *bona fida* on all Sides, extending so far, that in Regard to the Pieces of Artillery which have been sent elsewhere to be new cast, or for other Uses, they are to be replaced by the same Number, of the same *Calibre*, in Weight and Metal; but the Towns of *Mons, Athe, Ourdenarde*, and *Monin*, the Fortifications whereof have been demolished, are to be given up without the Artillery. Nothing is to be demanded for the Money expended on the Fortifications of all the others, nor for other publick or private Works which have been made in the Countries thus to be restored.

Article VII

In Consideration of the Restitutions which their most Christian and Catholick Majesties make by the present Treaty, be it to her Majesty the Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, or be it to his Majesty the King of Sardinia, the Dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Gaustella shall for the future belong to the serene Infant Don Philip, to be possessed by him and his Male Descendants, born in legitimate Marriage, in the same Manner and Extent as they have been enjoy'd by the present Possessors; and the said serene Infant, or his Male Descendants, shall enjoy the said three Dutchies conformable to and on the Conditions expressed in the Acts of Cessions of the Empress Queen of Hungary and the King of Sardinia. These Acts of Cessions of the Empress Queen of *Hungary* and the King of *Sardinia* to be remitted with their Ratifications of the present Treaty to the Ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Catholick King, in the same Manner as the Ambassadors extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries of their most Christian and Catholick Majesties shall remit, with the Ratifications of their Majesties, to that of the King of Sardinia the Orders to the Generals of the French and Spanish Troops for restoring Savoy and the County of Nice to the Persons commissioned by that Prince to receive them; so that the Restitution of the said States and the taking Possession of Parma, Placentia, and Gustalla, by, or in the Name of, the serene Infant Don Philip, may be effected a the same Time, conformable to the Articles of Cession, the Tenor whereof is as follows.

[Acts of Cession of the Empress Queen and the King of Sardinia]

Article VIII

To assure and effect the said Restitutions, it is agreed that they shall be entirely executed and accomplished on all Sides, in Europe, within the Space of Six Weeks, or sooner if possible, from the Day of the Exchange of the Ratifications of all the Eight Powers; and in order thereto, in fifteen Days after the Signature of the present Treaty the Generals or other Persons which the High Contractors on each Side shall think proper to commission, shall assemble at *Brussels* and *Nice*, to concert and agree on the Means of proceeding to the Restitutions, in a Manner equally convenient for the Troops, the Inhabitants, and the respective Countries, but so that all and each of the High Contracting Parties may be, conformable to their Intentions and Engagements contracted by the present Treaty, in entire and peaceable Possession, without excepting any Thing that may acrue, be it by Cession or otherwise, within the Term of six Weeks, or sooner, after the Exchange of the Ratifications of the present Treaty of all the said eight Powers.

Article IX

In Consideration that, nonwithstanding the mutual Engagement taken by the Eighteenth Article of the Preliminaries, importing that all the Restitutions should proceed on an equal Pace, and be executed at the same Time, his Most Christian Majesty engages by the sixth Article of the present Treaty to restore in six Weeks, or sooner if possible, from the Day of Exchange of the Ratifications of the present Treaty, all the Conquests he has made in the Low Countries; while it is impossible, from the Distance of the Country, that what concerns America can be effected at the same Time, or the Term fixed for its perfect Execution; his Britannick Majesty likewise engages on his Side to send to the Most Christian King, immediately after the Exchange of the Ratifications of the present Treaty, two Persons of Rank and Condition, to continue in France as Hostages 'till such Time as they have certain and authentick Advice of the Restitution of the Royal Isle called Cape-Breton, and of all the conquests that the Arms or Subjects of his Britannick Majesty may have made before or after the Signature of the Preliminaries, in the East and West Indies. Their Britannick and Most Christian Majesties oblige themselves likewise to remit, on the Exchange of the Ratifications of the present Treaty, the Duplicates of the Orders addressed to the Commissaries respectively appointed to restore and receive all which may have been conquered on each Side in the East and West Indies, conformable to the second Article of the Preliminaries, and to the Declaration of the 21st and 31st of May, and the 8th of July last, in what concerns the said Conquests in the East and West Indies.

Be it well understood, nevertheless, that the Royal Isle, called *Cape-Breton*, shall be restored with all the Artillery and Ammunition found therein on the Day of its Surrender; and as to the other Restitutions, they shall have their Effect conformable to the Tenor of the 11th Article of the Preliminaries, and the Declarations and Conventions of the 21st and 31st of May, and the 8th of July, in the State wherein Things were found on the 11th of June, N.S. in the West Indies, and the 31st of October, likewise N. S. in the East Indies. All other Things to be restored on the Footing they were before the present War.

The said respective Commissaries, as well those for the *West* as those for the *East Indies*, must be ready to set out on the first Advice that their Britannick and Most Christian Majesties receive of the Exchange of the Ratifications, furnished with all the necessary Instructions, Commissions, Powers, and Orders, for the most speedy Accomplishment of the Intentions of their said Majesties, and the Engagements which they have contracted by the present Treaty.

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Article XXIII

All the Powers contracting and interested in the present Treaty reciprocally and respectively guaranty its Execution.

Article XXIV

The Solemn Ratifications of the present Treaty, drawn up in good and due Form, shall be exchanged in this City of *Aix-la-Chapelle* between all the Eight Parties, within the Space of a Month, or sooner if possible, from the Day of Signing.

In Witness whereof, We their Ambassadors Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary, in Virtue of our full Powers, have signed the present Treaty with our own Hands, and have set our Seals with our Coats of Arms thereunto.

Source: The Definitive Treaty of Christian, Universal and Perpetual Peace, Friendship and Union, Concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 7/18th of October, 1748. Boston: Re-printed by J. Bushell and J. Green for D. Gookin in Marlborough-Street, 1749.

122. Royal Instructions Regarding the Acadians, 1749

Introduction

Acadia (or Acadie in French) was the name given to the Canadian maritime territory possessed by the French, including modern-day Nova Scotia. The French founded Port Royal in 1605, and an English expedition from Virginia destroyed it in 1613. Acadia changed hands between England and France four more times before the British retained it permanently in 1748. The European war called the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) spilled over into North America when France entered the war against Great Britain in 1744. This became King George's War, fought in America between France and Great Britain until 1748. When France entered the war, it attacked the British-held town of Annapolis Royal, formerly the French Port Royal. The British retained Nova Scotia at war's end, while the French retained some adjacent territory. The following year, the British governor of Nova Scotia received these orders to take a census of the French Acadians and to require them to take an oath of allegiance to Britain. In return, the Acadians would be permitted to retain their land and practice Catholicism. This relative permissiveness came to an abrupt end when the French and Indian War began. In 1755, the British expelled some 3,000 Acadian families from the province and confiscated their property. Some of them made their way to Louisiana.

Primary Source

TAKE CENSUS OF ACADIANS

And it is our further will and pleasure that you do within a convenient time or as soon as you shall find the same to be expedient, cause an exact account to be taken of the number of French Inhabitants within our said province and how many thereof are able to bear arms, as also the number of arms and the quantity of ammunition to each French Inhabitant; where their settlements are; what quantity of land they have now under actual improvement; specifying the number of acres cultivated by each particular person; whether they live in townships or are scattered at distances from each other; what trade they carry on, either with the Indians or otherwise; and how they employ themselves for the subsistence of their families; what number of ships they have and how they are employed; to what market they carry the fish they catch, and what good or commodities they bring back in return; which said account you shall forthwith transmit unto us by one of our principal secretaries of state and to our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations for our direction therein, as also the like account from time to time with respect to such other of our subjects as are settled or may hereafter settle in our said province.

ACADIANS TO TAKE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

And whereas we have been informed that the inhabitants of Nova Scotia (except those of the garrison of Annapolis ROYAL) are most if not all of them French, in order therefore to induce them to become good subjects to us and to assist the new settlers with provisions and other necessaries, which their circumstances at the first settling may require; you are as soon as you shall judge proper after your arrival to issue a declaration in our name, setting forth that though we are fully sensible that the many indulgencies which have been shown by our royal predecessors and by us to the said inhabitants in allowing them the entirely free exercise of their religion, and the quiet and peaceable possession of their lands, have not met with a dutiful return, but on the contrary divers of the said inhabitants have openly abetted or privately assisted our enemies in their attempts by furnishing them with quarters, provisions, and intelligence, and concealing their designs from our commander in chief of our said province, in so much that the enemy more than once appeared under the walls of Annapolis Royal before the garrison thereof had any notice of their being within the province; yet we being desirous of showing further marks of our royal grace to the said inhabitants, in hopes thereby to induce them to become for the future, true and loyal subjects, are pleased to declare that the said

inhabitants shall continue in the free exercise of their religion as far as the laws of Great Britain shall admit of the same, as also to the peaceable possession of such lands as are under their cultivation; provided that the said inhabitants do within three months from the date of such declaration or such longer time as you shall think proper take the oaths of allegiance appointed to be taken by the laws of this our kingdom, and likewise behave themselves as becomes good subjects, submitting to such rules and orders as may hereafter be thought proper to be made by us or any person acting under our authority for the maintaining and supporting our government, and provided also they do give all possible countenance and assistance to such persons as we shall think proper to settle in our province.

Source: Leonard Woods Labaree, ed., *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors*, 1670–1776, vol. 1 (New York: Octagon Books, 1967).

123. *Memoirs of the English Aggression*, 1750

Introduction

The European war called the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) spilled over into North America when France entered the war against Great Britain in 1744. This became King George's War, fought in America between France and Great Britain until 1748. The British retained Nova Scotia at war's end, while the French retained some adjacent territory. After the war, British and French settlers in North America became even more wary of one another. Each believed that the other was plotting to expand at their expense. This anonymous French writer accuses the British of violating the boundaries of New France and of plotting to invade Louisiana and Spanish Florida. He suggests that the British are trying to drive a wedge between French and Spanish territory and suggests that France and Spain have a common cause against Great Britain. British documents, on the other hand, demonstrate the British belief that the French would resume hostilities at the first opportunity. Events proved them right in 1752 when French-led Indian warriors attacked a British trading post in the Ohio River Valley.

Primary Source

The restoration of peace has in no wise diverted the English from their constant design to get possession of all the commerce of America. It is only necessary to consider their actual conduct to be convinced of this truth.

No doubt Spain has good proof on its side. France's is but too certain, both from the publicly professed plans of the English and from the difficulties their commissaries are daily making in the settlement of the disputes of the two nations in America.

England, not content with having already encroached on the lands of France on the side of Hudson Bay, and with pushing its settlements in Acadia on the mainland of New France at the Bay of Fundy, despite the boundaries assigned that country by the Treaty of Utrecht, now plans the invasion of Florida and Louisiana.

It is true the English have already encroached on those provinces, but they have not hitherto pushed their claims to the extravagant extent revealed by the map just published at London, on which, under pretence of correcting one of our recent geographers, they extend their boundaries into Spanish Florida in such fashion as to seat themselves on waters flowing into the Gulf of Mexico.

As to Louisiana, they claim to extend their boundaries over all the lands of the Indians friendly to France as far as the Alabamas; they partially recompense Spain for what they took from Florida at the expense of Louisiana. Although this map is not made by express order of the government, it is well known to be by authority.

However there is no doubt that the English have no justification for such enterprises which have long been no secret. They wish to be in a position to invade Florida, and by that conquest, along with their possession of the Isle of Providence in the Bahamas, to make themselves masters of the outlet of the Bahama Channel, and as a result of the treasure of Europe.

To carry out this plan more easily they seek to put it out of the power of the French of Louisiana to give aid to the Spanish as formerly, and as they will never fail to do in all attempts of the English to work their hurt. In this they can best succeed by seeking to cut the communication of the French of Louisiana with New France and Florida; but is not the common danger resulting to France and Spain a warning to the two powers to concert measures as soon as possible that will insure the failure of this pernicious design? The king on his side is ready to enter into all the measures His Catholic Majesty may think most proper to protect himself from the ambitious projects of a nation with no other aim than to subjugate all the others by seizing on their colonies and their commerce, and which terms that the "balance of Europe."

Source: Anonymous, 1750.

124. Robert Dinwiddie, Instructions to George Washington Regarding the French in the Ohio Country, October 30, 1753

Introduction

During the 1740s, the French and the English vied openly for control of trade and territory in the interior of North America. Traders from Virginia and Pennsylvania crossed the Allegheny mountains into the Ohio River Valley to conduct trade with the western Indians. French traders entered the same territory from Canada and the Mississippi River Valley. In 1752, Frenchmen led a troop of Indians in a brutal attack on an English trading post in Ohio Country.

The following year the French began building forts in the western part of modern-day Pennsylvania. In these orders, Gov. Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia—who was speculating in Ohio land—instructs the 21-year-old militiaman, George Washington, to lead an expedition into the Ohio Country to confront the French. Washington was to inform them that they were trespassing on Virginia property and gather intelligence on the placement of French forts and the strength of their garrisons. Washington set out from Williamsburg in October 1753 and returned in January 1754 to report that the French had no intention of leaving Ohio voluntarily. Trained as a surveyor, Washington produced a good map of the Ohio Country. Dinwiddie continued to send Virginia militia into the Ohio River Valley, and in July 1754, Washington and his men fought the first American battle of the French and Indian War.

Primary Source

INSTRUCTION FROM ROBERT DINWIDDIE

[Williamsburg, 30 October 1753]

Instructions for George Washington Esqr.

Whereas I have receiv'd Information of a Body of French Forces being assembled in an hostile Manner on the River Ohio, intending by force of Arms to erect certain Forts on the said River, within this Territory & contrary to the Peace & Dignity of our Sovereign the King of Great Britain.

These are therefore to require & direct You the said George Washington Esqr. forthwith to repair to the Logstown on the said River Ohio; & having there inform'd YourSelf where the said French Forces have posted themselves, thereupon to proceed to such Place: & being there arriv'd to present Your credentials, together with my Letter to the chief commanding Officer, &, in the Name of His Britanic Majesty, to demand an Answer from him hereto.

On Your Arrival at the Logstown, You are to address Yourself to the Half King, to Monacatoocha & other the Sachems of the Six Nations; acquainting them with Your Orders to visit & deliver my Letter to the French commanding Officer; & desiring the said Chiefs to appoint You a sufficient Number of their Warriors to be Your Safeguard, as near the French as You may desire, & to wait Your further Direction.

You are diligently to enquire into the Numbers & Force of the French on the Ohio, & the adjacent Country; how they are like to be assisted from Canada; & what are the Difficulties & Conveniencies of that Communication, & the Time requir'd for it.

You are to take Care to be truly inform'd what Forts the French have erected, & where; How they are Garrison'd & appointed, & what is their Distance from each other, & from Logstown: And from

1106 125. Albany Plan of Union

the best Intelligence You can procure, You are to learn what gave Occasion to this Expedition of the French. How they are like to be supported, & what their Pretentions are.

When the French commandant has given You the requir'd & necessary Dispatches, you are to desire of him that, agreeable to the Law of nations, he wou'd grant You a proper Guard, to protect you as far on Your Return, as You may judge for Your Safety, against any stragling Indians or Hunters that may be ignorant of Yr Character & molest You.

Wishing You good Success in Yr Negotiations & a safe & speedy return I am Sr Yr hble Servt.

Source: W.W. Abbot, ed., *The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series*, vol. 1 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia).

125. Albany Plan of Union, 1754

Introduction

As a new war with France loomed, the British Board of Trade ordered the governor of New York to call a congress of several colonies and the Iroquois. The British feared that lawless frontier traders would alienate Great Britain's Iroquois allies and drive them into the arms of the French. The participating colonies were to negotiate a joint treaty with the Iroquois. Representatives from seven colonies (Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania) attended the congress in Albany, New York, in June and July 1754. In addition to hammering out an agreement with the Iroquois, the participating colonies adopted a Plan of Union, believed to have been written by Thomas Hutchinson and Benjamin Franklin. The plan provided for a central council authorized to take action to protect the colonies in an emergency. If approved, the plan would allow the central authority to levy taxes for defense, including building forts and raising armies. The various colonial assemblies, concerned that they would sacrifice whatever autonomy they had, refused to ratify the plan, so it was never submitted to the British Parliament. However, both the Albany Congress and the Plan of Union hinted at a future in which the colonies would cooperate.

Primary Source

The PLAN of the Union was as follows, viz.

It is proposed that humble application be made for an act of parliament of Great Britain, by virtue of which one general government may be formed in America, including all the said colonies: [Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Car-

olina, and South Carolina] within and under which government, each colony may retain its present constitution, except in the particulars wherein a change may be directed by the said act, as hereafter follows:

PRESIDENT GENERAL AND GRAND COUNCIL.

That the said general government be administered by a president general, to be appointed and supported by the crown, and a grand council, to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies, met in their assemblies.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

That within months after passing such act, the houses of representatives that happen to be sitting within that time, or that shall be especially for that purpose convened, may and shall choose members for the grand council in the following proportion, that is to say:

Massachusetts Bay	7
New Hampshire	2
Connecticut	5
Rhode Island	2
New York	4
New Jersey	3
Pennsylvania	6
Maryland	4
Virginia	7
North Carolina	4
South Carolina	4

PLACE OF FIRST MEETING.

Who shall meet for the first time at the city of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, being called by the president general as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment.

NEW ELECTION.

That there shall be a new election of the members of the grand council every three years; and on the death or resignation of any member, his place shall be supplied by a new choice, at the next sitting of the assembly of the colony he represented.

PROPORTION OF THE MEMBERS AFTER THE FIRST THREE YEARS.

That after the first three years, when the proportion of money arising out of each colony to the general treasury can be known, the number of members to be chosen for each colony shall, from time to time, in all ensuing elections, be regulated by that proportion (yet so as that the number to be chosen by any one province be not more than seven, nor less than two).

MEETINGS OF THE GRAND COUNCIL AND CALL.

That the grand council shall meet once in every year, and oftener, if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the president general, on any emergency; he having first obtained in writing the consent of seven of the members to such call, and sent due and timely notice to the whole.

CONTINUANCE.

That the grand council have power to choose their speaker: and shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting longer than six weeks at one time; without their own consent, or the special command of the crown.

MEMBERS ATTENDANCE.

That the members of the grand council shall be allowed for their services, ten shillings sterling per diem, during their session and journey to and from the place of meeting; twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey.

ASSENT OF PRESIDENT GENERAL AND HIS DUTY.

That the assent of the president general be requisite to all acts of the grand council; and that it be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.

POWER OF PRESIDENT GENERAL AND GRAND COUNCIL, TREATIES OF PEACE AND WAR.

That the president general, with the advice of the grand council, hold or direct all Indian treaties in which the general interest of the colonies may be concerned; and make peace or declare war with Indian nations.

INDIAN TRADE.

That they make such laws as they judge necessary for regulating all Indian trade.

INDIAN PURCHASES.

That they make all purchases from the Indians for the crown, of lands not now within the bounds of particular colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds, when some of them are reduced to more convenient dimensions.

NEW SETTLEMENTS.

That they make new settlements on such purchases by granting lands in the king's name, reserving a quit rent to the crown, for the use of the general treasury.

LAWS TO GOVERN THEM.

That they make laws for regulating and governing such new settlements, until the crown shall think fit to form them into particular governments.

RAISE SOLDIERS AND EQUIP VESSELS, ETC.

That they raise and pay soldiers, build forts for the defence of any of the colonies, and equip vessels of force to guard the coasts and protect the trade on the ocean, lakes, or great rivers; but they shall not impress men in any colony, without the consent of the legislature.

POWER TO MAKE LAWS, LAY DUTIES, ETC.

That for these purposes they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imposts, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just, (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies) and such may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people; rather discouraging luxury, than loading industry with unnecessary burdens.

GENERAL TREASURER AND PARTICULAR TREASURER.

That they may appoint a general treasurer and particular treasurer in each government, when necessary; and from time to time may order the sums in the treasuries of each government into the general treasury, or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient.

MONEY, HOW TO ISSUE.

Yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the president general and grand council, except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the president general has been previously empowered by an act to draw for such sums.

ACCOUNTS.

That the general accounts shall be yearly settled, and reported to the several assemblies.

QUORUM.

That a quorum of the grand council, empowered to act with the president general, do consist of twenty-five members; among whom there shall be one or more from the majority of the colonies.

LAWS TO BE TRANSMITTED.

That the laws made by them for the purposes aforesaid, shall not be repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, and shall be transmitted to the king in council, for approbation, as soon as may be after their passing; and if not disapproved within three years after presentation, to remain in force.

DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT GENERAL.

That in case of the death of the president general, the speaker of the grand council for the time being shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authorities, to continue until the king's pleasure be known.

OFFICERS, HOW APPOINTED.

That all military commission officers, whether for land or sea service, to act under this general constitution, shall be nominated by the president general; but the approbation of the grand council is to be obtained, before they receive their commissions. And all civil officers are to be nominated by the grand council, and to receive the president general's approbation before they officiate.

VACANCIES, HOW SUPPLIED.

But in case of vacancy, by death, or removal of any officer, civil or military, under this constitution, the governor of the province in which such vacancy happens, may appoint until the pleasure of the president general and grand council can be known.

EACH COLONY MAY DEFEND ITSELF ON EMERGENCY, &C.

That the particular military as well as civil establishments in each colony remain in their present state, the general constitution notwithstanding; and that on sudden emergencies any colony may defend itself, and lay the accounts of expense thence arising before the president general and grand council, who may allow and order payment of the same as far as they judge such accounts reasonable.

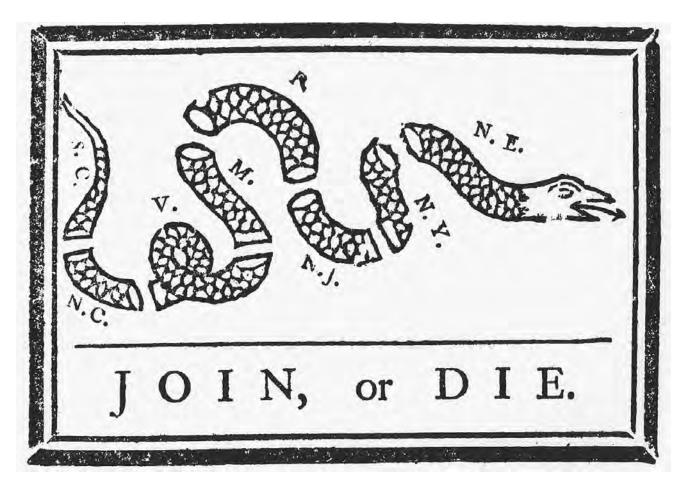
Source: Marshall, John. 1926. The Life of George Washington, Commander in Chief of the American Forces, During the War Which Estab-

lished the Independence of His Country, and First President of the United States. Project Gutenberg, 2006. http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/18591.

126. Benjamin Franklin, "Join or Die," May 9, 1754

Introduction

As a new war with France loomed, the governor of New York called a congress of several colonies and the Iroquois. Representatives from seven colonies attended the congress in Albany, New York, in June and July 1754. A few weeks before he attended the Albany Congress, Benjamin Franklin created this cartoon to illustrate his essay urging a union among the colonies. Franklin portrayed a snake cut into eight pieces, with the tail labeled South Carolina and the head labeled New England, bearing the caption, "Join, or Die." He carved it as a woodcut so it could be printed in his newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, where it appeared on May 9, 1754. Franklin originally promoted the idea of a union to foster cooperation for the common defense and to ensure the colonies' survival in the face of hostility from Native Americans and the French. Nearly 20 years later, as the rebellion against Great Britain gathered momentum,



Join or Die, a woodcut created by Benjamin Franklin, which first appeared in May 1754 on the eve of the Albany Congress. (Library of Congress)

the cartoon was widely copied and publishers altered it to represent the idea of uniting against the British. The cartoon reappeared with an extra segment at the snake's tail to represent Georgia, and the caption, "Unite or Die." Later still, the snake became a national symbol and appeared—whole—on the flag of the U.S. Marines, with the motto, "Don't tread on me."

127. Henry Wordsworth Longfellow, *Evangeline*, 1847 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Acadia (or Acadie in French) was the name given to the Canadian maritime territory possessed by the French, including modern-day Nova Scotia. The French founded Port Royal in 1605, and an English expedition from Virginia destroyed it in 1613. Acadia changed hands between England and France four more times before the British retained it permanently in 1748. The European war called the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) spilled over into North America when France entered the war against Great Britain in 1744. This became King George's War, fought in America between France and Great Britain until 1748. When France entered the war, it attacked the British-held town of Annapolis Royal, formerly the French Port Royal. The British retained Nova Scotia at war's end. The British governor required the resident French Acadians to take an oath of allegiance to Britain. In return, the Acadians were permitted to retain their land and practice Catholicism. This relative permissiveness came to an abrupt end when the French and Indian War began. In 1755, the British expelled some 3,000 Acadian families from the province and confiscated their property. Some of them made their way to Louisiana. The cruelty of the deportation captured the American imagination a century later, when Longfellow wrote an epic poem about Acadian lovers torn apart forever.

Primary Source

 $[\ldots]$

MANY a weary year had passed since the burning of Grand-Pré, When on the falling tide the freighted vessels departed, Bearing a nation, with all its household gods, into exile, Exile without an end, and without an example in story. Far asunder, on separate coasts, the Acadians landed; Scattered were they, like flakes of snow, when the wind from the northeast

Strikes aslant through the fogs that darken the Banks of Newfoundland.

Friendless, homeless, hopeless, they wandered from city to city, From the cold lakes of the North to sultry Southern savannas,—From the bleak shores of the sea to the lands where the Father of Waters

Seizes the hills in his hands, and drags them down to the ocean, Deep in their sands to bury the scattered bones of the mammoth. Friends they sought and homes; and many, despairing, heart-broken,

Asked of the earth but a grave, and no longer a friend nor a fireside.

Written their history stands on tablets of stone in the churchyards.

[...]

Still stands the forest primeval; but under the shade of its branches

Dwells another race, with other customs and language.
Only along the shore of the mournful and misty Atlantic
Linger a few Acadian peasants, whose fathers from exile
Wandered back to their native land to die in its bosom.
In the fisherman's cot the wheel and the loom are still busy;
Maidens still wear their Norman caps and their kirtles
of homespun,

And by the evening fire repeat Evangeline's story.

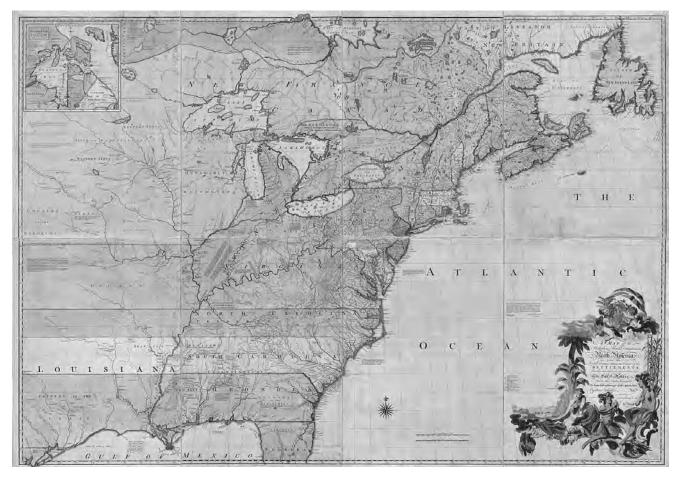
While from its rocky caverns the deep-voiced, neighboring ocean

Speaks, and in accents disconsolate answers the wail of the forest.

128. John Mitchell, Map of British and French Dominions in North America, 1755

Introduction

The French and the English had long competed for control of trade and territory in North America. The French had explored and claimed the vast territory of Louisiana, and Great Britain had won part of Canada from the French. During the extended to the Ohio River Valley. Traders from Virginia and Pennsylvania crossed the Allegheny mountains into the Ohio River Valley to conduct trade with the western Indians. French traders entered the same territory from Canada and the Mississippi River Valley. During the colonial era, an important purpose of mapmaking was to position boundary lines to expand one's own territory. The 1754 outbreak of the French and Indian War in Ohio Country provided an opportunity to redraw the map of North America to one's advantage. This 1755 map by Englishman John Mitchell admirably serves this purpose by portraying the boundaries of several British colonies as extending straight across the North American continent. The map ignores the existence of French claims to Louisiana, sharply curtails Spanish Florida, and extends Virginia so that it engulfs the Ohio River Valley and beyond.



Map of North America showing British and French territory in 1755. (Library of Congress)

129. George Washington, Report to Robert Dinwiddie of Battle in Ohio Country, July 18, 1755

Introduction

During the 1740s, the French and the English vied openly for control of trade and territory in the interior of North America. Traders from Virginia and Pennsylvania crossed the Allegheny Mountains into the Ohio River Valley to conduct trade with the western Indians. French traders entered the same territory from Canada and the Mississippi River Valley. In 1752, Frenchmen led a troop of Indians in a brutal attack on an English trading post in Ohio Country. The following year the French began building forts in the western part of modernday Pennsylvania. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia first sent 21year-old militiaman George Washington at the head of an expedition into the Ohio Country in 1753. Washington led another expedition into the Ohio River Valley in 1754, and was defeated by a large French force at Fort Necessity in the first American battle of the French and Indian War. In response to the battle, Great Britain sent General Edward Braddock and some 1,000 troops to Virginia. Joined by George Washington and colonial militiamen, the army marched toward the Ohio River Valley. On July 9, 1755, French and Indian troops ambushed the British and colonial troops, inflicting an overwhelming defeat. Washington was instrumental in saving the survivors by taking command of the retreat. In this letter, Washington reports details of the engagement to Governor Dinwiddie.

Primary Source

Fort Cumberland, July 18, 1755.

Honbl. Sir: As I am favour'd with an oppertunity, I shou'd think myself inexcusable was I to omit giv'g you some acct. of our late Engagem't with the French on the Monongahela the 9th. Inst.

We continued our March from Fort Cumberland to Frazier's (which is within 7 Miles of Duquisne) with't meet'g with any extraordinary event, hav'g only a stragler or two picked up by the French Indians. When we came to this place, we were attack'd (very unexpectedly I must own) by abt. 300 French and Ind'ns; Our numbers consisted of abt. 1300 well arm'd Men, chiefly Regular's, who were immediately struck with such a deadly Panick, that nothing but confusion and disobedience of order's prevail'd amongst them: The Officer's in gen'l behav'd with incomparable bravery, for which they greatly

suffer'd, there being near 60 kill'd and wound'd. A large proportion, out of the number we had! The Virginian Companies behav'd like Men and died like Soldiers; for I believe out of the 3 Companys that were there that day, scarce 30 were left alive: Captn. Peyrouny and all his Officer's, down to a Corporal, were kill'd; Captn. Polson shar'd almost as hard a Fate, for only one of his Escap'd: In short the dastardly behaviour of the English Soldier's expos'd all those who were inclin'd to do their duty to almost certain Death; and at length, in despight of every effort to the contrary, broke and run as Sheep before the Hounds, leav'g the Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions, and, every individual thing we had with us a prey to the Enemy; and when we endeavour'd to rally them in hopes of regaining our invaluable loss, it was with as much success as if we had attempted to have stop'd the wild Bears of the Mountains.

The Genl. was wounded behind in the shoulder, and into the Breast, of w'ch he died three days after; his two Aids de Camp were both wounded, but are in a fair way of Recovery; Colo. Burton and Sir Jno. St. Clair are also wounded, and I hope will get over it; Sir Peter Halket, with many other brave Officers were kill'd in the Field. I luckily escap'd with't a wound tho' I had four Bullets through my Coat and two Horses shot under me. It is suppose that we left 300 or more dead in the Field; about that number we brought of wounded; and it is imagin'd (I believe with great justice too) that two thirds of both received their shott from our own cowardly English Soldier's who gather'd themselves into a body contrary to orders 10 or 12 deep, wou'd then level, Fire and shoot down the Men before them.

I tremble at the consequences that this defeat may have upon our back settlers, who I suppose will all leave their habitations unless there are proper measures taken for their security.

Colo. Dunbar, who commands at present, intends so soon as his Men are recruited at this place, to continue his March to Phila. into Winter Quarters: so that there will be no Men left here unless it is the poor remains of the Virginia Troops, who survive and will be too small to guard our Frontiers. As Captn. Orme is writg. to your honour I doubt not but he will give you a circumstantial acct. of all things, which will make it needless for me to add more than that I am, etc.

Source: W.W. Abbot, ed., *The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series*, vol. 1 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia).

130. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, 1755 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The writings of the French philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) were part of the recognized body of knowledge that

made up an 18th-century education. Rousseau was one of several prominent European philosophers during the Enlightenment the 17th and 18th century European movement that advocated the power of reason and rational thought as the primary means of understanding the world. Rousseau's writings addressed the relationship between the individual and the state. Rousseau described man's natural state and proposed that nature unequally distributes peoples' individual endowments. However, he stated that at one time everyone was equal. Inequality came about when people formed societies and began to compete with one another. His ideas, which he articulated here in an early presentation, were fully developed in his book, The Social Contract, published in Amsterdam in 1762. The French government, based on a noble class determined by birth rather than merit, condemned Rousseau and forced him into exile. Among Rousseau's many important theories was the notion that government must be based on the consent of the governed. The leaders of the American Revolution included this concept in the Declaration of Independence.

Primary Source

[...

A DISSERTATION ON THE ORIGIN AND FOUNDATION OF THE INEOUALITY OF MANKIND

It is of man that I have to speak; and the question I am investigating shows me that it is to men that I must address myself: for questions of this sort are not asked by those who are afraid to honour truth. I shall then confidently uphold the cause of humanity before the wise men who invite me to do so, and shall not be dissatisfied if I acquit myself in a manner worthy of my subject and of my judges.

I conceive that there are two kinds of inequality among the human species; one, which I call natural or physical, because it is established by nature, and consists in a difference of age, health, bodily strength, and the qualities of the mind or of the soul: and another, which may be called moral or political inequality, because it depends on a kind of convention, and is established, or at least authorised by the consent of men. This latter consists of the different privileges, which some men enjoy to the prejudice of others; such as that of being more rich, more honoured, more powerful or even in a position to exact obedience.

[...]

I see nothing in any animal but an ingenious machine, to which nature hath given senses to wind itself up, and to guard itself, to a certain degree, against anything that might tend to disorder or destroy it. I perceive exactly the same things in the human machine, with this difference, that in the operations of the brute, nature is the sole agent, whereas man has some share in his own operations, in his character as a free agent. The one chooses and refuses by instinct, the other from an act of free-will: hence the brute cannot

deviate from the rule prescribed to it, even when it would be advantageous for it to do so; and, on the contrary, man frequently deviates from such rules to his own prejudice. Thus a pigeon would be starved to death by the side of a dish of the choicest meats, and a cat on a heap of fruit or grain; though it is certain that either might find nourishment in the foods which it thus rejects with disdain,did it think of trying them. Hence it is that dissolute men run into excesses which bring on fevers and death; because the mind depraves the senses, and the will continues to speak when nature is silent.

Every animal has ideas, since it has senses; it even combines those ideas in a certain degree; and it is only in degree that man differs, in this respect, from the brute. Some philosophers have even maintained that there is a greater difference between one man and another than between some men and some beasts. It is not, therefore, so much the understanding that constitutes the specific difference between the man and the brute, as the human quality of free-agency. Nature lays her commands on every animal, and the brute obeys her voice. Man receives the same impulsion, but at the same time knows himself at liberty to acquiesce or resist: and it is particularly in his consciousness of this liberty that the spirituality of his soul is displayed. For physics may explain, in some measure, the mechanism of the senses and the formation of ideas; but in the power of willing or rather of choosing, and in the feeling of this power, nothing is to be found but acts which are purely spiritual and wholly inexplicable by the laws of mechanism.

However, even if the difficulties attending all these questions should still leave room for difference in this respect between men and brutes, there is another very specific quality which distinguishes them, and which will admit of no dispute. This is the faculty of self-improvement, which, by the help of circumstances, gradually develops all the rest of our faculties, and is inherent in the species as in the individual: whereas a brute is, at the end of a few months, all he will ever be during his whole life, and his species, at the end of a thousand years, exactly what it was the first year of that thousand. Why is man alone liable to grow into a dotard? Is it not because he returns, in this, to his primitive state; and that, while the brute, which has acquired nothing and has therefore nothing to lose, still retains the force of instinct, man, who loses, by age or accident, all that his perfectibility had enabled him to gain, falls by this means lower than the brutes themselves? It would be melancholy, were we forced to admit that this distinctive and almost unlimited faculty is the source of all human misfortunes; that it is this which, in time, draws man out of his original state, in which he would have spent his days insensibly in peace and innocence; that it is this faculty, which, successively producing in different ages his discoveries and his errors, his vices and his virtues, makes him at length a tyrant both over himself and over nature. It would be shocking to be obliged to regard as a benefactor the man who first suggested to the Oroonoko Indians the use of the boards they apply to the temples of their children, which secure to them some part at least of their imbecility and original happiness.

Savage man, left by nature solely to the direction of instinct, or rather indemnified for what he may lack by faculties capable at first of supplying its place, and afterwards of raising him much above it, must accordingly begin with purely animal functions: thus seeing and feeling must be his first condition, which would be common to him and all other animals. To will, and not to will, to desire and to fear, must be the first, and almost the only operations of his soul, till new circumstances occasion new developments of his faculties. Whatever moralists may hold, the human understanding is greatly indebted to the passions, which, it is universally allowed, are also much indebted to the understanding. It is by the activity of the passions that our reason is improved; for we desire knowledge only because we wish to enjoy; and it is impossible to conceive any reason why a person who has neither fears nor desires should give himself the trouble of reasoning. The passions, again, originate in our wants, and their progress depends on that of our knowledge; for we cannot desire or fear anything, except from the idea we have of it, or from the simple impulse of nature. Now savage man, being destitute of every species of intelligence, can have no passions save those of the latter kind: his desires never go beyond his physical wants. The only goods he recognises in the universe are food, a female, and sleep: the only evils he fears are pain and hunger. I say pain, and not death: for no animal can know what it is to die; the knowledge of death and its terrors being one of the first acquisitions made by man in departing from an animal state.

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It appears, at first view, that men in a state of nature, having no moral relations or determinate obligations one with another, could not be either good or bad, virtuous or vicious; unless we take these terms in a physical sense, and call, in an individual, those qualities vices which may be injurious to his preservation, and those virtues which contribute to it; in which case, he would have to be accounted most virtuous, who put least check on the pure impulses of nature. But without deviating from the ordinary sense of the words, it will be proper to suspend the judgment we might be led to form on such a state, and be on our guard against our prejudices, till we have weighed the matter in the scales of impartiality, and seen whether virtues or vices preponderate among civilised men; and whether their virtues do them more good than their vices do harm; till we have discovered, whether the progress of the sciences sufficiently indemnifies them for the mischiefs they do one another, in proportion as they are better informed of the good they ought to do; or whether they would not be, on the whole, in a much happier condition if they had nothing to fear or to hope from any one, than as they are, subjected to universal dependence, and obliged to take everything from those who engage to give them nothing in return. Above all, let us not conclude, with Hobbes, that because man has no idea of goodness, he must be naturally wicked; that he is vicious because he does not know virtue; that he always refuses to do his fellowcreatures services which he does not think they have a right to demand; or that by virtue of the right he truly claims to everything he needs, he foolishly imagines himself the sole proprietor of the whole universe. Hobbes had seen clearly the defects of all the modern definitions of natural right: but the consequences which he deduces from his own show that he understands it in an equally false sense. In reasoning on the principles he lays down, he ought to have said that the state of nature, being that in which the care for our own preservation is the least prejudicial to that of others, was consequently the best calculated to promote peace, and the most suitable for mankind. He does say the exact opposite, in consequence of having improperly admitted, as a part of savage man's care for self-preservation, the gratification of a multitude of passions which are the work of society, and have made laws necessary. A bad man, he says, is a robust child. But it remains to be proved whether man in a state of nature is this robust child: and, should we grant that he is, what would he infer? Why truly, that if this man, when robust and strong, were dependent on others as he is when feeble, there is no extravagance he would not be guilty of; that he would beat his mother when she was too slow in giving him her breast; that he would strangle one of his younger brothers, if he should be troublesome to him, or bite the arm of another, if he put him to any inconvenience. But that man in the state of nature is both strong and dependent involves two contrary suppositions. Man is weak when he is dependent, and is his own master before he comes to be strong. Hobbes did not reflect that the same cause, which prevents a savage from making use of his reason, as our jurists hold, prevents him also from abusing his faculties, as Hobbes himself allows: so that it may be justly said that savages are not bad merely because they do not know what it is to be good: for it is neither the development of the understanding nor the restraint of law that hinders them from doing ill; but the peacefulness of their passions, and their ignorance of vice: tanto plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quam in his cognitio virtutis.

There is another principle which has escaped Hobbes; which, having been bestowed on mankind, to moderate, on certain occasions, the impetuosity of egoism, or, before its birth, the desire of self-preservation, tempers the ardour with which he pursues his own welfare, by an innate repugnance at seeing a fellow-creature suffer. I think I need not fear contradiction in holding man to be possessed of the only natural virtue, which could not be denied him by the most violent detractor of human virtue. I am speaking of compassion, which is a disposition suitable to creatures so weak and subject to so many evils as we certainly are: by so much the more universal and useful to mankind, as it comes before any kind of reflection; and at the same time so natural, that the very brutes themselves sometimes give evident proofs of it. Not to mention the

tenderness of mothers for their offspring and the perils they encounter to save them from danger, it is well known that horses show a reluctance to trample on living bodies. One animal never passes by the dead body of another of its species: there are even some which give their fellows a sort of burial; while the mournful lowings of the cattle when they enter the slaughter-house show the impressions made on them by the horrible spectacle which meets them. We find, with pleasure, the author of the Fable of the Bees obliged to own that man is a compassionate and sensible being, and laying aside his cold subtlety of style, in the example he gives, to present us with the pathetic description of a man who, from a place of confinement, is compelled to behold a wild beast tear a child from the arms of its mother, grinding its tender limbs with its murderous teeth, and tearing its palpitating entrails with its claws. What horrid agitation must not the eyewitness of such a scene experience, although he would not be personally concerned! What anxiety would he not suffer at not being able to give any assistance to the fainting mother and the dying infant! Such is the pure emotion of nature, prior to all kinds of reflection! Such is the force of natural compassion, which the greatest depravity of morals has as yet hardly been able to destroy! for we daily find at our theatres men affected, nay shedding tears at the sufferings of a wretch who, were he in the tyrant's place, would probably even add to the torments of his enemies; like the bloodthirsty Sulla, who was so sensitive to ills he had not caused, or that Alexander of Pheros who did not dare to go and see any tragedy acted, for fear of being seen weeping with Andromache and Priam, though he could listen without emotion to the cries of all the citizens who were daily strangled at his command.

Mollissima corda Humano generi dare se natura fatetur, Quoe lacrimas dedit. Juvenal, *Satires*, xv. 1514

Mandeville well knew that, in spite of all their morality, men would have never been better than monsters, had not nature bestowed on them a sense of compassion, to aid their reason: but he did not see that from this quality alone flow all those social virtues, of which he denied man the possession. But what is generosity, clemency or humanity but compassion applied to the weak, to the guilty, or to mankind in general? Even benevolence and friendship are, if we judge rightly, only the effects of compassion, constantly set upon a particular object: for how is it different to wish that another person may not suffer pain and uneasiness and to wish him happy? Were it even true that pity is no more than a feeling, which puts us in the place of the sufferer, a feeling, obscure yet lively in a savage, developed yet feeble in civilised man; this truth would have no other consequence than to confirm my argument. Compassion must, in be the stronger, the more the animal beholding any kind of distress identifies himself with the animal that suffers. Now, it is plain that such identification must have been much more perfect in a state of nature than it is in a state of reason. It is reason that engenders selfrespect, and reflection that confirms it: it is reason which turns

man's mind back upon itself, and divides him from everything that could disturb or afflict him. It is philosophy that isolates him, and bids him say, at sight of the misfortunes of others: "Perish if you will, I am secure." Nothing but such general evils as threaten the whole community can disturb the tranquil sleep of the philosopher, or tear him from his bed. A murder may with impunity be committed under his window; he has only to put his hands to his ears and argue a little with himself, to prevent nature, which is shocked within him, from identifying itself with the unfortunate sufferer. Uncivilised man has not this admirable talent; and for want of reason and wisdom, is always foolishly ready to obey the first promptings of humanity. It is the populace that flocks together at riots and streetbrawls, while the wise man prudently makes off. It is the mob and the market-women, who part the combatants, and hinder gentlefolks from cutting one another's throats. It is then certain that compassion is a natural feeling, which, by moderating the violence of love of self in each individual, contributes to the preservation of the whole species. It is this compassion that hurries us without reflection to the relief of those who are in distress: it is this which in a state of nature supplies the place of laws, morals and virtues, with the advantage that none are tempted to disobey its gentle voice: it is this which will always prevent a sturdy savage from robbing a weak child or a feeble old man of the sustenance they may have with pain and difficulty acquired, if he sees a possibility of providing for himself by other means: it is this which, instead of inculcating that sublime maxim of rational justice. Do to others as you would have them do unto you, inspires all men with that other maxim of natural goodness, much less perfect indeed, but perhaps more useful; Do good to yourself with as little evil as possible to others. In a word, it is rather in this natural feeling than in any subtle arguments that we must look for the cause of that repugnance, which every man would experience in doing evil, even independently of the maxims of education. Although it might belong to Socrates and other minds of the like craft to acquire virtue by reason, the human race would long since have ceased to be, had its preservation depended only on the reasonings of the individuals composing it.

With passions so little active, and so good a curb, men, being rather wild than wicked, and more intent to guard themselves against the mischief that might be done them, than to do mischief to others, were by no means subject to very perilous dissensions. They maintained no kind of intercourse with one another, and were consequently strangers to vanity, deference, esteem and contempt; they had not the least idea of meum and tuum, and no true conception of justice; they looked upon every violence to which they were subjected, rather as an injury that might easily be repaired than as a crime that ought to be punished; and they never thought of taking revenge, unless perhaps mechanically and on the spot, as a dog will sometimes bite the stone which is thrown at him. Their quarrels therefore would seldom have very bloody consequences; for the subject of them would be merely the question of subsistence. But I am aware of one greater danger, which remains to be noticed.

Of the passions that stir the heart of man, there is one which makes the sexes necessary to each other, and is extremely ardent and impetuous; a terrible passion that braves danger, surmounts all obstacles, and in its transports seems calculated to bring destruction on the human race which it is really destined to preserve. What must become of men who are left to this brutal and boundless rage, without modesty, without shame, and daily upholding their amours at the price of their blood?

It must, in the first place, be allowed that, the more violent the passions are, the more are laws necessary to keep them under restraint. But, setting aside the inadequacy of laws to effect this purpose, which is evident from the crimes and disorders to which these passions daily give rise among us, we should do well to inquire if these evils did not spring up with the laws themselves; for in this case, even if the laws were capable of repressing such evils, it is the least that could be expected from them, that they should check a mischief which would not have arisen without them.

Let us begin by distinguishing between the physical and moral ingredients in the feeling of love. The physical part of love is that general desire which urges the sexes to union with each other. The moral part is that which determines and fixes this desire exclusively upon one particular object; or at least gives it a greater degree of energy toward the object thus preferred. It is easy to see that the moral part of love is a factitious feeling, born of social usage, and enhanced by the women with much care and cleverness, to establish their empire, and put in power the sex which ought to obey. This feeling, being founded on certain ideas of beauty and merit which a savage is not in a position to acquire, and on comparisons which he is incapable of making, must be for him almost non-existent; for, as his mind cannot form abstract ideas of proportion and regularity, so his heart is not susceptible of the feelings of love and admiration, which are even insensibly produced by the application of these ideas. He follows solely the character nature has implanted in him, and not tastes which he could never have acquired; so that every woman equally answers his purpose.

Men in a state of nature being confined merely to what is physical in love, and fortunate enough to be ignorant of those excellences, which whet the appetite while they increase the difficulty of gratifying it, must be subject to fewer and less violent fits of passion, and consequently fall into fewer and less violent disputes. The imagination, which causes such ravages among us, never speaks to the heart of savages, who quietly await the impulses of nature, yield to them involuntarily, with more pleasure than ardour, and, their wants once satisfied, lose the desire. It is therefore incontestable that love, as well as all other passions, must have acquired in society that glowing impetuosity, which makes it so often fatal to mankind. And it is the more absurd to represent savages as continually cutting one another's throats to indulge their brutality, because this opinion is directly contrary to experience; the Caribbeans, who have as yet

least of all deviated from the state of nature, being in fact the most peaceable of people in their amours, and the least subject to jealousy, though they live in a hot climate which seems always to inflame the passions. With regard to the inferences that might be drawn, in the case of several species of animals, the males of which fill our poultry-yards with blood and slaughter, or in spring make the forests resound with their quarrels over their females; we must begin by excluding all those species, in which nature has plainly established, in the comparative power of the sexes, relations different from those which exist among us: thus we can base no conclusion about men on the habits of fighting cocks. In those species where the proportion is better observed, these battles must be entirely due to the scarcity of females in comparison with males; or, what amounts to the same thing, to the intervals during which the female constantly refuses the advances of the male: for if each female admits the male but during two months in the year, it is the same as if the number of females were five-sixths less. Now, neither of these two cases is applicable to the human species, in which the number of females usually exceeds that of males, and among whom it has never been observed, even among savages, that the females have, like those of other animals, their stated times of passion and indifference. Moreover, in several of these species, the individuals all take fire at once, and there comes a fearful moment of universal passion, tumult and disorder among them; a scene which is never beheld in the human species, whose love is not thus seasonal. We must not then conclude from the combats of such animals for the enjoyment of the females, that the case would be the same with mankind in a state of nature: and, even if we drew such a conclusion, we see that such contests do not exterminate other kinds of animals, and we have no reason to think they would be more fatal to ours. It is indeed clear that they would do still less mischief than is the case in a state of society; especially in those countries in which, morals being still held in some repute, the jealousy of lovers and the vengeance of husbands are the daily cause of duels, murders, and even worse crimes; where the obligation of eternal fidelity only occasions adultery, and the very laws of honour and continence necessarily increase debauchery and lead to the multiplication of abortions. Let us conclude then that man in a state of nature, wandering up and down the forests, without industry, without speech, and without home, an equal stranger to war and to all ties, neither standing in need of his fellow-creatures nor having any desire to hurt them, and perhaps even not distinguishing them one from another; let us conclude that, being self-sufficient and subject to so few passions, he could have no feelings or knowledge but such as befitted his situation; that he felt only his actual necessities, and disregarded everything he did not think himself immediately concerned to notice, and that his understanding made no greater progress than his vanity. If by accident he made any discovery, he was the less able to communicate it to others, as he did not know even his own children. Every art would necessarily perish with its inventor, where there was no kind of education among men, and generations succeeded generations without the least advance;

when, all setting out from the same point, centuries must have elapsed in the barbarism of the first ages; when the race was already old, and man remained a child.

If I have expatiated at such length on this supposed primitive state, it is because I had so many ancient errors and inveterate prejudices to eradicate, and therefore thought it incumbent on me to dig down to their very root, and show, by means of a true picture of the state of nature, how far even the natural inequalities of mankind are from having that reality and influence which modern writers suppose.

It is in fact easy to see that many of the differences which distinguish men are merely the effect of habit and the different methods of life men adopt in society. Thus a robust or delicate constitution, and the strength or weakness attaching to it, are more frequently the effects of a hardy or effeminate method of education than of the original endowment of the body. It is the same with the powers of the mind; for education not only makes a difference between such as are cultured and such as are not, but even increases the differences which exist among the former, in proportion to their respective degrees of culture: as the distance between a giant and a dwarf on the same road increases with every step they take. If we compare the prodigious diversity, which obtains in the education and manner of life of the various orders of men in the state of society, with the uniformity and simplicity of animal and savage life, in which every one lives on the same kind of food and in exactly the same manner, and does exactly the same things, it is easy to conceive how much less the difference between man and man must be in a state of nature than in a state of society, and how greatly the natural inequality of mankind must be increased by the inequalities of social institutions.

But even if nature really affected, in the distribution of her gifts, that partiality which is imputed to her, what advantage would the greatest of her favourites derive from it, to the detriment of others, in a state that admits of hardly any kind of relation between them? Where there is no love, of what advantage is beauty? Of what use is wit to those who do not converse, or cunning to those who have no business with others? I hear it constantly repeated in such a state, the strong would oppress the weak; but what is here meant by oppression? Some, it is said, would violently domineer over others, who would groan under a servile submission to their caprices. This indeed is exactly what I observe to be the case among us; but I do not see how it can be inferred of men in a state of nature, who could not easily be brought to conceive what we mean by dominion and servitude. One man, it is true, might seize the fruits which another had gathered, the game he had killed, or the cave he had chosen for shelter; but how would he ever be able to exact obedience, and what ties of dependence could there be among men without possessions? If, for instance, I am driven from one tree, I can go to the next; if I am disturbed in one place, what hinders me from going to another? Again, should I happen to meet with a man so much stronger than myself, and at the same time so depraved, so indolent, and so barbarous, as to compel me to provide for his sustenance while he himself remains idle; he must take care not to have his eyes off me for a single moment; he must bind me fast before he goes to sleep, or I shall certainly either knock him on the head or make my escape. That is to say, he must in such a case voluntarily expose himself to much greater trouble than he seeks to avoid, or can give me. After all this, let him be off his guard ever so little; let him but turn his head aside at any sudden noise, and I shall be instantly twenty paces off, lost in the forest, and, my fetters burst asunder, he would never see me again.

Without my expatiating thus uselessly on these details, every one must see that as the bonds of servitude are formed merely by the mutual dependence of men on one another and the reciprocal needs that unite them, it is impossible to make any man a slave, unless he be first reduced to a situation in which he cannot do without the help of others: and, since such a situation does not exist in a state of nature, every one is there his own master, and the law of the strongest is of no effect.

Having proved that the inequality of mankind is hardly felt, and that its influence is next to nothing in a state of nature, I must next show its origin and trace its progress in the successive developments of the human mind. Having shown that human perfectibility, the social virtues, and the other faculties which natural man potentially possessed, could never develop of themselves, but must require the fortuitous concurrence of many foreign causes that might never arise, and without which he would have remained for ever in his primitive condition, I must now collect and consider the different accidents which may have improved the human understanding while depraving the species, and made man wicked while making him sociable; so as to bring him and the world from that distant period to the point at which we now behold them.

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The first man who, having enclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself of saying This is mine, and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. From how many crimes, wars and murders, from how many horrors and misfortunes might not any one have saved mankind, by pulling up the stakes, or filling up the ditch, and crying to his fellows, "Beware of listening to this impostor; you are undone if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to us all, and the earth itself to nobody." But there is great probability that things had then already come to such a pitch, that they could no longer continue as they were; for the idea of property depends on many prior ideas, which could only be acquired successively, and cannot have been formed all at once in the human mind. Mankind must have made very considerable progress, and acquired considerable knowledge and industry which they must also have transmitted and increased from age to

age, before they arrived at this last point of the state of nature. Let us then go farther back, and endeavour to unify under a single point of view that slow succession of events and discoveries in the most natural order.

Man's first feeling was that of his own existence, and his first care that of self-preservation. The produce of the earth furnished him with all he needed, and instinct told him how to use it. Hunger and other appetites made him at various times experience various modes of existence; and among these was one which urged him to propagate his species—a blind propensity that, having nothing to do with the heart, produced a merely animal act. The want once gratified, the two sexes knew each other no more; and even the offspring was nothing to its mother, as soon as it could do without her.

Such was the condition of infant man; the life of an animal limited at first to mere sensations, and hardly profiting by the gifts nature bestowed on him, much less capable of entertaining a thought of forcing anything from her. But difficulties soon presented themselves, and it became necessary to learn how to surmount them: the height of the trees, which prevented him from gathering their fruits, the competition of other animals desirous of the same fruits, and the ferocity of those who needed them for their own preservation, all obliged him to apply himself to bodily exercises. He had to be active, swift of foot, and vigorous in fight. Natural weapons, stones and sticks, were easily found: he learnt to surmount the obstacles of nature, to contend in case of necessity with other animals, and to dispute for the means of subsistence even with other men, \or to indemnify himself for what he was forced to give up to a stronger.

In proportion as the human race grew more numerous, men's cares increased. The difference of soils, climates and seasons, must have introduced some differences into their manner of living. Barren years, long and sharp winters, scorching summers which parched the fruits of the earth, must have demanded a new industry. On the seashore and the banks of rivers, they invented the hook and line, and became fishermen and eaters of fish. In the forests they made bows and arrows, and became huntsmen and warriors. In cold countries they clothed themselves with the skins of the beasts they had slain. The lightning, a volcano, or some lucky chance acquainted them with fire, a new resource against the rigours of winter: they next learned how to preserve this element, then how to reproduce it, and finally how to prepare with it the flesh of animals which before they had eaten raw.

This repeated relevance of various beings to himself, and one to another, would naturally give rise in the human mind to the perceptions of certain relations between them. Thus the relations which we denote by the terms, great, small, strong, weak, swift, slow, fearful, bold, and the like, almost insensibly compared at need, must have at length produced in him a kind of reflection, or rather a mechanical prudence, which would indicate to him the precautions most necessary to his security.

The new intelligence which resulted from this development increased his superiority over other animals, by making him sensible of it. He would now endeavour, therefore, to ensnare them, would play them a thousand tricks, and though many of them might surpass him in swiftness or in strength, would in time become the master of some and the scourge of others. Thus, the first time he looked into himself, he felt the first emotion of pride; and, at a time when he scarce knew how to distinguish the different orders of beings, by looking upon his species as of the highest order, he prepared the way for assuming pre-eminence as an individual.

Other men, it is true, were not then to him what they now are to us, and he had no greater intercourse with them than with other animals; yet they were not neglected in his observations. The conformities, which he would in time discover between them, and between himself and his female, led him to judge of others which were not then perceptible; and finding that they all behaved as he himself would have done in like circumstances, he naturally inferred that their manner of thinking and acting was altogether in conformity with his own. This important truth, once deeply impressed on his mind, must have induced him, from an intuitive feeling more certain and much more rapid than any kind of reasoning, to pursue the rules of conduct, which he had best observe towards them, for his own security and advantage.

Taught by experience that the love of well-being is the sole motive of human actions, he found himself in a position to distinguish the few cases, in which mutual interest might justify him in relying upon the assistance of his fellows; and also the still fewer cases in which a conflict of interests might give cause to suspect them. In the former case, he joined in the same herd with them, or at most in some kind of loose association, that laid no restraint on its members, and lasted no longer than the transitory occasion that formed it. In the latter case, every one sought his own private advantage, either by open force, if he thought himself strong enough, or by address and cunning, if he felt himself the weaker.

In this manner, men may have insensibly acquired some gross ideas of mutual undertakings, and of the advantages of fulfilling them: that is, just so far as their present and apparent interest was concerned: for they were perfect strangers to foresight, and were so far from troubling themselves about the distant future, that they hardly thought of the morrow. If a deer was to be taken, every one saw that, in order to succeed, he must abide faithfully by his post: but if a hare happened to come within the reach of any one of them, it is not to be doubted that he pursued it without scruple, and, having seized his prey, cared very little, if by so doing he caused his companions to miss theirs.

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The first expansions of the human heart were the effects of a novel situation, which united husbands and wives, fathers and children,

under one roof. The habit of living together soon gave rise to the finest feelings known to humanity, conjugal love and paternal affection. Every family became a little society, the more united because liberty and reciprocal attachment were the only bonds of its union. The sexes, whose manner of life had been hitherto the same, began now to adopt different ways of living. The women became more sedentary, and accustomed themselves to mind the hut and their children, while the men went abroad in search of their common subsistence. From living a softer life, both sexes also began to lose something of their strength and ferocity: but, if individuals became to some extent less able to encounter wild beasts separately, they found it, on the other hand, easier to assemble and resist in common.

The simplicity and solitude of man's life in this new condition, the paucity of his wants, and the implements he had invented to satisfy them, left him a great deal of leisure, which he employed to furnish himself with many conveniences unknown to his fathers: and this was the first yoke he inadvertently imposed on himself, and the first source of the evils he prepared for his descendants. For, besides continuing thus to enervate both body and mind, these conveniences lost with use almost all their power to please, and even degenerated into real needs, till the want of them became far more disagreeable than the possession of them had been pleasant. Men would have been unhappy at the loss of them, though the possession did not make them happy.

We can here see a little better how the use of speech became established, and insensibly improved in each family, and we may form a conjecture also concerning the manner in which various causes may have extended and accelerated the progress of language, by making it more and more necessary. Floods or earthquakes surrounded inhabited districts with precipices or waters: revolutions of the globe tore off portions from the continent, and made them islands. It is readily seen that among men thus collected and compelled to live together, a common idiom must have arisen much more easily than among those who still wandered through the forests of the continent. Thus it is very possible that after their first essays in navigation the islanders brought over the use of speech to the continent: and it is at least very probable that communities and languages were first established in islands, and even came to perfection there before they were known on the mainland.

Everything now begins to change its aspect. Men, who have up to now been roving in the woods, by taking to a more settled manner of life, come gradually together, form separate bodies, and at length in every country arises a distinct nation, united in character and manners, not by regulations or laws, but by uniformity of life and food, and the common influence of climate. Permanent neighbourhood could not fail to produce, in time, some connection between different families. Among young people of opposite sexes, living in neighbouring huts, the transient commerce required by nature soon led, through mutual intercourse, to another kind not less

agreeable, and more permanent. Men began now to take the difference between objects into account, and to make comparisons; they acquired imperceptibly the ideas of beauty and merit, which soon gave rise to feelings of preference. In consequence of seeing each other often, they could not do without seeing each other constantly. A tender and pleasant feeling insinuated itself into their souls, and the least opposition turned it into an impetuous fury: with love arose jealousy; discord triumphed, and human blood was sacrificed to the gentlest of all passions.

As ideas and feelings succeeded one another, and heart and head were brought into play, men continued to lay aside their original wildness; their private connections became every day more intimate as their limits extended. They accustomed themselves to assemble before their huts round a large tree; singing and dancing, the true offspring of love and leisure, became the amusement, or rather the occupation, of men and women thus assembled together with nothing else to do. Each one began to consider the rest, and to wish to be considered in turn; and thus a value came to be attached to public $esteem. \ Whoever sang \ or \ danced \ best, whoever \ was \ the \ hand some st,$ the strongest, the most dexterous, or the most eloquent, came to be of most consideration; and this was the first step towards inequality, and at the same time towards vice. From these first distinctions arose on the one side vanity and contempt and on the other shame and envy: and the fermentation caused by these new leavens ended by producing combinations fatal to innocence and happiness.

As soon as men began to value one another, and the idea of consideration had got a footing in the mind, every one put in his claim to it, and it became impossible to refuse it to any with impunity. Hence arose the first obligations of civility even among savages; and every intended injury became an affront; because, besides the hurt which might result from it, the party injured was certain to find in it a contempt for his person, which was often more insupportable than the hurt itself.

Thus, as every man punished the contempt shown him by others, in proportion to his opinion of himself, revenge became terrible, and men bloody and cruel. This is precisely the state reached by most of the savage nations known to us: and it is for want of having made a proper distinction in our ideas, and see how very far they already are from the state of nature, that so many writers have hastily concluded that man is naturally cruel, and requires civil institutions to make him more mild; whereas nothing is more gentle than man in his primitive state, as he is placed by nature at an equal distance from the stupidity of brutes, and the fatal ingenuity of civilised man. Equally confined by instinct and reason to the sole care of guarding himself against the mischiefs which threaten him, he is restrained by natural compassion from doing any injury to others, and is not led to do such a thing even in return for injuries received. For, according to the axiom of the wise Locke, There can be no injury, where there is no property.

But it must be remarked that the society thus formed, and the relations thus established among men, required of them qualities different from those which they possessed from their primitive constitution. Morality began to appear in human actions, and every one, before the institution of law, was the only judge and avenger of the injuries done him, so that the goodness which was suitable in the pure state of nature was no longer proper in the new-born state of society. Punishments had to be made more severe, as opportunities of offending became more frequent, and the dread of vengeance had to take the place of the rigour of the law. Thus, though men had become less patient, and their natural compassion had already suffered some diminution, this period of expansion of the human faculties, keeping a just mean between the indolence of the primitive state and the petulant activity of our egoism, must have been the happiest and most stable of epochs. The more we reflect on it, the more we shall find that this state was the least subject to revolutions, and altogether the very best man could experience; so that he can have departed from it only through some fatal accident, which, for the public good, should never have happened. The example of savages, most of whom have been found in this state, seems to prove that men were meant to remain in it, that it is the real youth of the world, and that all subsequent advances have been apparently so many steps towards the perfection of the individual, but in reality towards the decrepitude of the species. So long as men remained content with their rustic huts, so long as they were satisfied with clothes made of the skins of animals and sewn together with thorns and fish-bones, adorned themselves only with feathers and shells, and continued to paint their bodies different colours, to improve and beautify their bows and arrows and to make with sharp-edged stones fishing boats or clumsy musical instruments; in a word, so long as they undertook only what a single person could accomplish, and confined themselves to such arts as did not require the joint labour of several hands, they lived free, healthy, honest and happy lives, so long as their nature allowed, and as they continued to enjoy the pleasures of mutual and independent intercourse. But from the moment one man began to stand in need of the help of another; from the moment it appeared advantageous to any one man to have enough provisions for two, equality disappeared, property was introduced, work became indispensable, and vast forests became smiling fields, which man had to water with the sweat of his brow, and where slavery and misery were soon seen to germinate and grow up with the crops.

Metallurgy and agriculture were the two arts which produced this great revolution. The poets tell us it was gold and silver, but, for the philosophers, it was iron and corn, which first civilised men, and ruined humanity. Thus both were unknown to the savages of America, who for that reason are still savage: the other nations also seem to have continued in a state of barbarism while they practised only one of these arts. One of the best reasons, perhaps, why Europe has been, if not longer, at least more constantly and highly civilised than the rest of the world, is that it is at once the most abundant in iron and the most fertile in corn.

It is difficult to conjecture how men first came to know and use iron; for it is impossible to suppose they would of themselves think of digging the ore out of the mine, and preparing it for smelting, before they knew what would be the result. On the other hand, we have the less reason to suppose this discovery the effect of any accidental fire, as mines are only formed in barren places, bare of trees and plants; so that it looks as if nature had taken pains to keep that fatal secret from us. There remains, therefore, only the extraordinary accident of some volcano which, by ejecting metallic substances already in fusion, suggested to the spectators the idea of imitating the natural operation. And we must further conceive them as possessed of uncommon courage and foresight, to undertake so laborious a work, with so distant a prospect of drawing advantage from it; yet these qualities are united only in minds more advanced than we can suppose those of these first discoverers to have been.

With regard to agriculture, the principles of it were known long before they were put in practice; and it is indeed hardly possible that men, constantly employed in drawing their subsistence from plants and trees, should not readily acquire a knowledge of the means made use of by nature for the propagation of vegetables. It was in all probability very long, however, before their industry took that turn, either because trees, which together with hunting and fishing afforded them food, did not require their attention; or because they were ignorant of the use of corn, or without instruments to cultivate it; or because they lacked foresight to future needs; or lastily, because they were without means of preventing others from robbing them of the fruit of their labour. When they grew more industrious, it is natural to believe that they began, with the help of sharp stones and pointed sticks, to cultivate a few vegetables or roots around their huts; though it was long before they knew how to prepare corn, or were provided with the implements necessary for raising it in any large quantity; not to mention how essential it is, for husbandry, to consent to immediate loss, in order to reap a future gain—a precaution very foreign to the turn of a savage's mind; for, as I have said, he hardly foresees in the morning what he will need at night.

The invention of the other arts must therefore have been necessary to compel mankind to apply themselves to agriculture. No sooner were artificers wanted to smelt and forge iron, than others were required to maintain them; the more hands that were employed in manufactures, the fewer were left to provide for the common subsistence, though the number of mouths to be furnished with food remained the same: and as some required commodities in exchange for their iron, the rest at length discovered the method of making iron serve for the multiplication of commodities. By this means the arts of husbandry and agriculture were established on the one hand, and the art of working metals and multiplying their uses on the other.

The cultivation of the earth necessarily brought about its distribution; and property, once recognised, gave rise to the first rules of justice; for, to secure each man his own, it had to be possible for each to have something. Besides, as men began to look forward to the future, and all had something to lose, every one had reason to apprehend that reprisals would follow any injury he might do to another. This origin is so much the more natural, as it is impossible to conceive how property can come from anything but manual labour: for what else can a man add to things which he does not originally create, so as to make them his own property? It is the husbandman's labour alone that, giving him a title to the produce of the ground he has tilled, gives him a claim also to the land itself, at least till harvest, and so, from year to year, a constant possession which is easily transformed into property. When the ancients, says Grotius, gave to Ceres the title of Legislatrix, and to a festival celebrated in her honour the name of Thesmophoria, they meant by that that the distribution of lands had produced a new kind of right: that is to say, the right of property, which is different from the right deducible from the law of nature.

In this state of affairs, equality might have been sustained, had the talents of individuals been equal, and had, for example, the use of iron and the consumption of commodities always exactly balanced each other; but, as there was nothing to preserve this balance, it was soon disturbed; the strongest did most work; the most skilful turned his labour to best account; the most ingenious devised methods of diminishing his labour: the husbandman wanted more iron, or the smith more corn, and, while both laboured equally, the one gained a great deal by his work, while the other could hardly support himself. Thus natural inequality unfolds itself insensibly with that of combination, and the difference between men, developed by their different circumstances, becomes more sensible and permanent in its effects, and begins to have an influence, in the same proportion, over the lot of individuals.

Matters once at this pitch, it is easy to imagine the rest. I shall not detain the reader with a description of the successive invention of other arts, the development of language, the trial and utilisation of talents, the inequality of fortunes, the use and abuse of riches, and all the details connected with them which the reader can easily supply for himself. I shall confine myself to a glance at mankind in this new situation.

Behold then all human faculties developed, memory and imagination in full play, egoism interested, reason active, and the mind almost at the highest point of its perfection. Behold all the natural qualities in action, the rank and condition of every man assigned him; not merely his share of property and his power to serve or injure others, but also his wit, beauty, strength or skill, merit or talents: and these being the only qualities capable of commanding respect, it soon became necessary to possess or to affect them.

It now became the interest of men to appear what they really were not. To be and to seem became two totally different things; and from this distinction sprang insolent pomp and cheating trickery, with all the numerous vices that go in their train. On the other hand, free and independent as men were before, they were now, in consequence of a multiplicity of new wants, brought into subjection, as it were, to all nature, and particularly to one another; and each became in some degree a slave even in becoming the master of other men: if rich, they stood in need of the services of others; if poor, of their assistance; and even a middle condition did not enable them to do without one another. Man must now, therefore, have been perpetually employed in getting others to interest themselves in his lot, and in making them, apparently at least, if not really, find their advantage in promoting his own. Thus he must have been sly and artful in his behaviour to some, and imperious and cruel to others; being under a kind of necessity to ill-use all the persons of whom he stood in need, when he could not frighten them into compliance, and did not judge it his interest to be useful to them. Insatiable ambition, the thirst of raising their respective fortunes, not so much from real want as from the desire to surpass others, inspired all men with a vile propensity to injure one another, and with a secret jealousy, which is the more dangerous, as it puts on the mask of benevolence, to carry its point with greater security. In a word, there arose rivalry and competition on the one hand, and conflicting interests on the other, together with a secret desire on both of profiting at the expense of others. All these evils were the first effects of property, and the inseparable attendants of growing inequality.

Before the invention of signs to represent riches, wealth could hardly consist in anything but lands and cattle, the only real possessions men can have. But, when inheritances so increased in number and extent as to occupy the whole of the land, and to border on one another, one man could aggrandise himself only at the expense of another; at the same time the supernumeraries, who had been too weak or too indolent to make such acquisitions, and had grown poor without sustaining any loss, because, while they saw everything change around them, they remained still the same, were obliged to receive their subsistence, or steal it, from the rich; and this soon bred, according to their different characters, dominion and slavery, or violence and rapine. The wealthy, on their part, had no sooner begun to taste the pleasure of command, than they disdained all others, and, using their old slaves to acquire new, thought of nothing but subduing and enslaving their neighbours; like ravenous wolves, which, having once tasted human flesh, despise every other food and thenceforth seek only men to devour. Thus, as the most powerful or the most miserable considered their might or misery as a kind of right to the possessions of others, equivalent, in their opinion, to that of property, the destruction of equality was attended by the most terrible disorders. Usurpations by the rich, robbery by the poor, and the unbridled passions of both, suppressed the cries of natural compassion and the still feeble voice of justice, and filled men with avarice, ambition and vice. Between the title of the strongest and that of the first occupier, there arose perpetual conflicts, which never ended but in battles and bloodshed. The new-born state of society thus gave rise to a horrible state of war; men thus harassed and depraved were no longer capable of retracing their steps or renouncing the fatal acquisitions they had made, but, labouring by the abuse of the faculties which do them honour, merely to their own confusion, brought themselves to the brink of ruin.

Attonitus novitate mali, divesque miserque, Effugere optat opes; et quë modo voverat odit. It is impossible that men should not at length have reflected on so wretched a situation, and on the calamities that overwhelmed them. The rich, in particular, must have felt how much they suffered by a constant state of war, of which they bore all the expense; and in which, though all risked their lives, they alone risked their property. Besides, however speciously they might disguise their usurpations, they knew that they were founded on precarious and false titles; so that, if others took from them by force what they themselves had gained by force, they would have no reason to complain. Even those who had been enriched by their own industry, could hardly base their proprietorship on better claims. It was in vain to repeat, "I built this well; I gained this spot by my industry." Who gave you your standing, it might be answered, and what right have you to demand payment of us for doing what we never asked you to do? Do you not know that numbers of your fellow-creatures are starving, for want of what you have too much of? You ought to have had the express and universal consent of mankind, before appropriating more of the common subsistence than you needed for your own maintenance. Destitute of valid reasons to justify and sufficient strength to defend himself, able to crush individuals with ease, but easily crushed himself by a troop of bandits, one against all, and incapable, on account of mutual jealousy, of joining with his equals against numerous enemies united by the common hope of plunder, the rich man, thus urged by necessity, conceived at length the profoundest plan that ever entered the mind of man: this was to employ in his favour the forces of those who attacked him, to make allies of his adversaries, to inspire them with different maxims, and to give them other institutions as favourable to himself as the law of nature was unfavourable.

With this view, after having represented to his neighbours the horror of a situation which armed every man against the rest, and made their possessions as burdensome to them as their wants, and in which no safety could be expected either in riches or in poverty, he readily devised plausible arguments to make them close with his design. "Let us join," said he, "to guard the weak from oppression, to restrain the ambitious, and secure to every man the possession of what belongs to him: let us institute rules of justice and peace, to which all without exception may be obliged to conform; rules that may in some measure make amends for the caprices of fortune, by subjecting equally the powerful and the weak to the observance of reciprocal obligations. Let us, in a word, instead of turning our forces against ourselves, collect them in a supreme power which may govern us by wise laws, protect and defend all the members of the association, repulse their common enemies, and maintain eter-

nal harmony among us." Far fewer words to this purpose would have been enough to impose on men so barbarous and easily seduced; especially as they had too many disputes among themselves to do without arbitrators, and too much ambition and avarice to go long without masters. All ran headlong to their chains, in hopes of securing their liberty; for they had just wit enough to perceive the advantages of political institutions, without experience enough to enable them to foresee the dangers. The most capable of foreseeing the dangers were the very persons who expected to benefit by them; and even the most prudent judged it not inexpedient to sacrifice one part of their freedom to ensure the rest; as a wounded man has his arm cut off to save the rest of his body.

Such was, or may well have been, the origin of society and law, which bound new fetters on the poor, and gave new powers to the rich; which irretrievably destroyed natural liberty, eternally fixed the law of property and inequality, converted clever usurpation into unalterable right, and, for the advantage of a few ambitious individuals, subjected all mankind to perpetual labour, slavery and wretchedness. It is easy to see how the establishment of one community made that of all the rest necessary, and how, in order to make head against united forces, the rest of mankind had to unite in turn. Societies soon multiplied and spread over the face of the earth, till hardly a corner of the world was left in which a man could escape the yoke, and withdraw his head from beneath the sword which he saw perpetually hanging over him by a thread. Civil right having thus become the common rule among the members of each community, the law of nature maintained its place only between different communities, where, under the name of the right of nations, it was qualified by certain tacit conventions, in order to make commerce practicable, and serve as a substitute for natural compassion, which lost, when applied to societies, almost all the influence it had over individuals, and survived no longer except in some great cosmopolitan spirits, who, breaking down the imaginary barriers that separate different peoples, follow the example of our Sovereign Creator, and include the whole human race in their benevolence.

But bodies politic, remaining thus in a state of nature among themselves, presently experienced the inconveniences which had obliged individuals to forsake it; for this state became still more fatal to these great bodies than it had been to the individuals of whom they were composed. Hence arose national wars, battles, murders, and reprisals, which shock nature and outrage reason; together with all those horrible prejudices which class among the virtues the honour of shedding human blood. The most distinguished men hence learned to consider cutting each other's throats a duty; at length men massacred their fellow-creatures by thousands without so much as knowing why, and committed more murders in a single day's fighting, and more violent outrages in the sack of a single town, than were committed in the state of nature during whole ages over the whole earth. Such were the first effects which we can see to

have followed the division of mankind into different communities. But let us return to their institutions.

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Government had, in its infancy, no regular and constant form. The want of experience and philosophy prevented men from seeing any but present inconveniences, and they thought of providing against others only as they presented themselves. In spite of the endeavours of the wisest legislators, the political state remained imperfect, because it was little more than the work of chance; and, as it had begun ill, though time revealed its defects and suggested remedies, the original faults were never repaired. It was continually being patched up, when the first task should have been to get the site cleared and all the old materials removed, as was done by Lycurgus at Sparta, if a stable and lasting edifice was to be erected. Society consisted at first merely of a few general conventions, which every member bound himself to observe; and for the performance of covenants the whole body went security to each individual. Experience only could show the weakness of such a constitution, and how easily it might be infringed with impunity, from the difficulty of convicting men of faults, where the public alone was to be witness and judge: the laws could not but be eluded in many ways; disorders and inconveniences could not but multiply continually, till it became necessary to commit the dangerous trust of public authority to private persons, and the care of enforcing obedience to the deliberations of the people to the magistrate. For to say that chiefs were chosen before the confederacy was formed, and that the administrators of the laws were there before the laws themselves, is too absurd a supposition to consider seriously.

It would be as unreasonable to suppose that men at first threw themselves irretrievably and unconditionally into the arms of an absolute master, and that the first expedient which proud and unsubdued men hit upon for their common security was to run headlong into slavery. For what reason, in fact, did they take to themselves superiors, if it was not in order that they might be defended from oppression, and have protection for their lives, liberties and properties, which are, so to speak, the constituent elements of their being? Now, in the relations between man and man, the worst that can happen is for one to find himself at the mercy of another, and it would have been inconsistent with common-sense to begin by bestowing on a chief the only things they wanted his help to preserve. What equivalent could he offer them for so great a right? And if he had presumed to exact it under pretext of defending them, would he not have received the answer recorded in the fable: "What more can the enemy do to us?" It is therefore beyond dispute, and indeed the fundamental maxim of all political right, that people have set up chiefs to protect their liberty, and not to enslave them. If we have a prince, said Pliny to Trajan, it is to save ourselves from having a master.

Politicians indulge in the same sophistry about the love of liberty as philosophers about the state of nature. They judge, by what they see, of very different things, which they have not seen; and attribute to

man a natural propensity to servitude, because the slaves within their observation are seen to bear the yoke with patience; they fail to reflect that it is with liberty as with innocence and virtue; the value is known only to those who possess them, and the taste for them is forfeited when they are forfeited themselves. "I know the charms of your country," said Brasidas to a satrap, who was comparing the life at Sparta with that at Persepolis, "but you cannot know the pleasures of mine."

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The different forms of government owe their origin to the differing degrees of inequality which existed between individuals at the time of their institution. If there happened to be any one man among them pre-eminent in power, virtue, riches or personal influence, he became sole magistrate, and the State assumed the form of monarchy. If several, nearly equal in point of eminence, stood above the rest, they were elected jointly, and formed an aristocracy. Again, among a people who had deviated less from a state of nature, and between whose fortune or talents there was less disproportion, the supreme administration was retained in common, and a democracy was formed. It was discovered in process of time which of these forms suited men the best. Some peoples remained altogether subject to the laws; others soon came to obey their magistrates. The citizens laboured to preserve their liberty; the subjects, irritated at seeing others enjoying a blessing they had lost, thought only of making slaves of their neighbours. In a word, on the one side arose riches and conquests, and on the other happiness and virtue.

In these different governments, all the offices were at first elective; and when the influence of wealth was out of the question, the preference was given to merit, which gives a natural ascendancy, and to age, which is experienced in business and deliberate in council. The Elders of the Hebrews, the Gerontes at Sparta, the Senate at Rome, and the very etymology of our word Seigneur, show how old age was once held in veneration. But the more often the choice fell upon old men, the more often elections had to be repeated, and the more they became a nuisance; intrigues set in, factions were formed, party feeling grew bitter, civil wars broke out; the lives of individuals were sacrificed to the pretended happiness of the State; and at length men were on the point of relapsing into their primitive anarchy. Ambitious chiefs profited by these circumstances to perpetuate their offices in their own families: at the same time the people, already used to dependence, ease, and the conveniences of life, and already incapable of breaking its fetters, agreed to an increase of its slavery, in order to secure its tranquillity. Thus magistrates, having become hereditary, contracted the habit of considering their offices as a family estate, and themselves as proprietors of the communities of which they were at first only the officers, of regarding their fellowcitizens as their slaves, and numbering them, like cattle, among their belongings, and of calling themselves the equals of the gods and kings of kings.

If we follow the progress of inequality in these various revolutions, we shall find that the establishment of laws and of the right of property was its first term, the institution of magistracy the second, and the conversion of legitimate into arbitrary power the third and last; so that the condition of rich and poor was authorised by the first period; that of powerful and weak by the second; and only by the third that of master and slave, which is the last degree of inequality, and the term at which all the rest remain, when they have got so far, till the government is either entirely dissolved by new revolutions, or brought back again to legitimacy.

To understand this progress as necessary we must consider not so much the motives for the establishment of the body politic, as the forms it assumes in actuality, and the faults that necessarily attend it: for the flaws which make social institutions necessary are the same as make the abuse of them unavoidable. If we except Sparta, where the laws were mainly concerned with the education of children, and where Lycurgus established such morality as practically made laws needles—for laws as a rule, being weaker than the passions, restrain men without altering them—it would not be difficult to prove that every government, which scrupulously complied with the ends for which it was instituted, and guarded carefully against change and corruption, was set up unnecessarily. For a country, in which no one either evaded the laws or made a bad use of magisterial power, could require neither laws nor magistrates. Political distinctions necessarily produce civil distinctions. The growing equality between the chiefs and the people is soon felt by individuals, and modified in a thousand ways according to passions, talents and circumstances. The magistrate could not usurp any illegitimate power, without giving distinction to the creatures with whom he must share it. Besides, individuals only allow themselves to be oppressed so far as they are hurried on by blind ambition, and, looking rather below than above them, come to love authority more than independence, and submit to slavery, that they may in turn enslave others. It is no easy matter to reduce to obedience a man who has no ambition to command; nor would the most adroit politician find it possible to enslave a people whose only desire was to be independent. But inequality easily makes its way among cowardly and ambitious minds, which are ever ready to run the risks of fortune, and almost indifferent whether they command or obey, as it is favourable or adverse. Thus, there must have been a time, when the eyes of the people were so fascinated, that their rules had only to say to the least of men, "Be great, you and all your posterity," to make him immediately appear great in the eyes of every one as well as in his own. His descendants took still more upon them, in proportion to their distance from him; the more obscure and uncertain the cause, the greater the effect: the greater the number of idlers one could count in a family, the more illustrious it was held to be.

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Pectore si fratris gladium juguloque parentis Condere me jubeas, gravidoeque in viscera partu Conjugis, invita peragam tamen

omnia dextrâ. Lucan, i. 376 From great inequality of fortunes and conditions, from the vast variety of passions and of talents, of useless and pernicious arts, of vain sciences, would arise a multitude of prejudices equally contrary to reason, happiness and virtue. We should see the magistrates fomenting everything that might weaken men united in society, by promoting dissension among them; everything that might sow in it the seeds of actual division, while it gave society the air of harmony; everything that might inspire the different ranks of people with mutual hatred and distrust, by setting the rights and interests of one against those of another, and so strengthen the power which comprehended them all. It is from the midst of this disorder and these revolutions, that despotism, gradually raising up its hideous head and devouring everything that remained sound and untainted in any part of the State, would at length trample on both the laws and the people, and establish itself on the ruins of the republic. The times which immediately preceded this last change would be times of trouble and calamity; but at length the monster would swallow up everything, and the people would no longer have either chiefs or laws, but only tyrants. From this moment there would be no question of virtue or morality; for despotism cui ex honesto nulla est spes, wherever it prevails, admits no other master; it no sooner speaks than probity and duty lose their weight and blind obedience is the only virtue which slaves can still practise.

This is the last term of inequality, the extreme point that closes the circle, and meets that from which we set out. Here all private persons return to their first equality, because they are nothing; and, subjects having no law but the will of their master, and their master no restraint but his passions, all notions of good and all principles of equity again vanish. There is here a complete return to the law of the strongest, and so to a new state of nature, differing from that we set out from; for the one was a state of nature in its first purity, while this is the consequence of excessive corruption. There is so little difference between the two states in other respects, and the contract of government is so completely dissolved by despotism, that the despot is master only so long as he remains the strongest; as soon as he can be expelled, he has no right to complain of violence. The popular insurrection that ends in the death or deposition of a Sultan is as lawful an act as those by which he disposed, the day before, of the lives and fortunes of his subjects. As he was maintained by force alone, it is force alone that overthrows him. Thus everything takes place according to the natural order; and, whatever may be the result of such frequent and precipitate revolutions, no one man has reason to complain of the injustice of another, but only of his own illfortune or indiscretion.

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Source: Rousseau, Jean Jacques. *The Social Contract and Discourses.* Translated by G.D.H. Cole. New York: Dutton, 1913.

131. James Smith, *An Account*of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith, 1799 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Virginia militiaman George Washington, leading an expedition into the Ohio Country, was defeated by a large French force at Fort Necessity in the first American battle of the French and Indian War. In response to the battle, Great Britain sent General Edward Braddock and some 1,000 troops to Virginia. Joined by George Washington and colonial militiamen, the army marched toward the Ohio River Valley. On July 9, 1755, French and Indian troops ambushed the British and colonial troops, inflicting an overwhelming defeat. New of this defeat reached a Pennsylvania militiaman held captive at Fort Duquesne, ten miles distant from the battle, on the Ohio River in western Pennsylvania. Colonel James Smith, 18 years old, had been captured by Indians in May 1755 while building a road for the expected arrival of Braddock's army. Held for a time at the French fort, he saw the Indians assemble to attack Braddock's army on the morning of July 9, 1755. Later he saw them return in triumph brandishing bloody scalps and plunder. The Indians also returned with a few prisoners, whom they burned to death within view of the fort. Smith was later taken to an Indian town. He escaped and returned home in 1759. He fought on the American side during the Revolutionary War. This account is from Smith's autobiography, published in 1799.

Primary Source

[…]

Shortly after this, on the 9th day of July, 1755, in the morning, I heard a great stir in the fort. As I could then walk with a staff in my hand, I went our of the door, which was just by the wall of the fort, and stood upon the wall and viewed the Indians in a huddle before the gate, where were barrels of powder, bullets, flints &c. and every one taking what suited; I saw the Indians also march off in rank, intire—likewise the French Canadians, and some regulars, after viewing the Indians and French in different positions, I computed them to be about four hundred, and wondered that they attempted to go out against Braddock with so small a party. I was then in high hopes that I would soon see them flying before the British troops, and that general Braddock would take the fort and rescue me.

I remained anxious to know the event of this day; and in the afternoon, I again observed a great noise and commotion in the fort, and though at that time I could not understand French, yet I found that it was the voice of Joy and triumph, and feared that they had received what I called bad news.

I had observed some of the old country soldiers speak Dutch, as I spoke Dutch I went to one of them, and asked him what was the news? He told me that a runner had just arrived, who said that Braddock would certainly be defeated; that the Indians and French had surrounded him, and were concealed behind trees and in gullies, and kept a constant fire upon the English, and that they saw the English falling in heaps, and if they did not take the river which was the only gap, and make their escape, there would not be one man left alive before sundown. Some time after this I heard a number of scalp halloos, and saw a company of Indians and French coming in. I observed they had a great many bloody scalps, grenadiers' caps, British canteens, bayonets, &c. with them. They brought the news that Braddock was defeated. After that, another company came in which appeared to be about one hundred, and chiefly Indians, and it seemed to me that almost every one of this company was carrying scalps; after this came another company with a number of wagon-horses, and also a great many scalps. Those that were coming in, and those that had arrived, kept a constant firing of small arms, and also the great guns in the fort, which were accompanied with the most hideous shouts and yells from all quarters; so that it appeared to me as if the infernal regions had broke loose.

About sundown I beheld a small party coming in with about a dozen prisoners, stripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs, and their faces and part of their bodies blacked—these prisoners they burned to death on the bank of Allegheny river opposite to the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to burn one of these men; they had him tied to a stake, and kept touching him with firebrands, red-hot irons, &c. and he screaming in a most doleful manner,—the Indians in the mean time yelling like infernal spirits. As this scene appeared too shocking for me to behold, I retired to my lodging both sore and sorry.

[…]

The morning after the battle I saw Braddock's artillery brought into the fort, the same day I also saw several Indians in British officer's dress, with sash, half moon, laced hats, &c. which the British then wore.

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Source: John W. Harpster, ed., *Pen Pictures of Early Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1938).

132. King George II, War Speech to Parliament, November 13, 1755 [Excerpt]

Introduction

War broke out between France and Great Britain in 1754, sparked by a battle between colonial militia and a French force in western

Pennsylvania, then known as the Ohio Country. Great Britain responded to the battle by sending troops to America under the command of General Edward Braddock. In this speech, given several months after Braddock's defeat, the king asks Parliament to approve funding for his military buildup. He asserts that his aim is strictly to defend British interests in America and prevent the spread of war through Europe, and he announces the signing of treaties with Russia and Germany. Nevertheless, France and Great Britain did come to blows in Europe, the Caribbean, and West Africa. Spain joined the war on the French side in 1762. The conflict was known as the Seven Years' War in Europe and the French and Indian War in America. Battles in the North American theater took place from Pennsylvania to Canada. Fighting ended in North America in 1760, but the war continued in other theaters through 1762. Many of the colonial militia and British regular army officers who fought on the same side during the French and Indian War fought on opposing sides two decades later in the Revolutionary War.

Primary Source

His Majesty spake as follows:

My Lords, and Gentlemen, The present critical Conjecture of Affairs, and My constant Inclination to have the Advice and Assistance of My Parliament on all important Occasions, have made Me desirous to meet you here as early as possible.

Since your last Session, I have taken such Measures as might be most conducive to the Protection of our Possessions in America, and to the re-gaining of such Parts thereof as had been encroached upon or invaded, in Violation of the Peace, and contrary to the Faith of the most solemn Treaties.

For this Purpose, the Maritime Force of this Kingdom has been got ready with the utmost Application and Expedition, and been principally employed: Some Land Forces have been sent from hence to North America; and all proper Encouragement has been given to the several Colonies there, to exert themselves in their own Defence, and in the Maintenance of the Rights and Possessions of Great Britain.

With a sincere Desire to preserve My People from the Calamities of War, as well as to prevent, in the Midst of these Troubles, a general War from being lighted up in Europe, I have been always ready to accept reasonable and honourable Terms of Accommodation; but none such have hitherto been proposed on the Part of France. I have also confined My Views and Operations to hinder France from making new Encroachments, or supporting those already made; to exert our Right to a Satisfaction for Hostilities committed in a Time of profound Peace; and to disappoint such Designs as, from various Appearances and Preparations, there is Reason to think, have been formed against My Kingdoms and Dominions.

By these Methods, I have pursued the Plan which I formerly pointed out to you, and for which I had the Satisfaction to receive the strongest Assurances of your vigorous Support.

What other Power can object to Proceedings so absolutely necessary to our own Defence and Security? My good Brother the King of Spain sees with Concern these Differences; and the Part which He generously takes in the common Welfare of Europe makes Him earnestly wish the Preservation of the publick Tranquillity: He has also given Assurances that He will continue in the same pacifick Sentiments.

In pursuing these great Ends, I make no Doubt of the vigorous and chearful Support of My Parliament; and that, whilst I am engaged in this just and National Cause, the affectionate Assurances which they gave Me the last Session will be effectually made good. In Consequence thereof, I have greatly increased My Naval Armaments, augmented My Land Forces in such a Manner as might be the least burthensome, and have concluded a Treaty with the Empress of Russia, and another with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassell, which shall be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons, I have ordered the proper Officers to lay before you Estimates for the Services of the ensuing Year; and likewise Accompts of the extraordinary Expenses which have been made this Year, in Pursuance of the Power given Me by Parliament. I see with great Concern, that the necessary Services before mentioned will require large Supplies: I ask only such as shall be requisite for the effectual carrying on of those Measures which shall be necessary to support what has been begun, according to your Inclination, for the Security of My Kingdoms and Dominions, and for the Purposes which have been already mentioned to you. Whatever you grant shall, with the strictest Economy, be applied to those Uses only for which it shall be given.

My Lords, and Gentlemen, I rely upon your Duty and good Affections, which I have so often experienced. There never was a Situation in which My Honour, and the essential Interests of Great Britain, called more strongly for your Zeal, Unanimity, and Dispatch.

[...]

Source: R.C. Simmons and P.D.G. Thomas, eds., *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America*, 1754–1783, vol. 1 (Millwood, NY: Kraus International Publications, 1982).

133. Mary Jemison as told to JamesSeaver, *The Life of Mary Jemison*,1755 [Excerpt]

Introduction

As the British colonies expanded westward, they pushed the native peoples before them. White settlers on the western frontier bore the brunt of the Indians' anger at the loss of their land. In deadly raids, Indians burned cabins, killed settlers, and plundered their household goods. Such raids grew more frequent after the outbreak of the French and Indian War. In 1755, six Seneca Indians and four Frenchmen attacked the home of Mary Jemison in western Pennsylvania and took her family captive. The Senecas were members of the Iroquois Confederacy, but unlike most Iroquois, some of them supported the French in the war. The Indians selected Mary, then 12 years old, and another child for adoption into the tribe, and murdered the others: It was their custom to adopt selected captives as a way of restoring their population. They trekked with the children to the French-held Fort Duquesne (at modern-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), where Mary was given to two Seneca women, taken to their village, and formally adopted. She eventually adjusted to her new life, married a Delaware Indian, and bore a number of children. She lived to the age of 90, and in her old age told her story to an American, who published the book which contained this account of her capture. The book captured the public imagination and went through may editions.

Primary Source

[...]

As I before observed, I got home with the horse very early in the morning, where I found a man that lived in our neighborhood, and his sister-in-law who had three children, one son and two daughters. I soon learned that they had come there to live a short time; but for what purpose I cannot say. The woman's husband, however, was at that time in Washington's army, fighting for his country; and as her brother-in-law had a house she had lived with him in his absence. Their names I have forgotten.

Immediately after I got home, the man took the horse to go to his house after a bag of grain, and took his gun in his hand for the purpose of killing game, if he should chance to see any.—Our family, as usual, was busily employed about their common business. Father was shaving an axe-helve at the side of the house; mother was making preparations for breakfast;—my two oldest brothers were at work near the barn; and the little ones, with myself, and the woman and her three children, were in the house.

Breakfast was not yet ready, when we were alarmed by the discharge of a number of guns, that seemed to be near. Mother and the women before mentioned, almost fainted at the report, and every one trembled with fear. On opening the door, the man and horse lay dead near the house, having jus been shot by the Indians.

I was afterwards informed, that the Indians discovered him at his own house with his gun, and pursued him to father's, where they shot him as I have related. They first secured my father, and then rushed into the house, and without the least resistance made prisoners of my mother, Robert, Matthew, Betsey, the woman and her three children, and myself, and then commenced plundering.

My two brothers, Thomas and John, being at the barn, escaped and went to Virginia, where my grandfather Erwin then lived, as I was informed by a Mr. Fields, who was at my house about the close of the revolutionary war.

The party that took us consisted of six Indians and four Frenchmen, who immediately commenced plundering, as I just observed, and took what they considered most valuable; consisting principally of bread, meal and meat. Having taken as much provision as they could carry, they set out with their prisoners in great haste, for fear of detection, and soon entered the woods. On our march that day, an Indian went behind us with a whip, with which he frequently lashed the children to make them keep up. In this manner we travelled till dark without a mouthful of food or a drop of water; although we had not eaten since the night before. Whenever the little children cried for water, the Indians would make them drink urine or go thirsty. At night they encamped in the woods without fire and without shelter, where we were watched with the greatest vigilance. Extremely fatigued, and very hungry, we were compelled to lie upon the ground supperless and without a drop of water to satisfy the cravings of our appetites. As in the day time, so the little ones were made to drink urine in the night if they cried for water. Fatigue alone brought us a little sleep for the refreshment of our weary limbs; and at the dawn of the day we were again started on our march in the same order that we had proceeded on the day before. About sunrise we were halted, and the Indians gave us a full breakfast of provision that they had brought from my father's house. Each of us being very hungry, partook of this bounty of the Indians, except father, who was so much overcome with his situation—so much exhausted by anxiety and grief, that silent despair seemed fastened upon his countenance, and he could not be prevailed upon to refresh his sinking nature by the use of a morsel of food. Our repast being finished, we again resumed our march, and before noon passed a small fort that I heard my father say was called Fort Canagojigge.

That was the only time that I heard him speak from the time we were taken till we were finally separated the following night.

Toward evening we arrived at the border of a dark and dismal swamp, which was covered with small hemlocks, or some other evergreen, and other bushes, into which we were conducted; and having gone a short distance we stopped to encamp for the night.

Here we had some bread and meat for supper: but the dreariness of our situation, together with the uncertainty under which we all labored, as to our future destiny, almost deprived us of the sense of hunger, and destroyed our relish for food.

Mother, from the time we were taken, had manifest a great degree of fortitude, and encouraged us to support our troubles without complaining; and by her conversation seemed to make the distance and time shorter, and the way more smooth. But father lost all his ambition in the beginning of our trouble, and continued apparently lost to every care—absorbed in melancholy. Here, as before, she insisted on the necessity of our eating; and we obeyed her, but it was done with heavy hearts.

As soon as I had finished my supper, an Indian took off my shoes and stocking and put a pair of moccasins on my feet, which my mother observed; and believing that they would spare my life, even if they should destroy the other captives, addressed me as near as I can remember in the following words:—

"My dear little Mary, I fear that the time has arrived when we must be parted forever. Your life, my child, I think will be spared; but we shall probably be tomahawked here in this lonesome play by the Indians. O! how can I part with you my darling? What will become of my sweet little Mary? Oh! How can I think of your being continued in captivity without a hope of your being rescued? O that death had snatched you from my embraces in your infancy; the pain of parting then would have been pleasing to what it now is; and I should have seen the end of your troubles!—Alas, my dear! My heart bleeds at the thoughts of what awaits you; but, if you leave us, remember my child your own name, and the name of your father and mother. Be careful and not forget your English tongue. If you shall have an opportunity to get away from the Indians, don't try to escape; for if you do they will find and destroy you. Don't forget, my little daughter, the prayers that I have learned you—say them often; be a good child, and God will bless you. May God bless you my child, and make you comfortable and happy."

During this time, the Indians stripped the shoes and stocking from the little boy that belonged to the woman who was taken with us, and put moccasins on his feet, as they had done before on mine. I was crying. An Indian took the little boy and myself by the hand, to lead us off from the company, when my mother exclaimed, "Don't cry Mary—don't cry my child. God will bless you! Farewell—farewell!"

[…]

Source: James Everett Seaver, *A Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison, The White Woman of the Genesee* (New York: American Scenic & Historic Preservation Society, 1918).

134. Edmond Atkin, Report to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantation, 1755 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The French traders of Louisiana and the British traders of South Carolina competed with one another for the loyalty of the Indians who lived between the two colonies. Edmond Atkin, a South Carolina trader and politician, offered the British Board of Trade his advice—in the form of a report, excerpted here—on how to manage relations with the major Indian tribes of the Southern colonies. As war broke out with France, British authorities saw the wisdom of appointing Atkin superintendent of Indian Affairs. Like a number of South Carolina colonists of earlier generations, he believed that the best defense against French or Spanish incursions was a strong community of Indians, loyal to the British, living in a buffer zone between the British and the other powers. Atkin argued that the Indians were honorable and that fair treatment would secure their friendship. He offered examples from previous wars, demonstrating, correctly, that only the most oppressive and unethical treatment caused Indians to attack European colonists. At the outbreak of the French and Indian War, the Creeks and the Chickasaws were staunch allies of the British. However, Braddock's defeat left the western frontier open to deadly raids by enemy tribes. In 1757, South Carolina asked for help defending the frontier against French and Indian attacks.

Primary Source

[...]

The Importance of Indians is now generally known and understood, a Doubt remains not, that the prosperity of our Colonies on the Continent, will stand or fall with our Interest and favour among them. While they are our Friends, they are the Cheapest and strongest Barrier for the Protection of our Settlements; when Enemies, they are capable by ravaging in their method of War, in spite of all we can do, to render those Possessions almost useless. Of this the French are so sensible, as well as of our Natural Advantages beyond their own, that they have employed all their Art, not only to embroil us with our Indians, and to Set at work clandestinely some of their own to scalp our People even in times of Peace, but to destroy and utterly extirpate those Nations whose Affections they coud not gain, by setting one against another, and themselves assisting to do it. The same Reason should certainly make it our Policy, to support and preserve them.

[...]

No people in the World understand and pursue their true National Interest, better than the Indians. How sanguinary soever they are towards their Enemies, from a misguided Passion of Heroism, and a love of their country; yet they are otherways truly humane, hospitable, and equitable And how fraudulent soever they have been reputed, from the Appearance of their military Actions, in which according to their method of War, Glory cannot be acquired without Cunning & Stratagem; Yet in their publick Treaties no People on earth are more open, explicit, and Direct. Nor are they excelled by any in the observance of them. Witness in particular the Treaties of the five Nations with the Government of New York; in which there hath been no Breach yet on their Part, since 1609 at first under the

Dutch, and since 1664 under the English. And so patient are the Indians in general under the abuses of our Traders, that so numerous as the occasions have been for Complaint, I have never known an Instance in my time of a Complaint made, from either of the Nations in alliance with So. Carolina, against any particular Trader by name, with a view of punishing him by Removal. When they intended it, they have been easily pacified & prevented. It were easy to make appear, with respect to (I believe I may say) all Ruptures of Consequence between the Indians & the white People, and the Massacres that ensued, which have created such a Horror of the former, That the latter were first the Aggressors; the Indians being driven thereto under Oppressions and Abuses, and to vindicate their Natural Rights. The early and long Series of Calamities and Distreses which Virginia Struggled under with them in its Infancy, was owing, (tho' no Historian hath made the Observation) to Sr. Richd Grenville's burning an Indian Town and Destroying their Corn in 1585, after a very hospitable Reception, in revenge for a Silver Cup stolen by an Indian, who did not know the difference of Value between that and a horn Spoon; which could not but shock their natural Ideas of Equity-The great Massacre committed by the Yamasee Indians in So Carolina in 1715 was owing to the continued Oppressions and ill Usage they received from a publick Agent; of which they often Complained in vain; being such that their King told a Person from whom I had it, they could bear them no longer. But they were so unwilling to come to that Extremity, and there was so little Treachery in the Execution of it, that they declared beforehand not only their Intention, but named the very day, which was treated with Slight, till it was too late—The great Massacre committed by the Natchez Indians upon the French on the Mississippi River in 1729 was certainly owing to the Obstruction which the French gave to their Trading with the English. Le Pere Charlevoix owns, that M. de Chepar, who commanded the Post in that Nation was a little embroiled with them, without telling the Reason. But he could not conceal, that they were hurried into striking the Blow sooner than the day appointed, upon hearing that 120 Horses loaded with English Goods were enter'd into their Country—The Blow also which was struck upon the French by the Chactaw Indians in 1746 was owing to the French not permitting them to have a free Trade with the English, when that Nation was almost Naked, and the French themselves were unable to supply them with Necessaries. The policy of the Indians is Simple and Plain. Tis confined to the Securing their personal Safety, a Supply of Wants, and fair Usage. As we are the best able to supply all their wants, and on the easiest terms, they know it to be their true Interest to stick close to us, provided we shew an equal Regard also with the French, to their Safety and good usage. We have nothing therefore left to do, the Ballance being in our own hands, but, with the continuance of the same Trade as we now carry on with them, to Build Forts (not by Surprize, and against their will, as the French do but) for their sakes as well as our own, in such Nations as are or shall be desirous of it; To practice therein the same little ingratiating Arts as the French do; and above all, to begin with building Forts in their hearts, that is, to

put the Trade and Traders first under a good Regulation; after which we may build Forts wherever we please.

[…]

As to the Character and Disposition of the Creeks; They are the most refined and Political Indians, being very Speculative, Sensible, Discreet, Sober, well Governed by their Head Men; and withal by no means wanting Bravery. The Lower Creeks indeed fall short of the upper in some part of this Character; being far less Sober, and therefore not so orderly. Which is occasioned by the great Quantities of Spirituous Liquors, carried by the Augusta Rum Traders to them being the nearest—The Policy of the Creeks leads them to live in Peace with all their Neighbours; but above all to preserve a good Understanding with all white People, English, French, and Spaniards; with each of whom they have Intercourse. This last principle is frequently inculcated by some of the Chiefs in their Harrangues, from the motives of their National Safety and Interest, while they take part against neither, but are Courted by them Severally, and receive Presents from each. The same Principle was enforced by the dying charge of the Old Emperor Brim to his Son Malatchi, the Present Chief of the lower Nation, "never to suffer the Blood of any White Men to be spilt on his Ground." The Conduct of the Creeks comformable to those Principles (which was eminent during the last War) hath rendered them of Superior Weight among the Southern Nations, as holding the Ballance between their European Neighbours, and esteemed or feared by the rest of the red People—Not withstanding the general Disposition of the Creeks to live in Peace with the Neighbouring Nations, they are often at War with the Cherokees, tho' the upper do not always take part with the Lower therein; as on the other hand, the upper Cherokees do not always take part with the lower. These two being the most numerous (the Chactaws excepted), are the contending Nations of the South. The Creeks have an old Grudge against the Cherokees, for joining the Carolina Army in the Indian War in 1715, and falling on them unexpectedly. The repeated losses they have sustained on each side since, have so imbittered their Minds, that it hath been found a very difficult matter to reconcile them. So that the Peace made between them from time to time, hath been of [no] long Duration, but soon followed by a Rupture. This under the present state of our Affairs among the Indians, hath been attended with lucky Consequences to Carolina, as it hath been the means of Disconcerting the Intrigues of the French. But whenever those affairs shall assume such a Change, that we may be intirely secure of both these Nations, it will then become a Point of great Moment, by any means possible to reconcile them effectually. The Creeks do also sometimes go against the Floridans, against whom they were incited heretofore by the Carolina Government; who after the Conquest of Apalatchee having destroyed some whole Tribes (the Timooquas and Tacoboggas next to St. Augustine and St. Marks), encouraged the Creeks to War upon those Indians, for the sake of making Slaves of them. By which means until the breaking out of the Indian War, a Slave Trade only

was promoted in Florida; which drove those Indians to the extreme Parts of the Cape among the bays, leaving the finest part of their Country uninhabited; as it remains to this Day—The Creeks in general are well affected to the English, for the sake of our Goods, much better than to the Spaniards or the French. The Lower Creeks are not quite so well Affected to us, as the Upper. This hath been much admired at, considering that the latter have a French Fort among them. But the real Reason is, that the abuses, disorderly Practices, and Evil Example of the Rum Dealers & other unlicensed Traders that frequent the lower Creeks, have produced in them a Contemptible Opinion of us; as the same Reasons have done among the Lower Cherokees.

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The Chicasaw Nation is situated further West, about Seven hundred and Eighty Miles from Charles Town; about 80 or 90 Miles to the Eastward of the Missippi, & less South of the great Cherokee River, at the head of the River Chactawhatchee; which taking its Rise from the same Ridge of Mountains as the Rivers in the upper Creek Country do, discharges itself also into the Bay and harbour of Mobile. This therefore (with the Permission of the Chicasaws) may be another way of Communication from thence with the Ohio and Illinois. These Indians live in 7 Towns, having each a Pallisade Fort with a Ditch, in an open rich Champain Plaine about ten Miles in Circumference, accessible only on one side, being almost surrounded by Swamps in a circular manner, about a Mile from any running Creek, and about 30 Miles from a place called the French Landing on the Chactawhatchee; which is as far as that River is Navigable with Boats.

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The Chicasaws are of all Indians the most Manly in their Persons, Sentiments, and Actions; being of large gracefull figure, open Countenance and Manners, and generous Principles; Vigorous, Active, Intrepid, and Sharp in appearance even to Feirceness; expert Horsemen (having perhaps the finest breed of Horses in No. America); by much the best Hunters; and without Exception (by the acknowledgment of all Europeans as well as Indians that know them, who respect them as such) the best Warriours. Even their Women handle Arms, and face an Enemy like Men. They first put a stop formerly to the Spanish Conquests under Ferdinand de Soto. They are the only Indians that ever came voluntarily to a general Engagement with Europeans in open Ground; as they did with the French in 1736; when after repelling an Attack made upon one of their Towns by some chosen old regular Troops, under excellent Officers, Superior in Number, and assisted by three times as many Indians, they engaged them in an open Plain; and having totally defeated them, pursued them with great Slaughter a considerable Distance. In a Subsequent & more formidable Invasion in 1739 by three times their number of French Troops, and as many Indians also, the Chicasaws went to meet them; and having obliged them to entrench themselves they even ventured (a thing before unheard of) to attack them in their Trenches which they entered & after making great Havock, put the rest all to Flight In 1742 they defeated intirely a double Invasion made at the same time from different Quarters, to wit, by 2000 Chactaws, headed by only 10 French Men from N. Orleans or Mobile, and 500 Troops besides Indians from Canada, of which last, few ever returned. And In 1753 the last year they repelled another attempt made upon them. All those Invasions were undertaken by the French, professedly in order to extirpate the Chicasaw Nation Yet such is the magnanimity of those Indians, that under those Circumstances they never asked the Assistance of any of their Neighbours; being aided only by the Presents of ammunition which they have received occasionally from the South Carolina Government; and being advised, in regard to their future Safety, to remove and live nearer to their Friends, they resolved never to leave their Country, declaring in their way of Expression, that they would go again into the same Ground they came out of. But for their better Defence and Security against any Surprize, they built a Pallisade Fort in each of their Towns and made a Ditch round it; and did ask for some Swivel Guns from us, tho' indeed they did not obtain them.

[…]

Source: Alan Gallay, ed., *Voices of the Old South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994).

135. Chickasaw Headmen's Speech to the Governor of South Carolina, April 5, 1756

Introduction

The French traders of Louisiana and the British traders of South Carolina competed with one another for the loyalty of the Indians who lived between the two colonies. British colonists of the Carolinas believed that the best defense against French or Spanish incursions was a strong community of Indians, loyal to the British, living in a buffer zone between the British and the other powers. At the outbreak of the French and Indian War, the Creeks and the Chickasaws were staunch allies of the British. The Chickasaws had been at war with the French and the French-allied Choctaws almost continuously since the mid-1600s. The French had tried in 1702 to reconcile the enemies and win them both over to the French side. Before twenty years had passed, the French changed course and encouraged the stronger Choctaws to exterminate the Chickasaws. As a result, the Chickasaw population had fallen to the point where they could field barely 400 fighting men. Nevertheless, they remained loyal to the British. This appeal by the headmen of the Chickasaws to the governor of South Carolina details their tenuous situation: they were suffering from poverty and hunger because they could not spare the men and ammunition to hunt for game. Therefore they begged the governor to send reinforcements and firearms.

Primary Source

From the Headmen and Warriours of the Chekesaws Nation to the King of Carolina and his Beloved Men, This is to let you know we are daily cut oft by our Enemies the French and their Indians who seems to be resolved to drive us from this Land. Therefore we beg of you, our best Friends, to send back our People that are living in other Nations in order to enable us to keep our Lands from the French and their Indians. We hope you will think on us in our Poverty as we have not had the Liberty of Hunting these 3 Years but have had enough to do to defend our Lands and prevent our Women and Children from being Slaves to the French. Our Traders that come here are not willing to trust us Gun Powder and Bulletts to hunt and defend ourselves from our Enemies, neither are we able to buy from them. Many of our Women are without Flaps and many of our young Men without Guns which renders them uncapable of making any Defence against such a powerful Enemy. We are very thankful to you for your last Presents without which it would not have been possible for us to keep Possession of this Land. We have not forgotten all your old good Talks, they are stil fresh in our Minds and we shall always look upon the English as our best Friends and will always endeavour to hinder the French from incroaching on our Lands either to build Forts or make any other Improvments. We will never give up this Land but with the Loss of our Lives. We look upon your Enemies as ours and your Friends as our Friends. The Day shall never come while Sun shines and Water runs that we will join any other Nation but the English. We hope you will stil take Pity on us and give us a Supply of Powder and Bullets and Guns &c. to enable us to outlive our Enemies and revive a dying Friend. We have had no less than four Armies against us this Winter and have lost 20 of our Warriours and many of our Wives and Children carried of alive, our Towns sett on Fire in the Night and burnt down, many of our Houses &c. destroyed our Blanketts &c. We were out a hunting at the Time where we was all attacked by the Back Enemy at our Hunting Camp where we lost several of our Warriours, Women and Children so that we were obliged to leave our Hunting Camps and return to our Nation. Our Traders can tell you all this is true, if you think we tell Lies. We have told you the greatest of our Wants and are in hopes you will not forget us and leave us to be cutt of by our Enemies. Pray send all our People that lives amongst you to our Nation for we think they must be troublesome to you and would be of great Service to us for we are now reduced to small a Number we can hardly spare Men to guard our Traders to and from our Nation. We have no more to say at Present but hope you will pity us for we are very poor.

Tuska Chickamobbey Pia Mattaha Pia Hagego Tanna Puskemingo

Tiske Omastabey War King Mucklassau Mingo Pia Haggo

Mingo Opya Funne Mingo Mas Habey

Source: Colin G. Calloway, ed., *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America* (Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

136. Robert Rogers, Account of the Battle in New York,1756 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Rogers' Rangers was the name given to the many units of British rangers raised by Major Robert Rogers (1731-1795). A New Hampshire-born frontiersman, Rogers recruited and trained the ranger units that operated behind enemy lines during the French and Indian War. He commanded one of the units and served in New York, the Great Lakes region, and Canada. New York was a major battleground in this war. Because few roads existed at this time, the combatants maneuvered by canoes and bateaux along lakes and rivers. French and Indian invasion forces traveled from Canada into New York on Lake Champlain, Lake George, and the Hudson River. Between 1755 and 1760, battles took place along this corridor, as well as the Mohawk River and the shores of Lake Ontario. These excerpts from Rogers' journal include his 1756 orders, from Sir William Johnson, to conduct raids and harass the enemy around Lake George, as well as his account of the March 1758 incident known as the Battle on Snowshoes. In this engagement, Rogers led some 180 men on a snowshoe-clad march through 4-foot-deep snow near Lake George. The rangers unexpectedly encountered a force of more than 700 Frenchmen and Indians and sustained more than a hundred casualties before they retreated.

Primary Source

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On the 23d, I waited on the General, and met with a very friendly reception; he soon intimated his design of giving me the command of an independent company of rangers, and the very next morning I received the commission, with a set of instructions.

According to the General's orders, my company was to consist of sixty privates, at 3s. New York currency *per* day, three serjeants at 4s. an Ensign at 5s. a Lieutenant at 7s. and my own pay was fixed at 10s. *per* day. Ten Spanish dollars were allowed to each man to wards providing cloaths, arms, and blankets. My orders were, to raise this company as quick as possible, to inlist none but such as were used to travelling and hunting, and in whose courage and fidelity I could confide; they were, moreover, to be subject to military discipline, and the articles of war.

Our rendezvous was appointed at Albany, from thence to proceed in four whale-boats to Lake George, and, "from time to time, to use my best endeavours to distress the French and their allies, by sacking, burning and destroying their houses, barns, barracks, canoes, battoes, &c. and by killing their cattle of every kind; and at all time to endeavour to way-lay, attack, and destroy their convoys of provision by land and water, in any part of the country, where I could find them."

With these instructions, I received letters to the commanding officers, at Fort William-Henry and Fort Edward, directing them to forward the service, with which I was now particularly charged.

[...]

We kept close to the mountain, that the advance guard might better observe the rivulet, on the ice of which I imagine they would travel if out, as the snow was four feet deep, and very bad travelling on snow-shoes. In this manner we marched a mile and an half, when our advanced guard informed me of the enemy being in their view; and soon after, that they had ascertained their number to be ninety-six, chiefly Indians. We immediately laid down our packs, and prepared for battle, supposing these to be the whole number or main body of the enemy, who were marching on our left up the rivulet, upon the ice. I ordered Ensign McDonald to the command of the advanced guard, which, as we faced to the left, made a flanking party to our right. We marched to within a few yards of the bank, which was higher than the ground we occupied; and observing the ground gradually to descend from the bank of the rivulet to the foot of the mountain, we extended our party along the bank, far enough to command the whole of the enemy's at once; we waited till their front was nearly opposite to our left wing, when I fired a gun, as a signal for a general discharge upon them; whereupon we gave them the first fire, which killed about forty Indians; the rest retreated, and were pursued by about one half of our people. I now imagined the enemy totally defeated, and ordered Ensign McDonald to head the flying remains of them, that none might escape; but we soon found our mistake, and that the party we had attacked were only their advanced guard, their main body coming up, consisting of 600 more, Canadians and Indians; upon which I ordered our people to retreat to their own ground, which we gained at the expence of fifty men killed; the remainder I rallied, and drew up in pretty good order, where they fought with such intrepidity and bravery as obliged the enemy (tho' seven to one in number) to retreat a second time; but we not being in a condition to pursue them, they rallied again, and recovered their ground, and warmly pushed us in front and both wings, while the mountain defended our rear; but they were so warmly received, that their flanking parties soon retreated to their main body with considerable loss. This threw the whole again into disorder, and they retreated a third time; but our number being now too far reduced to take advantage of their disorder, they rallied again, and made a fresh attack upon us. About this time we discovered 200 Indians going up the mountain on our right, as we supposed, to get possession of rising ground, and attack our rear; to prevent which I sent Lieutenant Philips, with eighteen men, to gain the first possession, and beat them back; which he did: and being suspicious that the enemy would go round on our left, and take possession of the other part of the hill, I sent Lieutenant Crafton, with fifteen men, to prevent them there; and soon after desired two Gentlemen, who were volunteers in the party, with a few men, to go and support him, which they did with great bravery.

The enemy pushed us so close in front, that the parties were not more than twenty yards asunder in general, and sometimes intermixed with each other. The fire continued almost constant for an hour and half from the beginning of the attack, in which time we lost eight officers, and more than 100 private men killed on the spot. We were a last obliged to break, and I with about twenty men ran up the hill to Philips and Crafton, where we stopped and fired on the Indians, who were eagerly pushing us, with numbers that we could not withstand. Lieutenant Philips being surrounded by 300 Indians, was at this time capitulating for himself and party, on the other part of the hill. He spoke to me, and said if the enemy would give them good quarters, he thought it best to surrender, otherwise that he could fight while he had one man left to fire a gun.

I now thought it most prudent to retreat, and bring off with me as many of my party as I possibly could, which I immediately did; the Indians closely pursuing us at the same time, took several prisoners. We came to Lake George in the evening, where we found several wounded men, whom we took with us to the place where we had left our sleds, from whence I sent an express to Fort Edward, desiring Mr. Haviland to send a party to meet us, and assist in bringing in the wounded; with the remainder I tarried there the whole night, without fire or blankets, and in the morning we proceeded up the lake, and met with Captain Start at Hoop Island, six miles north from Fort William-Henry, and encamped there that night; the next day being the 15th, in the evening, we arrived at Fort Edward.

The number of the enemy was about 700, 600 of which were Indians. By the best accounts we could get, we killed 150 of them, and wounded as many more. I will not pretend to determine what we should have done had we been 400 or more strong; but this I am obliged to say of those brave men who attended me (most of whom are now no more) both officers and soldiers in their respective stations behaved with uncommon resolution and courage; nor do I know an instance during the whole action in which I can justly impeach the prudence or good conduct of any one of them.

Source: Robert Rogers, *Journals of Major Robert Rogers* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966).

137. Journal of John Woolman, 1757–1758 [Excerpt]

Introduction

William Penn, a prominent Quaker, founded Pennsylvania in 1682 as a haven for Quakers and other dissident Christians seeking the freedom to live according to their beliefs. An ongoing conflict between Quaker pacifism and the involvement of the colonies in numerous wars arose within a decade. England's new monarchs, William and Mary, stripped Penn of his colony because its Quakercontrolled legislature refused to approve funding for the military while England was at war. Although Penn soon regained proprietorship over the colony, pacifist Quakers continued to control the legislature and obstruct military spending. Quakers and non-Quakers vied for control during King George's War, until Benjamin Franklin crafted a compromise allowing for a volunteer militia. By the time the French and Indian War began, immigration had reduced the Quakers to only a quarter of the Pennsylvania population. John Woolman (1720-1772) was a deeply principled Quaker preacher who made it his mission to convince Quaker slave owners to give up their slaves. During the French and Indian War, Woolman refused to pay taxes because he did not want any of his money to support war. He also refused to accept payment when the authorities prevailed upon him to house a soldier. This excerpt from his journal explains his reasoning.

Primary Source

A FEW years past, money being made current in our province for carrying on wars, and to be called in again by taxes laid on the inhabitants, my mind was often affected with the thoughts of paying such taxes; and I believe it right for me to preserve a memorandum concerning it: I was told, that Friends in England frequently paid taxes, when the money was applied to such purposes: I had conversation with several noted Friends on the subject, who all favoured the payment of such taxes; some of whom I preferred before myself, and this made me easier for a time; yet there was in the deeps of my mind, a scruple which I never could get over; and, at certain times, I was greatly distressed on that account.

I all along believed that there was some upright-hearted men, who paid such taxes, but could not see that their example was a sufficient reason for me to do so, while I believed that the spirit of truth required of me, as an individual, to suffer patiently the distress of goods, rather than pay actively.

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True charity is an excellent virtue: and sincerely to labour for their good, whose belief, in all points, doth not agree with ours, is a happy state. To refuse the active payment of a tax which our society generally paid, was exceeding disagreeable; but to do a thing contrary to my conscience, appeared yet more dreadful. When this exercise came upon me, I knew of none under the like difficulty; and, in my distress, I besought the Lord to enable me to give up all, that so I might follow him wheresoever he was pleased to lead me: and under this exercise, I went to our yearly-meeting at Philadelphia, in the year 1755; at which a committee was appointed of some from each quarter, to correspond with the meeting for sufferings in London, and another to visit our monthly and quarterly-meetings; and after their appointment, before the last adjournment of the meeting, it was agreed in the meeting, that these two committees should meet together in Friends school-house in the city, at a time then concluded on, to consider some things in which the cause of truth was concerned; and these committees meeting together, had a weighty conference in the fear of the Lord; at which time I perceived, there were many Friends under a scruple like that before-mentioned.

As scrupling to pay a tax on account of the application, hath seldom been heard of heretofore, even amongst men of integrity, who have steadily borne their testimony against outward wars in their time; I may here not some things which have occurred to my mind, as I have been inwardly exercised on that account: from the steady opposition which faithful Friends, in early times, made to wrong things then approved of, they were hated and persecuted by men living in the spirit of this world; and suffering with firmness, they were made a blessing to the church, and the work prospered. It equally concerns men, in every age, to take heed to their own spirit: and in comparing their situation with ours, it looks to me there was less danger of their being infected with the spirit of this world, in paying such taxes, than there is of us now; they had little or no share in civil government; and many of them declared, they were, through the power of God, separated from the spirit in which wars were; and being afflicted by the rulers on account of their testimony, there was less likelihood of uniting in spirit with them in things inconsitent with the purity truth. We, from the first settlement of this land, have known little or no troubles of that fort: their profession, for a time, was accounted reproachful; but at length the uprightness of our predecessors being understood by the rulers, and their innocent suffering moving them, our way of worship was tolerated; and many of our members in these colonies became active in civil government. Being thus tried with favour and prosperity, this world hath appeared inviting; our minds have been turned to the improvement of our country, to merchandize and sciences, amongst which are many things useful, being following in pure wisdom; but, in our present condition, that a carnal mind is gaining upon us, I believe will not be denied. Some of our members, who are officers in civil government, are in one case or other, called upon in their respective stations to assist in things relative to the wars; such being in doubt whether to act, or crave to be excused from their office, seeing their brethren united in the payment of a tax to carry on the said wars, might think their case not much different, and so quench the tender movings of the Holy Spirit

in their minds; and thus, by small degrees, there might be an approach toward that of fighting, till we came so near it, as that the distinction would be little else, but the name of a peaceable people.

It requires great self-denial and resignation of ourselves to God, to attain that state wherein we can freely cease from fighting when wrongfully invaded; if, by our fighting, there were a probability of overcoming the invaders: whoever rightly attains to it, does, in some degree, feel that spirit in which our Redeemer gave his life for us; and through divine goodness, many of our predecessors, and many now living, have learned this blessed lesson; but many others, having their religion chiefly by education, and not being enough acquainted with the cross which crucifies to the world, do manifest a temper distinguishable from that of an entire trust in God. In calmly considering these things, it hath not appeared strange to me, that an exercise hath now fallen upon some, which, as to the outward means of it, is different from what was known to many of those who went before us.

Some time after the yearly-meeting, a day being appointed, and letters wrote to distant members, the said committees met a Philadelphia; and by adjournments, continued several days. The calamities of war were not increasing; the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania were frequently surprised, some slain, and many taken captive by the Indians; and while these committees sat, the corps of one so slain was brought in a wagon, and taken through the streets of the city, in his bloody garments, to alarm the people, and rouse them up to war.

Friends thus met were not all of one mind in relation to the tax; which to such who scrupled it made the way more difficult. To refuse and active payment at such a time, might be construed an act of disloyalty, and appeared likely to displease the rulers, not only here but in England; still there was a scruple so fastened upon the minds of many Friends, that nothing moved it: it was a conference the most weighty that ever I was at; and the hearts of many were bowed in reverence before the Most-high. Some Friends of the said committees who appeared easy to pay the tax, after several adjournments, withdrew; others of them continued till the last: at length, an epistle of tender love and caution, to Friends in Pennsylvania, was drawn by some Friends concerned, on that subject; and being read several times and corrected, was then signed by such of them as were free to sign it, and afterward sent to the monthly and quarterly-meetings.

On the ninth day of the eighth month, in the year 1757, at night, orders came to the military officers in our county, (Burlington) directing them to draft the militia, and prepare a number of men to go off as soldiers, to the relief of the English at Fort William Henry, in New-York government: a few days after which, there was a general review of the militia at Mount-Holly, and a number of men chosen and sent off under some officers. Shortly after, there came

orders to draught three times as many, to hold themselves in readiness to march when fresh orders came: and on the seventeenth day of the eight month, there was a meeting of the military officers at Mount-Holly; amongst whom were a considerable number of our society. My mind being affected herewith, I had fresh opportunity to see and consider the advantage of living in the real substance of religion, where practice doth harmonize with principle. Amongst the officers are men of understanding, who have some regard to sincerity where they see it; and in the execution of their office, when they have men to deal with whom they believe to be uprighthearted, to put them to trouble on account of scruples of conscience, is a painful task, and likely to be avoided as much as easily may be; but where men profess to be of meek and heavenly-minded, and to have their trust so firmly settled in God, that they cannot join in wars; and yet, by their spirit and conduct in common life, manifest a contrary disposition, their difficulties are great at such a time.

Officers in great anxiety endeavouring to get troops to answer the demands of their superiors, seeing men, who are insincere, pretend scruple of conscience, in hopes of being excused from a dangerous employment, they are likely to be roughly handled. In this time of commotion some of our young men left the parts, and tarried abroad till it was over; some came and proposed to go as soldiers; others appeared to have a real tender scruple in their minds against joining in wars, and were much humbled under the apprehension of a trial so near: I had conversation with several of them to my satisfaction. At the set time when the captain came to town, some of those last-mentioned went and told him in substance as follows:— That they could not bear arms for conscience-sake; nor could they hire any to go in their places, being resigned as to the event of it: at length the captain acquainted them all, that they might return home for the present, and required them to provide themselves as soldiers, and to be in readiness to march when called upon. This was such a time as I had not seen before; and yet I may say, with thankfulness to the Lord, that I believed the trial was intended for our good; and as I was favoured with resignation to him. The French army taking the fort they were besieging, destroyed it and went away; the company of then first draughted, after some days march, had orders to return home; and those on the second draught were no more called upon on that occasion.

On the fourth day of the fourth month, in the year 1758, orders came to some officers, in Mount-Holly, to prepare quarters, a short time, for about one hundred soldiers: and an officer and two other men, all inhabitants of our town, came to my house: and the officer told me, that he came to speak with me, to provide lodging and entertainment for two soldiers, there being six shillings a week per man allowed as pay for it. The case being new and unexpected, I made no answer suddenly; but sat a time silent, my mind being inward; I was fully convinced, that the proceedings in wars are inconsistent with the purity of the Christian religion; and to be hired to entertain men who were then under pay as soldiers, was a difficulty with me. I

expected they had legal authority for what they did; and after a short time, I said to the officer, if the men are sent here for entertainment, I believe I shall not refuse to admit them into my house; but the nature of the case is such, that I expect I cannot keep them on hire: one of the men intimated that he thought I might do it consistent with my religious principles; to which I made no reply; as believing silence, at that time, best for me. Though they spake of two, there came only one, who tarried at my house about two weeks, and behaved himself civilly; and when the officer came to pay me, I told him I could not take pay for it, having admitted him into my house in a passive obedience to authority. I was on horseback when he spake to me: and as I turned from him, he said, he was obliged to me: to which I said nothing; but thinking on the expression, I grew uneasy; and afterwards being near where he lived, I went and told him on what grounds I refused taking pay for keeping the soldier.

[...]

Source: Janet Whitney, ed., *The Journal of John Woolman* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1950).

138. Louis Antoine de Bougainville, Memoir of the French and Indian War, 1758 [Excerpt]

Introduction

New York was a major battleground in the French and Indian War. Battles took place along the lakes and rivers—Lake Champlain, Lake George, the Hudson River, the Mohawk River, and Lake Ontario. In 1755 the French built a fort, which they called Carillon, on the shore of Lake Champlain at Ticonderoga. In July 1758, British forces attacked Fort Ticonderoga and suffered a humiliating defeat, losing nearly 2,000 killed and wounded. The excerpt below from French officer Louis Antoine de Bougainville's (1729–1811) journal describes the battle from the defenders' perspective. Bougainville went to Canada in 1756 as aide-de-camp to General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm. After the war Bougainville joined the French Navy, sailed around the world, and eventually had a tropical flower, bougainvillea, named after him. He was part of the French fleet that supported the Americans in their revolution against the British. Bougainville's journal describes the difficulties inherent in having Indian allies and demonstrates how European armies frequently lost control of Indian warriors during the heat of battle and its aftermath.

Primary Source

SEPTEMBER 19: An hour before daybreak we left through the woods to make an attack, leaving a few with the canoes with orders to put out into the lake and to come to us when they heard the first shots. We marched through the woods in several files, the Indians

almost naked, all in black and red war paint. We surrounded the suspected point, but found nothing except old fires smoldering in the roots of trees and a few abandoned huts. We at once returned, suspecting that the Iroquois had deceived us, more especially since in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy, if there had been any, it would have been necessary to go ashore beyond the point and not this side of it.

Because of the grumbling of the other nations the Iroquois were deprived of command, and with a common accord 110 Indians, the most nimble of all the detachment, were chosen, who left with a score and a half of the most active Canadians with the intention of going as far as the fort and not returning until they had made a coup.

The canoes were put in the woods with the rest of the detachment to guard them. It was agreed that if the warriors had not returned in two days, it would be proof that they had been hotly pursued and had taken the course of going back to Carillon through the mountains and hence that the canoes could return. They left at eleven o'clock.

Around two o'clock, at about a league and a half from the fort, they suddenly ran into a detachment of thirteen English, whom they immediately attacked. All except one, whom [by now] will have carried the news to the enemy, were killed or captured. The Iroquois had two killed or wounded. The Indians on the field of battle performed cruelties even the recital of which is horrible.

At noon MM. Mercier, Desandrouins, and I left in a canoe. We reached Carillon at seven.

Lake St. Sacrement runs almost in a straight line from northeast to southwest. Since it is incased within two mountain chains, there are neither waves nor ground swells. Sailing is pleasant there, the shore safe almost everywhere. The mountain chain on the south side continues to the end of the lake. That on the north is interrupted about three leagues from the fort. The country then becomes flat, the woods open, and the English have made a very good trail which continues on behind the mountains.

SEPTEMBER 20: The Indians returned tonight to M. de Contrecoeur's camp, making a continuous fusillade on the lake. Opposite the camp they lay to and uttered cries of mourning. A canoe going out to them asked the reason for their grief. "Marin is dead (for when they have several dead the head of the party is deemed dead), we are dead." Some words of consolation. Then they made death cries and came ashore shooting off their guns.

At seven M. de Montcalm held a troop review and inspected the camp of M. de la Corne and that of de Contrecoeur.

The Indians have seventeen prisoners; they have already knocked several of them on the head. A detachment of a lieutenant and thirty men

ordered to bury the two dead. The cruelties and the insolence of these barbarians is horrible, their souls are as black as pitch. It is an abominable way to make war; the retaliation is frightening, and the air one breathes here is contagious of making one accustomed to callousness.

[...]

Just the same, this talent they have of finding tracks in the woods and of following them without losing them, a talent one cannot dismiss in doubt without refusing to accept the evidence, can be regarded as a perfection of the instinct. They see in the tracks the number that have passed, whether they are Indians or Europeans, if the tracks are fresh or old, if they are of healthy or of sick people, dragging feet or hurrying ones, marks of sticks used as supports. It is rarely that they are deceived or mistaken. They follow their prey for one hundred, two hundred, six hundred leagues with a constancy and sureness which never loses courage or leads them astray. As regards their sense of direction in the woods, it is of a complete sureness. If they have left a place where they put their canoes, whatever distance they may have gone, whatever turns they may have made, crossing rivers, mountains, they come directly back to the place where their canoes were left. Observation of the sun, the inclination of trees and of leaves that they look at, a long practice, and finally an instinct superior to all reasons, these are their guides, and these guides never lead them astray.

OCTOBER 14: Indian council indicated for tomorrow to decide about a score who came here to go and make a strike.

The soldiers have too much money. A soldier of Languedoc yesterday lost one hundred louis. This country is dangerous for discipline. Pray God that it alone suffers from it.

OCTOBER 15: The number of workmen increased. If the skill in using them increased in proportion to the number of workmen, the fort would soon be in good shape. Our general's plan is not to withdraw the army until the fort is completely free from any risk, that to effect this they will have palisaded that part of the ramparts which are not yet as high as they should be, and that they have built inside the fort sufficient barracks to lodge the garrison. . . .

The troops work with ardor. There is at the Falls a sawmill which under the direction of M. de L[otbiniére] never was got in shape to make planks, they had even decided to abandon it. M. de la P[ause] was put in charge of the mill, and he got it in shape to get out 150 planks in twenty-four hours. It cost the King crowns and yet could not run; five hundred francs and one of our officers had accomplished what this great sum and the Vauban of Canada could not achieve. Unfortunately it is to the interest of this Vauban that the work should drag out. The canteen must have its business. Wine here is six livres a quart; I note this difference in price, it is the thermometer of peculation in this country.

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Between the resolution made and the action taken there passes considerable time, sometimes one nation stops the march, sometimes another. Everybody must have time to get drunk, and their food consumption is enormous. At last they get started, and once they have struck, have they taken only a single scalp or one prisoner, back they come and are off again for their villages. Then for a considerable time the army is without Indians. Each one does well for himself, but the operation of the war suffers, for in the end they are a necessary evil. It would be better to have on hand only a specified number of these mosquitoes, who would be relieved by others, so that we would always have some on hand. In general it does not seem to me, that we are getting all the use we can out of these Indians. With less servile compliance for their caprices, less respect for the silly things they do, less outward indifference toward the service expected of them, one would accustom them to consideration toward the French to obedience, I would say even to a kind of subordination. Finally, if they believe that they can be dispensed with, they should seek to make themselves of value through real services. Some companies of volunteers who through living in the woods would know them and serve as guides would be a marvelous spur to prick the honor of these barbarians, for self-love is everything, and pride is the only wealth of every Indian.

OCTOBER 21: The party of Iroquois who left the evening of the sixteenth returned this morning. They reported that they had taken the road to the south, that on the seventeenth two English vessels and two bateaux had passed the heights of Sugar Loaf, that at three leagues from Fort George they had dropped off an Indian and a Canadian on the road from Fort George to Fort Edward, and that several other Indians with Pertuis had been on top of the mountain nearest Fort George, that the first two had heard on the road the noise of a great many men and wagons which seemed to be returning to Fort Edward, that the scouts on top of the mountain had seen the fort, which appeared to them to be finished, the entrenched camp in which they had counted about fifty tents across and twelve deep with little movement in either place and the anchorage, where they saw two vessels and about one hundred bateaux. On their way, both going and returning, they found many tracks, mostly of Indians and all of little parties of eight or ten men, except for one track of a party of about sixty, all Englishmen.

[...]

This morning Colonel [Sir William] Johnson arrived at the enemy army with 300 Choctaws, Delawares, and Iroquois, and Captain Jacob with 150 more.

Around ten o'clock we saw them as well as a few light troops on the mountain which is opposite Carillon, the other side of the River of the Falls. They let off a great fusillade which did not interrupt our work at all; we amused ourselves by not replying.

Half an hour after noon the English army advanced on us. The grenadier companies, the volunteers, and the advanced guards fired, fell back in good order, and re-entered the lines without losing a single man. At the same moment, at an agreed upon signal, all the troops were under arms at their posts.

The left was first attacked by two columns, one of which tried to outflank the defenses and found itself under fire of la Sarre, the other directed its efforts on a salient between Languedoc and Berry.

The center, where Royal Roussillon was, was attacked at almost the same time by a third column, and a fourth carried its attack toward the right between Bearn and La Reine. These different columns were intermingled with their light troops and better marksmen, who, protected by the trees, delivered a most murderous fire on us.

At the start of the affair a few of the enemy's barges and pontoons advance down the River of the Falls. Bernard's and Duprat's volunteers, posted in this area, received them in fine style; Sieur de Poulhariez, at the head of the company of grenadiers and of a light company of Royal Roussillon also appeared there and, the cannon of the fort having smashed two of these barges, they withdrew and did not appear again during the action.

The different attacks, almost all afternoon and almost everywhere, were made with the greatest of vigor.

As the Canadians and colony troops were not attacked at all, they, from the defenses which sheltered them, directed their fire against the column which attacked our right and which a few times came within range. Chevalier de Lévis in succession sent Sieur d'Hert, captain adjutant, and D'Hainaut, also captain in La Reine, to order the more active of them to make two sorties and to take this column in the flank.

This column, composed of English grenadiers and Scottish Highlanders, returned unceasingly to the attack, without becoming discouraged or broken, and several got themselves killed within fifteen paces of our abatis. Chevalier de Lévis twice ordered the Canadians and the troops of La Marine to make sorties and take them in the flank.

Around five o'clock the column which had spiritedly attacked Royal Roussillon, threw itself against the salient defended by the Guyenne regiment and by the left of Béarn.

The column which had attacked La Reine and Béarn with the greatest fury threw itself there again with the result that this attack threatened danger. Chevalier de Lévis went there with a few troops from the right, at which the enemy was only shooting [and not really attacking]. The marquis de Montcalm also ran there with a few serve troops and the enemy met a resistance which finally cooled their ardor.

The left continually withstood the fire of the two columns which tried to penetrate in this area, in which their supply depot was. M de Bourlamaque had been dangerously wounded there around four o'clock and Sieurs de Senezergues and de Privat, lieutenant colonels of La Sarre and Languedoc, made up for his absence and continued to give the best of orders. The Marquis de Montcalm went there several times and was attentive to getting reinforcements there at all moments of crisis. For, throughout the entire affair, the grenadier and light companies of the reserve always ran to the most threatened places. Around six o'clock the two columns on the right gave up the attack on Guyenne and came to make another attempt at the center against Royal Roussillon and Berry and finally a last effort on the left.

At seven o'clock the enemy thought only of retreat, covered by the fire of the light troops, which was kept up until dark.

During the action our abatis caught fire outside several times, but it was put out at once, the soldiers courageously passing over the back of it to stop the progress.

Besides munitions of powder and ball they constantly sent up casks full of water and Sieur de Trécesson on this occasion has, both himself and his battalion, rendered the greatest service by their activity in getting munitions up to us as well as refreshments so necessary in such a long fight.

The darkness of the night, the exhaustion, and the small number of our troops, the forces of the enemy which, despite his defeat, were still infinitely superior to us; the nature of these woods in which one could not without Indians involve oneself against an army which had four or five hundred of them; several defensive works the enemy had raised one behind the other from the battlefield to their camp; here were the obstacles which prevented us from following them in their retreat. We even thought that they would try next day to take their revenge, and consequently we worked all night to secure defilade against the neighboring heights by traverses, to perfect the abatis of the Canadians and to finish the batteries on the right and left [which were] commenced in the morning.

JULY 9: The day was devoted to the same work and to burying our dead and those the enemy had left on the field of battle.

Our companies of volunteers went out, advanced up to the Falls, and reported that the enemy had abandoned the posts at the Falls and even at the Portage.

JULY 10: At break of day the Marquis de Montcalm detached the Chevalier de Lévis with the eight grenadier companies, the volunteers, and some fifty Canadian to find out what had become of the enemy army.

The Chevalier de Lévis advanced to beyond the Portage. He everywhere found signs of a hurried flight. The English have since told me that the affair got under way before the dispositions were entirely completed, that hurry had occasioned a sort of disorder, augmented subsequently by the death of a great number of officers; when they withdrew in the evening, the expected that it would only be to take better measures and to return with cannon and better disposition [of troops]; that the order to re-embark had greatly surprised all the regular troops; that the militia alone had rejoiced at it. He moreover said to me that they were only a body without a head since the death of Milord Howe.

Wounded, provision, abandoned equipment, shoes left in miry places, remains of barges and burned pontoons; incontestable proof of the great loss our enemy had suffered. We estimate it, from what we have seen and their prisoners, at five thousand men killed or wounded. If one should believe some of them and of the speed of their retreat, their loss would be considerably more. They lost several principal officers, Milord Howe, chief staff officer and colonel of a regiment, the commander of the new York troops, and several others.

The greatest part of their Indians, especially those of the Five nations, remained as spectators at the tail of the columns. They doubtless awaited the outcome of a combat which the English believed could not be doubtful.

The Act of March 24 announces the general invasion of Canada, and these same terms are expressed in all the commissions of their militia officers. Justice is due them that they attacked us with the greatest of determination. It is not common that defenses are attacked for seven hours and almost without any respite.

This victory which, for the moment, has saved Canada, is due to the sagacity of the dispositions, to the good maneuvers of our generals before and during the action and to the unbelievable valor of our troops. All the officers of the army have so conducted themselves that each of them deserves a personal eulogy.

We had forty-four officers and nearly four hundred men killed or wounded.

[...]

Bayle says somewhere, "It is unfortunate that men are such that when writing history one has the appearance of making a satire."

1. In this occasion we must recall what Caesar said: "Up to the present I have fought for glory, but today for my life." For us there is no retreat, no quarter; either conquer or perish. Moreover and above all, never [was] the situation more critical for the commander. If the enemy took measures to cut us off, by portaging barges, from

communication with St. Frederic, what could we do? We should have only five days supplies. It would be necessary to abandon Carillon and to retire to Fort St. Frederic. Soon afterwards one would still be forced to abandon this [latter] position; a road half a league lone would take barges behind St. Frederic into Lake Champlain. One would then have said that by this retreat, necessary in the eyes of every soldier, the victory and the country had been handed over to the English. Another precipice open at our General's feet, if he was stubborn at Carillon.

Today [now] that the enemy are on the run, everybody wishes to associate himself with the success. Every man who aspires to the command of armies ought, upon entering on that career, deeply engrave in his mind this truth perfectly expressed by Tacitus: Inquissima haec bellorum condition est; prospere, omnes sibi vindicant; adversa, uni imputantur.

2. Our defeat would bring on the loss of the colony. The French troops destroyed, Carillon taken, what troops, what place could stop a victorious army, almost as large in numbers as all the inhabitants of Canada together?

Source: Pierre Pouchot, Memoirs on the Late War in North America between France and England, trans. Michael Cardy (Youngstown, NY: Old Fort Niagara Assoc., 1994); Edward P. Hamilton, trans., Adventure in the Wilderness: The American Journals of Louis Antoine de Bougainville, 1756–1760 (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1964).

139. John Hawks, Journal of the Ticonderoga Campaign, August 1–2, 1759 [Excerpt]

Introduction

New York was a major battleground in this war. Because few roads existed at this time, the combatants maneuvered by canoes and bateaux along lakes and rivers. French and Indian invasion forces traveled from Canada into New York on Lake Champlain, Lake George, and the Hudson River. Between 1755 and 1760, a number of battles took place along this corridor, as well as along the Mohawk River and the shores of Lake Ontario. The French built a fort at Ticonderoga, on the shore of Lake Champlain, in 1755. The French captured Fort Oswego in 1756, and Fort William Henry on Lake George the following year. In July 1758, British forces attacked Fort Ticonderoga and suffered a humiliating defeat, losing nearly 2,000 killed and wounded. However, the British soon won a major victory in Canada, and authorities planned a new campaign to capture Ticonderoga and other French posts in 1759. In late July of 1759, the French destroyed the fort before it could fall into British hands. This August 1759 excerpt from a British officer's journal

focuses on the day-to-day concerns of life in the army encampment at Ticonderoga, ranging from a delivery of shoes for the men to a death sentence meted out by a court martial.

Primary Source

Camp att Tyconderogue, August 1st, 1759 Parole, Carolina

Collo for the day tomorrow, Reg. Collo. Foster; Provential Collo Lyman; Field officer for the piquit this night, Regular not asserted; Provential Lt Collo Pearson; tomorrow night Lt Collo Smedly; Adjt for the day tomorrow Preadeux....

As a number of shoes are come up intended for the use of the troops and will be delivered to them att prime cost in England which is 3s 6d a pair, The Regts may receive in the following proportion or as many of that proportion as they like to take by applying to Mr. Tucker agent to Mr. Kelby att the landing place; Royals 284; Forbs 276; Eneskellon Do; Royal Highlanders 376; Preadeux 276; Grenadeers 288; Light Infentry Do; Gages 276; Royal Artillary 56. The Quarter Masters must pay for them att the above mentioned rate.

After Orders for the 1st of August 1759.

The General Court Marshel of which Collo Grant was president is disolved, the General approved of the following sentences of the sd General C Marshel: that Capt Russel of Late Forbs Regt is to make the following submission to Lieut Collo Darby on the perade before the officers of the Regt: "Sr I am sorry I have been guilty of disrespectful behaviour to you as my superior officer & therefore I ask your pardon."

Capt Howard is found not guilty of the crime laid to his charge & is honourably acquitted. . . .

Thos. Bayly a soldier in the 17th Regt accused of theft is found guilty and is to receive 1500 laishes with a cat of nine tails.

William Ray of Gage's Light Infentry accused of insolence & threatning language is found guilty & is sentenced to receive 500 laishes with a cat of nine tails. Samll Whittoe, Corpral in Gage's Light Infentry accused of insolent behaviour is found guilty and sentenced to be reduced to the ranks. Saml. Merrum, of Collo Ruggle's Regt, accused of shooting a man of the Royal is adjudged to have done but his duty & is therefore acquited. Thos. Reed & John Reese of Late Brigade Forbes Regt accused of mutany. Thos. Reed is found guilty of the crime laid to his charge & is, therefore, sentenced to suffer death but in consideration of Serjt Hartford striking John Reese three or four times without any provocation. John Reese is to receive 500 laishes.

The regular Corps to receive provisions tomorrow beginning by break of day with Forbs following Montgomery, Royal Highlanders, Eneskellon, Preadeux, Royals, Gage's Light Infentry. They will receive for 4 days & these men will receive 2 pints of pease apice, the provisions to be immediately dresd as the men will carry it with them. This compleats the Regulars to the 5th inclusive. Babcock & Willard to be ready to march when ordered. They will immediately receive of provisions & 2 pints of pease a man which they will dress & this compleats them to the 6th inclusive. Captain Reed is appointed Major of the Highland Regiment.

Camp att Tyconderogue, Thursday August 2nd, 1759. Parole, Shenactady.

Collo for the day tomorrow, Regular Collo, Montgomery; Provential Collo, Worster; Field officer for the piquit this night, Regular Major Hambleton; Provential Lt. Collo, Smedly; tomorrow night Major Gorden, Lt Collo Putnam; Adjt for the day tomorrow Montgomery.

The Rangers Light Infentry & Grenadeers & Gages will take whale boats to the saw mill river & put them immediately to the nearest place to their encampments provided they do not obstruct the passage of any boats going down & that the boats will be safe. These Corps are desired to take no more whale boats than what are absolutely necessary to carry their number; The Royal & Forbs will load the battoes with the provisions that are on the beach. The Major of Brigade will send the proportion that each is to take. The Corps to have the same number of battoes viz: 2 pr Regt. as allowed in coming from Fort George. If the battoes are over as expected the Regts will embark this night so that everything must be ready but none of the guards relieved till ordered; The Regiments to send a return immediately to the Major of Brigade of what number of battoes they want to compleat them & must have partys waiting att the saw mill to receive them as soon as they come. Mr. Naper director of the Hospatel will fend for a battoe; And the Commesarys are to have one battoe.

Source: Orderly Book and Journal of Major John Hawks (New York: Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York, 1911).

140. Customs Commissioners' Report on Trading with the Enemy, May 10, 1759

Introduction

Smuggling among Great Britain's American colonies had grown more commonplace with each protectionist trade law enacted by Parliament. Parliament had passed a series of laws called navigation acts to control the movement of trade goods by sea. The intended effect of these acts was to reserve to English shipping interests and businesses the ability to make money from trade with

England and its colonies. The 1660, 1663, and 1696 navigation acts, as well as the Molasses Act of 1733, had restricted shipping of trade goods, set customs duties on a range of commodities, and established penalties for noncompliance. The 1733 Molasses Act placed a high duty on all foreign molasses, rum, and sugar imported into the North American colonies. Parliament intended this law to protect British West Indian sugar planters from French competition. During the Seven Years' War, called the French and Indian War by Americans, colonial traders who lived and worked on the coast did not concern themselves about events on the western frontier where most of the fighting occurred. Not only did they continue ignoring the law, but they persisted in trading with the French during the war, both in the West Indies and off the coast of Canada. This letter cites the long history of flouting the law and the difficulty of enforcing it in North America and the West Indies.

Primary Source

May it Please Your Lordships

Mr. Pownall, Secretary to the Lords commissioners for Trade and Plantations, having, in his Letter of the 24th February last, transmitted Copies of several Letter, and Representation, which have been made to their Lordships, as far back as the year 1739, relating to great Difficulties, and doubts, which are therein mentioned to have occurred, in the execution of the Acts of Trade, and to evade their force, and effect, to the great prejudice of the Commerce of This Country, and of his Majesty's Revenue of Customs and Duties: We have considered all the said Letters and Representations, and compared them with all the Papers in Our Office relative to these points, which Papers, though they have retrospect of near twenty years, are not found adequate to the Information the Board of Trade are not desirous of receiving on this subject; nevertheless, We beg leave to lay before your Lordships such general Observations, as have occurred to us, on this Occasion, Your Lordships having been already apprized of this Matter by Our Secretary's Letter of the 6T march last, inclosing Copy of the abovementioned Letter from the Board of Trade.

As We humbly presume, it cannot be intended, that We should enter into a Minute detail of the conduct of the Officers of the Customs, in the Plantations, for twenty Years past, or that We should trouble your Lordships with an Account of the repeated Directions, which have been given them, from time to time, for the due execution of their Duty, We beg leave to consider the Papers before mentioned as principally confined, to the three following points Vizt:

1st. The illicit Importation of Rum and Molasses from the French islands into the British Northern Colonies.

2dly. The Importation of Goods from different parts of Europe (particularly Holland, and Hamburgh) into North America, and the carrying Enumerated Goods from thence to the said places, and others

in Europe, contrary to Law, where by all such Imports and Exports are restrained to Great Britain only.

3dly. The pernicious practice of supplying the French Colonies and plantations with provisions from his Majesty's Colonies, or from Ireland.

With respect to the first of these three points, it must occur to your Lordships that so long as the high Duty on Foreign Rum, Sugar, and Molasses, imposed by the Act of 6th of his present Majesty, (and then intended, We apprehend, As a Prohibition) continues, the running of those goods into his Majesty's Northern colonies will be unavoidable, notwithstanding all the Orders that have been given, or may be given, to prevent it; and yet it is extremely difficult to foresee, how far it may be expedient to attempt to remedy this Evil by an alteration of this Law, which was passed, at the request of the British Planters, as an Encouragement to their Trade.

As to the second point, so far as the same relates to the Importation of European Goods into North America, We are to observe, that the great extent of the Coast very much favours the running thereof, before the Masters make their Reports at the Custom house; upon their arrival there a strict Examination of their Clearances is the only cheque upon this practice, and no endeavours have been wanting in this Board to oblige the Officers of the Customs to attend thereto. With respect to Enumerated goods exported from the Northern colonies, in case the Ships that clear out, from thence for Great Britain, will be guilty of Frauds and deviation, by carrying their Goods to other Places in Europe than Great Britain; it is impossible, for the Officers of the Customs, in the Plantations, to prevent it; The Bonds given for the legal discharge of the Cargoes may indeed be put in Suit, if proper Certificates of such discharge be not produced within Eighteen Months, but these prosecutions must be carried on in the ordinary course of proceedings in the Colonies, where, it is apprehended, that Verdicts, upon points of this nature, are not so impartial, as in England.

With respect to the third point, We must confess to our Lordships, that, as in North America opportunities are so easy of supplying the French with provisions, and the distance from hence is so great, We despair, by the means of the officers of the Revenue, of putting any effectual stop thereto, especially, as We find, that the same practice is carried on directly, or indirectly, at so much hazard and expence, even from Ireland, where the Laws are so much less liable to abuse, than under proprietary Governments in North America. . . .

S. MEAD
J. EVELYN
R. CAVENDISH
EDWARD HOOPER
C. AMYAND
H. PELHAMS

Source: Jack P. Greene, ed., *Great Britain and the American Colonies*, *1606–1763* (Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Pres, 1970).

141. Henry Timberlake, *Memoirsof Lieutenant Henry Timberlake*,1765 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Decades of British-Cherokee trade and friendship came to an end as British settlers moved westward and encroached on Cherokee land. In 1758, the Cherokees switched to the French side in the French and Indian War and began raiding frontier settlers. British troops fought a series of battles with the Cherokees. Both sides committed atrocities and slaughtered prisoners. After the French and Indian War ended, the Cherokees could no longer obtain ammunition from the French. In 1761, a force of Scottish Highlanders destroyed some 15 Cherokee towns and their food supplies. The Cherokees, facing starvation, came to a British fort and sued for peace. Colonel Adam Stephen forged an agreement with them on November 19, 1761. Henry Timberlake, a soldier serving under Stephen, volunteered to conduct the Cherokee delegation home to finalize the articles of peace. In 1762, at their request, Timberlake then accompanied three Cherokee chiefs to London to meet the king. In his memoirs, excerpted here, Timberlake describes the peace-making ceremony and provides translations of Chief Ostenaco's speech and a Cherokee war song. The treaty gave the Cherokees land in the mountains of the western Carolinas and eastern Tennessee. White settlers disregarded the treaty and soon began occupying the Cherokees' remaining territory.

Primary Source

After smoaking and talking some time, I delivered a letter from Colonel Stephen, and another from Captain M'Neil, with some presents from each, which were gratefully accepted by Ostenaco and his consort. He gave me a general invitation to his house, while I resided in the country; and my companions found no difficulty in getting the same entertainment, among an hospitable, tho' savage people, who always pay a great regard to any one taken notice of by their chiefs.

Some days after, the headmen of each town were assembled in the town-house of Chote, the metropolis of the country, to hear the articles of peace read, whither the interpreter and I accompanied Ostenaco.

The town-house, in which are transacted all public business and diversions, is raised with wood, and covered over with earth, and has all the appearance of a small mountain at a little distance. It is built in the form of a sugar loaf, and large enough to contain 500 persons, but extremely dark, having, besides the door, which is so narrow that



Cherokee chiefs who travelled to London in 1762. Engraving by George Bickham, ca. 1765. (The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation)

but one at a time can pass, and that after much winding and turning, but one small aperture to let the smoak out, which is so ill contrived, that most of it settles in the roof of the house. Within it has the appearance of an ancient amphitheatre, the seats being raised one above another, leaving an area in the middle, in the center of which stands the fire; the seats of the head warriors are nearest it.

They all seemed highly satisfied with the articles. The peace-pipe was smoaked, and Ostenaco made an harangue to the following effect:

"The bloody tommahawke, so long lifted against our brethren the English, must now be buried deep, deep in the ground, never to be raised again; and whoever shall act contrary to any of these articles, must expect a punishment equal to his offence. Should a strict observance of them be neglected, a war must necessarily follow, and a second peace may not be so easily obtained. I therefore once more recommend to you, to take particular care of your behaviour towards the English, whom we must now look upon as ourselves;

they have the French and Spaniards to fight, and we enough of our own colour, without medling with either nation. I desire likewise, that the white warrior, who has ventured himself here with us, may be well used and respected by all, wherever he goes amongst us."

[...]

A TRANSLATION OF THE WAR-SONG.

HERE'ER the earth's enlighten'd by the sun, Moon shines by night, grass grows, or waters run, Be't known that we are going, like men, afar, In hostile fields to wage destructive war; Like men we go, to meet our country's foes, Who, woman-like, shall fly our dreaded blows; Yes, as a woman, who beholds a snake, In gaudy horror, glisten thro' the brake, Starts trembling back, and stares with wild surprize, Or pale thro' fear, unconscious, panting, flies.

Just so these foes, more tim'rous than the hind, Shall leave their arms and only cloaths behind; Pinch'd by each blast, by ev'ry thicket torn, Run back to their own nation, now its scorn: Or in the winter, when the barren wood Denies their gnawing entrails nature's food, Let them sit down, from friends and country far, And wish, with tears, they ne'er had come to war.

We'll leave our clubs, dew'd with their country show'rs, And, if they dare to bring them back to our's, Their painted scalps shall be a step to fame, And grace our won and glorious country's name. Or if we warriors spare the yielding foe, Torments at home the wretch must undergo. But when we go, who knows which shall return, When growing dangers rise with each new morn? Farewel, ye little ones, yet tender wives, For you alone we would conserve our lives! But cease to mourn, 'tis unavailing pain,

If not fore-doom'd, we soon shall meet again.
But, O ye friends! In case your comrades fall,
Think that on you our deaths for vengeance call;
With uprais'd tommahawkes pursue our blood,
And stain, with hostile streams, the conscious wood,
That pointing enemies may never tell
The boasted place where we, their victims, fell.

Source: *The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake* (Reprint: New York, Arno Press, 1971).

142. William Johnson, Report on the Iroquois Confederacy, November 13, 1763 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Superintendent of Indian Affairs in British North America from 1756 to 1774, Sir William Johnson (1715–1774) possessed a keen awareness of the importance of Native Americans to the British as they fought the French for control of North America. The Iroquois trusted Johnson, who treated them fairly and respectfully. In fact, Johnson lived among the Mohawks, was considered a sachem (chief), and had taken as wife a member of the Mohawk elite. Johnson secured Iroquois allegiance during King George's War. Later, with Indian assistance, he led a successful campaign against the French in New York in 1755, and was knighted for his victory. Johnson's ability to gain Iroquois loyalty for the British had far-reaching effects in the conflict with the French, because few Indians were willing to go against the Iroquois Confederacy. He sent this report, an excerpt of which

appears below, to the Board of Trade in London in the fall of 1763, stressing the strength of the Iroquois Confederacy, which controlled a vast territory throughout the middle Atlantic and the Midwest. Johnson believed that if the British would befriend the Iroquois and supply them with weapons, the Iroquois would stymie French aggression in North America. In 1763, Johnson also obtained Iroquois assistance in putting down Pontiac's Rebellion.

Primary Source

Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade November 13, 1763

 $[\ldots]$

As Original proprietors, this Confederacy claim the Country of their residence, South of Lake Ontario to the great Ridge of the Blew Mountains, with all the Western part of the province of New York towards Hudsons River, west of the Caats Kill, thence to Lake Champlain, and from Regioghne a Rock at the East side of said lake to Osswegatche or La Gattell on the River St. Lawrence (having long ceded their claim North of said line in favour of the Canada Indians as Hunting ground) thence up the River St. Lawrence and along the South side of Lake Ontario to Niagara.

In right of conquest, they claim all the Country (comprehending the Ohio) along the great Ridge of Blew Mountains at the back of Virginia, thence to the head of the Kentucke River, and down the same to the Ohio above the Rifts, thence Northerly to the South end of Lake Michigan, then along the eastern shore of said lake to Missillimackinac, thence easterly across the North end of Lake Huron to the great Ottwawa River, (including the Chippawea or Mississagey Country) and down the said River to the Island of Montreal.— However, these more distant claims being possessed by many powerful Nations, the Inhabitants have long began to render themselves independent by the assistance of the French, and the great decrease of the Six Nations; but their claim to the Ohio, and thence to the Lakes is not in the least disputed by the Shawanese Delawares ettc., who never transacted any Sales of Land or other matters without their consent, and who sent Deputys to the grand Council at Onondaga on all important occasions.

On my coming to the management of Indian Affairs in 1746, when the Indians refused to meet or treat with our Governours, the Indian interest was from our former neglect in so visible a State of decline, that it was conjectured by many, they would entirely abandon us; in this scituation, it was with the utmost difficulty that I was enabled to prevent their falling off, but by proper measures and personal interest, I was happy enough, not only to keep them in our interest but also to employ many parties of them against the Enemy, who greatly harassed them. On my further appointment by General Braddock (for which I never received any salary) I then acquainted them that I feared, the utmost I could do would be to preserve a neu-

trality, which alone would be of great consequence, and for this my opinion, I had sufficient reason, as the Indians had from the year 1749 to 1754, been continually complaining of neglect, and remonstrating against the growing power of the French, and repeatedly requesting our assistance, on which they would disposess them notwithstanding their Interest with the western Indians whom they had at an immense expence, and by the artful insinuations of Jesuits and other proper Emissaries brought over to them, and which in the declining state of the Six Nations, were too formidable Enemies alone to cope with.

[...]

Source: Brodhead, John Romeyn. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*. Vol. VII. Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1856.

143. Royal Proclamation Concerning America, 1763 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The end of the French and Indian War in North America led to the replacement of French traders with British on the western frontier. The French traders had treated the Indians with a measure of respect, while the British offended the Indians with their arrogant behavior. In addition, British colonists defied their government's treaties by crossing the mountains to settle on the Indian lands of the Ohio River Valley. Pontiac's Rebellion broke out in 1763, as western Indians tried to drive the British traders and settlers back east. In an attempt to address the causes of the rebellion, the Board of Trade in London issued this October 1763 proclamation, which forbade colonists from settling on land west of a line running along the crest of the Appalachian Mountains and ordered existing settlers to return east. The proclamation angered both land-hungry settlers and influential land speculators (including George Washington) who had bought large tracts of Ohio River Valley land. The governments of several colonies had claimed jurisdiction all the way to the Pacific Ocean and now faced the loss of a huge territory. Settlers and speculators alike ignored the proclamation line. Over the course of several years, British authorities negotiated new Indian treaties and shifted the line of settlement inexorably westward.

Primary Source

WHEREAS we have taken into our royal consideration the extensive and valuable acquisitions in America, secured to our crown by the late definitive treaty of peace concluded at Paris the 10th day of February last; . . . we have thought fit . . . hereby to publish and declare to all our loving subjects, that we have, with the advice of our said privy council, granted our letters patent under out great seal of Great Britain, to erect within the countries and islands, ceded and con-

firmed to us by the said treaty, four distinct and separate governments, stiled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada, and limited and bounded as follows, viz.

First, the government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coast by the river St. John, and from thence by a line drawn from the head of that river, through the lake St. John, to the South end of the lake Nipissim; from whence the said line, crossing the river St. Lawrence and the lake Champlain in 45 degrees of North latitude, passes along the High Lands, which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea; and also along the North coast of the Bayes des Chaleurs, and the coast of the Gulph of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosieres, and from thence crossing the mouth of the river St. Lawrence by the West end of the island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid river St. John.

Secondly, The government of East Florida, bounded to the Westward by the Gulph of Mexico and the Apalachicola river; to the Northward, by a line drawn from that part of the said river where the Catahoochee and Flint rivers meet, to the source of St. Mary's river, and by the course of the said river to the Atlantic Ocean; and to the East and South by the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulph of Florida, including all islands within six leagues of the sea coast.

Thirdly, The government of West Florida, bounded to the Southward by the Gulph of Mexico, including all islands within six leagues of the coast from the river Apalachicola to lake Pontchartrain; to the Westward by the said lake, the lake Maurepas, and the river Mississippi; to the Northward, by a line drawn due East from that part of the river Mississippi which lies in thirty-one degrees North latitude, to the river Apalachicola, or Catahoochee; and to the Eastward by the said river.

Fourthly, The government of Grenada, comprehending the island of that name, together with the Grenadines, and the islands of Dominico, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

And to the end that the open and free fishery of our subjects may be extended to, and carried on upon the coast of Labrador and the adjacent islands, we have thought fit . . . to put all that coast, from the river St. John's to Hudson's Streights, together with the islands of Anticosti and Madelane, and all other smaller islands lying upon the said coast, under the care and inspection of our governor of Newfoundland.

We have also . . . thought-fit to annex the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, or Isle Royale, with the lesser islands adjacent thereto, to our government of Nova Scotia. We have also . . . annexed to our province of Georgia, all the lands lying between the rivers Attamaha and St. Mary's.

And \dots we have \dots given express power and direction to our governors of our said colonies respectively, that so soon as the state and

circumstances of the said colonies will admit thereof, they shall, with the advice and consent of the members of our council, summon and call general assemblies within the said governments respectively, in such manner and form as is used and directed in those colonies and provinces in America, which are under our immediate government; and we have also given power to the said governors, with the consent of our said councils, and the representatives of the people so to be summoned as aforesaid, to make, constitute, and ordain laws, statutes, and ordinances for the public peace, welfare, and good government of our said colonies, and of the people and inhabitants thereof, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, and under such regulations and restrictions as are used in other colonies; and in the mean time, and until such assemblies can be called as aforesaid, all persons inhabiting in, or resorting to, our said colonies, may confide in our royal protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of our realm of England: for which purpose we have given power under our great seal to the governors of our said colonies respectively, to erect and constitute, with the advice of our said councils respectively, courts of judicature and public justice within our said colonies, for the hearing and determining all causes as well criminal as civil, according to law and equity, and as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, with liberty to all persons who may think themselves aggrieved by the sentence of such courts, in all civil cases, to appeal, under the usual limitations and restrictions, to us, in our privy council.

[Governors of the three new continental colonies may grant land therein.] And . . . we do hereby command and impower our governors of our said three new colonies, and other our governors of our several provinces on the continent of North America, to grant, without fee or reward, to such reduced officers as have served in North America during the late war, and are actually residing there, and shall personally apply for the same, the following quantities of land, subject, at the expiration of ten years, to the same quit rents as other lands are subject to in the province within which they are granted, as also subject to the same conditions of cultivation and improvement, viz.

To every person having the rank of a field officer, 5000 acres. To every captain, 3000 acres.
To every subaltern or staff officer, 2000 acres.
To every non-commission officer, 200 acres.
To every private man 50 acres.

We do likewise authorise and require the governors and commanders in chief of all our said colonies upon the continent of North America to grant the like quantities of land, and upon the same conditions, to such reduced officers of our navy of like rank, as served on board our ships of war in North America at the times of the reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec in the late war, and who shall personally apply to our respective governors for such grants.

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our interest, and the security of our colonies, that the several nations or tribes of Indians, with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their hunting grounds; we do . . . declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that no governor, or commander in chief, in any of our colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any pretence whatever, to grant warrants of survey, or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in their commissions; as also that no governor or commander in chief of our other colonies or plantations in America, do presume for the present, and until our further pleasure be known, to grant warrant of survey, or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or north-west; or upon any lands whatever, which not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

And we do further declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, for the present, as aforesaid, to reserve under our sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the land and territories not included within the limits of our said three new governments, or within the limits of the territory granted to the Hudson's Bay company; as also all the land and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and north-west as aforesaid.

[Persons who have inadvertently settled upon such reserved lands to remove. No sale of Indian lands to be allowed, except to the Crown. The Indian trade to be free to English subjects, under licence from the governor or commander in chief of some colony. Fugitives from justice, taking refuge in this reserved territory, to be apprehended and returned.]

Source: *The Annual Register for the Year 1763.* Fifth Edition (London: J. Dodsley, 1782).

144. Treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The French and Indian War (known as the Seven Years' War in Europe) began in America in 1754. Active combat in North America ended with the French surrender of Canada in 1760. However, war between Britain and France continued until 1763. Signed on February 10, 1763, by representatives from Great Britain, France, and Spain, the Treaty of Paris formally ended the conflict. The British emerged from the war victorious and, with substantial help

from their American colonists, swept the French from the North American continent. Spain lost Cuba and Florida to Britain but, in a secret treaty with France in 1762, received the territory of Louisiana west of the Mississippi River. Britain also gained colonial possessions in Africa and the West Indies, establishing it as the world's leading imperial power. The territorial claims established by this treaty endured less than twenty years. France was destined to return to North America as an American ally during the Revolutionary War. Great Britain, in losing the Revolutionary War, ultimately lost control of the vast territory west of the Allegheny Mountains. In 1800, France reacquired the Louisiana territory from Spain, and sold it to the United States three years later.

Primary Source

The definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between his Britannick Majesty, the Most Christian King, and the King of Spain. Concluded at Paris the 10th day of February, 1763. To which the King of Portugal acceded on the same day. (Printed from the Copy.)

[...]

Article I. There shall be a Christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between their Britannick, Most Christian, Catholick, and Most Faithful Majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, subjects, and vassals, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception of places or of persons: So that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves and their said dominions and subjects this reciprocal friendship and correspondence, without permitting, on either side, any kind of hostilities, by sea or by land, to be committed from henceforth, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever, and every thing shall be carefully avoided which might hereafter prejudice the union happily reestablished, applying themselves, on the contrary, on every occasion, to procure for each other whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantages, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would cause any prejudice to either of the high contracting parties: there shall be a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before or since the commencement of the war which is just ended.

 $[\ldots]$

IV. His Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed or might have formed to Nova Scotia or Acadia in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain: Moreover, his Most Christian Majesty cedes and guaranties to his said Britannick Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the

gulph and river of St. Lawrence, and in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty, or otherwise, which the Most Christian King and the Crown of France have had till now over the said countries, lands, islands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants, so that the Most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the Crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guaranty under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the possessions above mentioned. His Britannick Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholick religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will, in consequence, give the most precise and most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannick Majesty farther agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Most Christian King in Canada, may retire with all safety and freedom wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to the subjects of his Britannick Majesty, and bring away their effects as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions: The term limited for this emigration shall be fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

[...]

VII. In order to reestablish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannick Majesty and those of his Most Christian Majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the River Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea; and for this purpose, the Most Christian King cedes in full right, and guaranties to his Britannick Majesty the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France, provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth: It is farther stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations inserted in the IVth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada shall also take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

[...]

XI. In the East Indies Great Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories which that Crown possessed, as well as on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa as on that of Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretension to the acquisitions which he has made on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa since the said beginning of the year 1749. His Most Christian Majesty shall restore, on his side, all that he may have conquered from Great Britain in the East Indies during the present war; and will expressly cause Nattal and Tapanoully, in the island of Sumatra, to be restored; he engages farther, not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal. And in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa, the English and French shall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatick, and Salabat Jing for lawful Subah of the Decan; and both parties shall renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for the depredations or pillage committed on the one side or on the other during the war.

XII. The island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannick Majesty, as well as Fort St. Philip, in the same condition they were in when conquered by the arms of the Most Christian King; and with the artillery which was there when the said island and the said fort were taken.

[…]

XIV. France shall restore all the countries belonging to the Electorate of Hanover, to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Brunswick, and to the Count of La Lippe Buckebourg, which are or shall be occupied by his Most Christian Majesty's arms: the fortresses of these different countries shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by the French arms; and the pieces of artillery, which shall have been carried elsewhere, shall be replaced by the same number, of the same bore, weight and metal.

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XX. In consequence of the restitution stipulated in the preceding article, his Catholick Majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannick Majesty, Florida, with Fort St. Augustin, and the Bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the East or to the South East of the river Mississippi. And, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all

rights, acquired by treaties or otherwise, which the Catholick King and the Crown of Spain have had till now over the said countries, lands, places, and their inhabitants; so that the Catholick King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King and to the Crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form. His Britannick Majesty agrees, on his side, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries above ceded, the liberty of the Catholick religion; he will, consequently, give the most express and the most effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannick Majesty farther agrees, that the Spanish inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Catholick King in the said countries, may retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever they think proper; and may sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons.

Without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: the term limited for this emigration being fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. It is moreover stipulated, that his Catholick Majesty shall have power to cause all the effects that may belong to him, to be brought away, whether it be artillery or other things.

XXI. The French and Spanish troops shall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and castles, of his Most faithful Majesty in Europe, without any reserve, which shall have been conquered by the armies of France and Spain, and shall restore them in the same condition they were in when conquered, with the same artillery and ammunition, which were found there: And with regard to the Portuguese Colonies in America, Africa, or in the East Indies, if any change shall have happened there, all things shall be restored on the same footing they were in, and conformably to the preceding treaties which subsisted between the Courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, before the present war.

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Source: Chalmers, George. *A Collection of Treaties Between Great Britain and Other Powers*. London: J. Stockdale, 1790.

145. William Trent, Account of the Siege of Fort Pitt, June 1763 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The end of the French and Indian War in North America led to British traders replacing French traders on the western frontier. In addition, the British built a number of permanent frontier forts and British colonists defied their government's treaties by crossing the mountains to settle on the Indian lands of the Ohio River Valley. Pontiac's Rebellion—named after a chief of the Ottawas—broke

out in the spring of 1763, as western Indians tried to drive the British traders and settlers back east. The tribes of the Northwest Territory killed or captured some 2,000 frontier settlers, and attacked the major frontier forts, among them Fort Pitt (at the site of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania). Fort Pitt remained under siege during the summer months of 1763 until relief came in August. To meet the crisis, the fort's commander placed Indian trader and former soldier William Trent in command of a newly-raised company of militia. Trent kept a journal throughout the siege. Most notable in this excerpt is evidence of early biological warfare. Confronted with a delegation of Indians pretending friendship, Trent reports that he gave them a special gift for their chief—blankets and a handkerchief that had belonged to smallpox patients.

Primary Source

June 16th Four Shawnesse appeared on the opposite side of the Ohio and desired that Mr. McKee would go over and speak to them. . .

June 17th The same Indians came and called again and desired Mr. McKee would come over, he refused; they then recommend it to him to set off for the Inhabitants in the Night, or to come over to them and they would take care of him at their Towns till the War was over, they acquainted him all Nations had taken up the Hatchett against us, and that they intended to attack this Post with a great Body in a few days; that Venango and all the other Posts that way were already cut off, that they were afraid to refuse taking up the Hatchet against us as so many Nations had done it before it came to them. . . .

18th The Enemy set fire to another House up the Ohio....

19th Two Indians crep along the Bank of the Mono [ngahela towards the] Centinel who was posted on the Bank of the River and [FIRED AT HIM.] Soon after a number of Indians were seen at the Head of the [FIELDS] taking of some Horses, and the Garrison was turning out one Stuart a Soldiers Gun went of by accident and mortaly wounded him of which he dyed the next day. . . .

22nd Between 9 and 10 o'Clock in the Morning a smoke was seen rising on the Back of Grants Hill where the Indians had made a fire and about 2 o'Clock several of them appeared in the Spelts field moving of the Horses and Cattle. About 5 o'Clock one James Thompson who it was supposed was gone after a Horse was killed and scalped in sight of the Fort on this a great number of Inds appeared on each River and on Grants Hill shooting down the Cattle and Horses. A Shell was thron amongst a number of them from a Hauwitz [howitzer] which burst just as it fell among them. About an Hour after they fired on the Fort from Grant's Hill and the other side of the Ohio, a shot from the opposite side of the Ohio wounded a Man in the Mongehele Bastion. About 7 o'Clock three Indians were seen about 150 yards from the Fort on the Monongehela Bank. Mr. McKee and two others fired on them and killed one of them.

24th The Turtles Heart a principal Warrior of the Delawares and Mamaltee a Chief came within a small distance of the Fort Mr. McKee went out to them and they made a Speech letting us know that all our [POSTS] as Ligonier was destroyed, that great numbers of Indians [were'coming and] that out of regard to us, they had prevailed on 6 Nations [not to] attack us but give us time to go down the Country and they desired we would set of immediately. The Commanding Officer thanked them, let them know that we had everything we wanted, that we could defend it against all the Indians in the Woods, that we had three large Armys marching to Chastise those Indians that had struck us, told them to take care of their Women and Children, but not to tell any other Natives, they said they would go and speak to their Chiefs and come and tell us what they said, they returned and said they would hold fast of the Chain of friendship. Out of our regard to them we gave them two Blankets and an Handkerchief out of the Small Pox Hospital. I hope it will have the desired effect. They then told us that Ligonier had been attacked, but that the Enemy were beat off.

The 25th A Shawnese Indian came across the River and Spoke to Mr McKee and told him that two days ago Sixty Miles off, he left a large Body of Indians on their march for this place to attack it and the Delawares that were here were going to join them...

The 26th Six o'Clock in the Morning Ensn Price with five men came in from Le Beauff [Fort Le Boef, now Waterford] and gave the following Account of his miraculous escape from that place and while they were Bringing him across the River seven Ind[ians showed them] selves on Grants Hill.

Early in the morning of the 18th instant five Indians [came to] his Post and asked for some Tobacco and provisions, which he gave to them. Soon after they went off about 30 men came down the Road leading to Prisque Isle, laid their Arms down a small distance off, came and asked liberty to come in and said they were going to War against the Cherokees, wou'd stay with him that night and that they purposed to pass by Fort Pitt in order to speak with Mr. Croghan; Mr Price suspecting their design had all his people under Arms and wou'd not suffer them to go in, upon this the Indians took up their Arms and got to the back of an Out store where they picked out the Stones it was underpinn'd with and got into it, then they began to roll out the Barrels of Provisions and shoot fired Arrows into the top of the Blockhouse which was put out several times, this continued till sometime in the night when Mr. Price finding it impossible to defend the place any longer or prevent its being consumed took the advantage of the Night, got all his people out of a window and made off without being observed, but unfortunately lost six of his men and a woman who he supposes fell into the hands of the Enemy, sometime after he left the Blockhouse the Indians began to fire it, when he came to Venangoe found it in Ashes, kept the Road all the way here and saw the bones of several people who had been killed going Exp[ress.] they were Six Nation Indians who attacked him....6 o'Clock in the Mternoon a S[oldier arrived] who made his escape from Presqu' Isle and says that on the 19th inst. that Post was attacked by 250 Indians which continued for two days, and that the Indians had made holes in the Bank and fired through, that the Officer (Mr. Christy) Capitulated, that the Indians were to give them 6 days Provisions and escort them safe to this Post. It was the Ottawas, Chipawas, Wyandotts and Senecas that took the Post, that after they had delivered the Indians their Arms, while the Indians were engaged in carrying out the Provisions and other Stores, he being at some distance hearing a Woman scream he imagined they were beginning to Tomhawk the Garrison he made his escape, that another Soldier likewise attempted to make his escape but fears he did not get off, that the Indians had fired the Roof of the Block House a great many times before they Capitulated and that they as often put it out, he further says that the Schooner was in sight and kep there sounding with their Boat to try if they could get in to their Assistance but that there was not Water enough, that the Indians told them they had destroyed 800 Barrels of Provisions at the Store House where the Schooner was to load and that he believes the Schooner had no Provisions on board. Nine o'Clock at Night two Expresses were sent of to the General by way of Fort Cumberland on the other side of Monongehela with these Accounts

Source: Reports on relief of Fort Pitt.

146. Henry Bouquet, Reports on the Relief of Fort Pitt, August 28, 1763

Introduction

The end of the French and Indian War in North America led to the replacement of French traders with British on the western frontier. In addition, the British built a number of permanent frontier forts, and British colonists defied their government's treaties by crossing the mountains to settle on the Indian lands of the Ohio River Valley. Pontiac's Rebellion—named after a chief of the Ottawas broke out in the spring of 1763, as western Indians tried to drive the British traders and settlers back east. The tribes of the Northwest Territory killed or captured some 2,000 frontier settlers, and attacked the major frontier forts, among them Fort Pitt (at the site of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania). Fort Pitt remained under siege during the summer months of 1763 until relief came in August. At least 400 Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, and Mingos surrounded the fort. Colonel Henry Bouquet reports here that he led some 460 men on a march that departed Carlisle, Pennsylvania, on July 28 and arrived at Fort Pitt on August 5. A 12-hour battle ensued outside the fort. Fifty of Bouquet's men were killed and 60 wounded by the time they routed the Indians. Bouquet and his troops continued to move westward and stayed on campaign until the rebellion was subdued.

Primary Source

Col. Henry Bouquet to Major Henry Gladwin August 28, 1763

Dear Sir

I had Last Night the very great Pleasure to receive Your Letter of the 28th July, by Your Express Andrew, who Says he was detan'd by Sicknes at Sandusky Your Letters for the General are forwarded.

A Mohawk having reported to Sir Wm Johnson that De Troite was taken, I could not help being uneasy tho' Long acquainted with Indian Lies.

It was a great Sattisfaction to me to Know from Your Self that You have been able to defend that post, with so few Men, against that Multitude, what was Known below of Your firm and prudent Conduct from the beginning of the Insurrection, had obtain'd the Generals approbation, and does You the greatest honor.

The Loss of all our Detain'd posts, is no more than could be expected from their Defenseless State; But Capt. Cambells Death affects me Sensibly.

I pity the unfortunate who remain Yet in the Power of the Barbarians, as every Step we take to rescue them, may and will probably hasten their Death.

Your Express says that after he left the De Troite, two Wiandots told him that the Detachment of 300 Men from Niagara had Joyn'd You with provisions. This will give You some ease till more Effectual reinforcements can be sent.

You Know that You are to have the Command of all the Troops destin'd for De Troite and to retake possession of the Country now fallen into the hands of the Enemy: To that Effect the General collects all the Troops that can be spar'd at Niagara and Presque Isle. The remains of the 42d. and 77th Were order'd to Joyn You this way when we had Intelligence that Venang had been Surpris'd Lt. Gordon and all his unfortunate Garrison Masacred; Le Beuf abandonn'd, and Presque Isle Surrender'd to my unspeakable astonishment, as I Knew the Strengt of that Block house, which would have been reliev'd from Niagara.

Fort Pitt was attack'd and invested by all the Delawar's and part of the Shavanese, Wiandots, and Mingoes, to the Number of 400 by their Account, but much more Considerable as we found afterwards, besides their Women and Children which they had brought here to Carry the plunder to their Towns, not doubting to take the Peace. Fort Burd on the Mononghehela, Bushy Run, and Stony Creek, were abandon'd for want of Men.

Ligoneer a post of great consequence to us was defended with a handful of Men by Lieut. Blane, and Capt. Ecuyer baffled all their Efforts here. [There] The fort was open on three Sides; The

1148 146. Henry Bouquet, Reports on the Relief of Fort Pitt

Floods having undermin'd the Sodwork, the rampart had tumbled in ye Ditch.

He Pallessadoed, and Frais'd the whole, rais'd a parapet all round, and in a short time with a small Garrison, he has made it impregnable for Savages. Besides their attacks on the Forts, they Kept parties on the Communication and interrupted all Expresses, while others falling upon the Fronteer Settlements Spread terror and desolation through the whole Country.

Things being in that Situation I receiv'd Orders to March with the above Troops, the only force the General could collect at that time for the relief of this Fort which was in great want of provisions, The Little Flouer they had being damag'd: In that pressing danger the provinces refus'd to give us the Least assistance; having form'd a Convoy. I march'd from Carlisle the 18th of July with about 460 Rank & File, being the remains of the 42d. & 77th Regts. Many of them convalesants. I Left 30 Men at Bedford and as many at Ligoneer, where I arriv'd on the 2d. Instant, Having no Intelligence of the enemy I determin'd to Leave the Waggons at that post, and to proceed with 400 Horses Loaded with Flour, to be Less incumber'd in case of an action.

I Left Ligoneer the 4th. And on the 5th. Instant at One O'Clock P.M. after marching 117 Miles we were Suddenly attack'd by all the Savages collected about Fort Pitt: I shall not enter into the Detail of that obstinate Action which Lasted till Night, and beginning Early on the 6th Continued till One O'Clock when at Last we routed them. They were pursued about two Miles and so well dispersed that we have not seen one since, as we were excessively distress'd by the total want of Water, we March'd immideately to the Nearest Spring without inquiring into the Loss of the enemy, who must have Suffer'd greatly by their repeated and bold Attacks in which they were constantly repuls'd; Our Loss is very Considerable.

 Kill'd
 50

 Wounded
 60

 In all
 110

After delivering our Convoy here Part of the Troops were embark'd and sent down the River to Cutt off the Shavanese the rest went back to Ligoneer, and brought our Waggons on the 22d. The great fatigues of Long Marches, and of being always under Arms has Occasion'd great Sickness, which with the Loss in the Action, puts it out of my power to Send You the remains of the two Regiments ordered to joyn You by Presque Isle, till I receive a reinforcement; This gives me great uneasiness, as I Know that they are much Wanted. But You may be assur'd that we shall do every thing in the Power of Men, to assist You. I am to remain here my self ready to go down the River with a Strong Body, which is to be ordered up for that Service.

As I have no means to procure Intelligence from Presque Isle, I am oblig'd to Send Your Express that Way, and at his return I will dis-

patch him by Sandusky, with what News I may then have receiv'd: and a Duplicate of this.

It is very agreeable to me to hear that our Officers with You, have been so happy as to obtain Your Approbation of their Services, and I am much obliged to You for the honor You have done them.

I inclose the Latest papers we have: Two of our Battalions are reduc'd. I know nothing Certain of the number of Corps remaining.

I am
Dear Sir
Your most obedient & Humble Servant

Col Henry Bouquet to Lieut. James MacDonald August 28, 1763

Sir

I had Last Night by the Indian Andrew Your Letter of the 29^{th.} July with it's Enclosur's, for which I am much oblig'd to You. The other Letter of the 14th is not yet come to hand.

The Loss of our good and worthy Friend Captain Campbell affects me Extremely. He had treated those infamous Barbarians with so much Generosity and Benevolence, that I flatter'd myself they would have Spar'd his Life: but they must be rank'd with the Panthers of their Forests, and treated in the same Way.

I am much Concern'd of such of our Officers and Men who have had the Misfortune to fall in their hands, If we cannot rescue them, we shall at Least revenge their Death, upon the perfidious Wretches in whose power they now are.

We have on our March to the relief of this Fort, which was closely beset, defeated in the Woods a Large Body of Savages Compos'd of part of the Wiandots, Shavanese, Mingos and all the Delawar's, who are recon'd and thinck them selfs the best Warriors in the Woods; Indeed they fought with the greatest bravery and resolution for two days, that the Action Lasted, on the 5th and 6th Instant; They are now all dispers'd, and we have not Seen any since; The Highlands. Are the bravest men I ever Saw, and their behaviour in that obstinate affair does them the highest honor.

In all 50 Kill'd, and 60 Wounded

I wish the same Success, with a Less considerable Loss, may attend the other bodies of Troops employ'd against those Villains. They may fight this way but never with the same Spirit and confidence. We expect a Reinforcement to push this Luky plow and forward some Troops to Your assistance.

Major Gladwin expresses his Sattisfaction of the Services of the Officers with him in a manner very honorable to them, and which gives me very great pleasure.

I'll write You a duplicate by Sandusky. I beg my Compliments to our Friends, all is well here.

I am very Sincer'ly Sir Your most Obedient humble Servt.

Gov. James Hamilton to Col. Henry Bouquet August 29, 1763

Sir

I received with the greatest pleasure your letter of the 11 instant, and most sincerely congratulate you, as well on your Victory and triumph over the Indians, as on your having fully accomplish'd the purpose of your expedition, by the relief of Fort Pitt.—very important services both, and of the utmost consequence to these Colonies! And which, I am in hopes, will appear so considerable in the eyes of Our Superiors, as to entitle the Conductor to some valuable work of their approbation.

Source: Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, *The Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1942).

147. Pontiac, Letter addressed to the Commander of Detroit, October 30, 1763

Introduction

The end of the French and Indian War in North America led to British traders replacing French traders on the western frontier. In addition, the British built a number of permanent frontier forts, and British colonists defied their government's treaties by crossing the mountains to settle on the Indian lands of the Ohio River Valley. Pontiac's Rebellion—named after a chief of the Ottawas—broke out in the spring of 1763, as western Indians tried to drive the British traders and settlers back east. The tribes of the Northwest Territory killed or captured some 2,000 frontier settlers, and attacked the major frontier forts. The Indians succeeded in taking all but Fort Pitt, Fort Niagara, and Fort Detroit. The British held out at Detroit for five months against the siege mounted by Pontiac himself and the Ottawas. Running low on ammunition, Pontiac made a peace overture in this letter (the original was in French) to the British commander of the fort. Despite the name given to the uprising by the British, Pontiac did not command the other tribes and villages.

The rebellion died down gradually over the course of the next two years, finally ending in 1766 after the many native combatants made peace one village at a time.

Primary Source

Detroit, Nov. 1, 1763

Copy of the Letter addressed to the Commander of Detroit by Pontiac, the 30th of October, 1763.

My Brother:

The word which my Father sent me to make peace, I have accepted; all my young men have buried their hatchets: I think that you will forget all the evil things which have occurred for some time past. Likewise, I shall forget what you may have done to me, in order to think nothing but good. I, the Saulteurs, the Hurons, we will come to speak when you ask us. Give us a reply. I am sending this council to you in order that you may see it. If you are as good as I, you will send me a reply. I wish you good day.

Signed,

Pontiac

Source: Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, *The Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1942).

148. Parliament, Debate on Army Strength in America, March 1763 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The end of the Seven Years' War, called the French and Indian War by Americans, marked the end of France's last serious challenge to British control of North America. However, British security in the colonies was far from complete. The French planned to keep a large garrison and naval force at the islands they still controlled in the Caribbean. Less than a month after the signing of the Treaty of Paris, Parliament discussed the fact that their troops were spread too thinly over their colonial empire. The Secretary of War argued that the continued French military presence in the western hemisphere demanded a major British military force in America. British authorities generally agreed that the American colonists should be paying the cost of any troops stationed among them. However, they disagreed as to the number of troops required, with some advocating a sharp reduction of troops in America. The Lord Mayor of London, for example, suggested that money should be collected from Americans and used in England. They eventually settled on a plan to keep 10,000 regulars in North America. The laws enacted in the postwar period regarding the deployment of troops in America and the taxation of colonists stirred widespread protests that eventually led to the American Revolution.

Primary Source

Sir Roger Newdigate's Report

Mr. Ellis Secretary at War... American army 10,000 in 20 battalions. All the Islands and continent of old and new dominions to be garrisoned from hence. Difference, now 500, before 529, the establishment of the regiment. This plan to be considered as an experiment. You cannot yet judge. Authorised to say it is the intention of government that another year, this country shall not be loaded with this corps but that the country who have immediate benefit shall pay them.

Battalions. Jamaica 2. Antigua [?] 1. Grenada 1. Senegal 1. St. Vincent, Dominica and Tobago 1. St., Augustine and Florida 2. Mobile and Louisiana and Mississippi 2. Lake Michigan and Huron. Huron and Lake Erie, called [....]. Lake Erie and Ontario. Niagara. Oswego. Frontenac. Montreal. Quebec. Trois Rivieres. [...] Bay. St. Johns. Newfoundland. Louisbourg. Nova Scotia. New York. Boston. Carolinas. Internal Forts. Ohio etc.: some may be slighted.

Independent companies will be reduced.

Argued in Canada upwards of 90,000 subjects not including the Indians. Canadians to be under a new government.

The Royal Edict of France in a Gazette. They are to have 23,000 men, half in their islands, half on board their fleet, to serve alternately. From this a greater number of officers are clearly necessary. No post can be without a commissioned officer, nor with one only. You will have a bottom of an army easily to be augmented. . . . Next year America to pay itself.

Deduct 10,000	American	£114,340
	Army	£717,853
	Saving	£105,133

Then you had only 4 battalions in America. Now you will have the foundations of a great army there.

Mr. Pitt. . . . 10,000 men hardly enough to speak to one another if a communication is needed. In Canada 15 or 16,000 men [. . .] as much as any the King of France's.

Charles Jenkinson's Report

Mr. Secretary at War opened the estimate of the army stating at length the plan of reduction, the establishment of peace in Great

Britain, Minorca, Gibraltar and the colonies; the number of men and officers. The expense and distribution of these over the several countries to which they are allotted. Gave notice that the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca would be strengthened from Ireland and that the American force was intended to be paid for a future year by America. That the French propose keeping a great force in their islands, this a sufficient reason for our keeping a great force in America; the great number of posts in this country a reason for small corps with a great many officers.

Lord Mayor of London. Why not reduce the army as low as after the peace of Ryswick.... France is greatly reducing her army lower than ever before. We should follow her example. America can pay an army but that no inducement to keep one there. The money may be transmitted to England and applied to uses here....

Mr. Pitt. This peace an armed truce only. Therefore for a greater number of men.... Thinks that the American force is hardly sufficient for so large an extent of country. The Crown can acquire no influence by means of that force. Strong in praise of the Highlanders who served during the course of the present war, would have them encouraged to settle in North America....

General Townshend. Unequal to answer Pitt. Strong in defence of the peace.... Strong in favour of the plan of reduction. The force in America sufficient. Would not have been for so great a force if it was not for the preservation of our new conquests. Admires the plan of making the American army to be paid by the Americans.

Source: R.C. Simmons and P.D.G. Thomas, eds., *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America*, 1754–1783, vol. 1 (Millwood, NY: Kraus International Publications, 1982).

149. Benjamin Franklin, Narrative of the Paxton Boys Massacre, 1764 [Excerpt]

Introduction

At the end of the French and Indian War in North America, the British built a number of permanent frontier forts, and British colonists defied their government's treaties by crossing the mountains to settle on the Indian lands of the Ohio River Valley. Pontiac's Rebellion—named after a chief of the Ottawas—broke out in the spring of 1763, as western Indians tried to drive the British traders and settlers back east. The settlers on the western frontier bore the brunt of the uprising, as Indians killed or captured some 2,000 of them. Many of Pennsylvania's frontier dwellers believed that the pacifist-controlled colonial legislature, governing from the safety and comfort of Philadelphia, was not doing enough to protect them. In December 1763, some 50 Pennsylvania frontiersmen, members

of a gang called the Paxton Boys, set upon the village of Conestoga, where lived 22 peaceable, friendly Indians. The gang murdered 20 inhabitants, including children, then moved on to Lancaster and killed another 14 Indians who had taken refuge there. In 1764, about 600 Paxton Boys marched to Philadelphia to present their grievances and demand legislative action to protect the frontier. The killings aroused widespread disgust, as expressed in this essay by Benjamin Franklin.

Primary Source

Narrative of the Paxton Boys Massacre

These Indians were the remains of a tribe of the Six Nations, settled at Conestogo, and thence called Conestogo Indians. On the first arrival of the English in Pennsylvania, messengers from this tribe came to welcome them, with presents of venison, corn, and skins; and the whole tribe entered into a treaty of friendship with the first proprietor, William Penn, which was to last "as long as the sun should shine, or the waters run in the rivers."

This treaty has been since frequently renewed, and the chain brightened, as they express it, from time to time. It has never been violated, on their part or ours, till now. As their lands by degrees were mostly purchased, and the settlements of the white people began to surround them, the proprietor assigned them lands on the manor of Conestogo, which they might not part with; there they have lived many years in friendship with their white neighbours, who loved them for their peaceable inoffensive behaviour.

It has always been observed that Indians settled in the neighbourhood of white people do not increase, but diminish continually. This tribe accordingly went on diminishing, till there remained in their town on the manor but twenty persons, viz.: seven men, five women, and eight children, boys and girls.

Of these, Shehaes was a very old man, having assisted at the second treaty held with them, by Mr. Penn, in 1701, and ever since continued a faithful and affectionate friend to the English. He is said to have been an exceeding good man, considering his education, being naturally of a most kind, benevolent temper.

Peggy was Shehaes's daughter; she worked for her aged father, continuing to live with him, though married, and attended him with filial duty and tenderness.

John was another good old man; his son Harry helped to support him.

George and Will Soc were two brothers, both young men.

John Smith, a valuable young man of the Cayuga nation, who became acquainted with Peggy, Shehaes's daughter, some few years

since, married, and settled in that family. They had one child, about three years old.

Betty, a harmless old woman; and her son Peter, a likely young lad.

Sally, whose Indian name was Wyanjoy, a woman much esteemed by all that knew her, for her prudent and good behaviour in some very trying situations of life. She was a truly good and amiable woman, had no children of her own; but, a distant relation dying, she had taken a child of that relation's, to bring up as her own, and performed towards it all the duties of an affectionate parent.

The reader will observe that many of the names are English. It is common with the Indians, that have an affection for the English, to give themselves and their children the names of such English persons as they particularly esteem.

This little society continued the custom they had begun, when more numerous, of addressing every new governor, and every descendant of the first proprietor, welcoming him to the province, assuring him of their fidelity, and praying a continuance of that favor and protection they had hitherto experienced. They had accordingly sent up an address of this kind to our present governor, on his arrival; but the same was scarce delivered when the unfortunate catastrophe happened, which we are about to relate.

On Wednesday, the 14th of December, 1763, fifty-seven men from some of our frontier townships, who had projected the destruction of this little commonwealth, came, all well mounted, and armed with fire-locks, hangers, and hatchets, having travelled through the country in the night, to Conestogo manor. There they surrounded the small village of Indian huts, and just at break of day broke into them all at once. Only three men, two women, and a young boy were found at home, the rest being out among the neighbouring white people, some to sell the baskets, brooms, and bowls they manufactured, and others on other occasions. These poor defenceless creatures were immediately fired upon, stabbed, and hatcheted to death! The good Shehaes, among the rest, cut to pieces in his bed. All of them were scalped and otherwise horribly mangled. Then their huts were set on fire, and most of them burnt down. Then the troop, pleased with their own conduct and bravery, but enraged that any of the poor Indians had escaped the massacre, rode off, and in small parties, by different roads, went home.

The universal concern of the neighbouring white people, on hearing of this event, and the lamentations of the younger Indians, when they returned and saw the desolation, and the butchered, half-burnt bodies of their murdered parents and other relations, cannot well be expressed.

The magistrates of Lancaster sent out to collect the remaining Indians, brought them into the town for their better security against any

farther attempt; and, it is said, condoled with them on the misfortune that had happened, took them by the hand, comforted, and promised them protection. They were all put into the workhouse, a strong building, as the place of greatest safety.

When the shocking news arrived in town, a proclamation was issued by the governor, in the following terms, viz.:

Whereas I have received information that on Wednesday, the fourteenth day of this month, a number of people, armed and mounted on horseback, unlawfully assembled together, and went to the Indian town in the Conestogo manor, in Lancaster county, and without the least reason or provocation, in cool blood, barbarously killed six of the Indians settled there, and burnt and destroyed all their houses and effects; and whereas so cruel and inhuman an act, committed in the heart of this province on the said Indians, who have lived peaceably and inoffensively among us during all our late troubles, and for many years before, and were justly considered as under the protection of this government and its laws, calls loudly for the vigorous exertion of the civil authority, to detect the offenders, and bring them to condign punishment; I have, therefore, by and with the advice and consent of the council, thought fit to issue this proclamation, and do hereby strictly charge and enjoin all judges, justices, sheriffs, constables, officers, civil and military, and all other his Majesty's liege subjects within this province, to make diligent search and inquiry after the authors and perpetrators of the said crime, their abettors and accomplices, and to use all possible means to apprehend and secure them in some of the public gaols of this province, that they may be brought to their trials, and be proceeded against according to law.

And whereas a number of other Indians, who lately lived on or near the frontiers of this province, being willing and desirous to preserve and continue the ancient friendship, which heretofore subsisted between them and the good people of this province, have, at their own earnest request, been removed from their habitations, and brought into the county of Philadelphia, and seated for the present, for their better security, on the Province Island, and in other places in the neighborhood of the city of Philadelphia, where provision is made for them at the public expense; I do, therefore, hereby strictly forbid all persons whatsoever, to molest or injure any of the said Indians, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

Given under my hand, and the great seal of the said province, at Philadelphia, the twenty-second day of December, *anno Domini*, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, and in the fourth year of his Majesty's reign.

John Penn By his Honor's command, Joseph Shippen, Jr., Secretary. God save the King Notwithstanding this proclamation, those cruel men again assembled themselves, and, hearing that the remaining fourteen Indians were in the workhouse at Lancaster, they suddenly appeared in that town, on the 27th of December. Fifty of them, armed as before, dismounting, went directly to the workhouse, and by violence broke open the door, and entered with the utmost fury in their countenances. When the poor wretches saw they had no protection nigh, nor could possibly escape, and being without the least weapon for defence, they divided into their little families, the children clinging to the parents; they fell on their knees, protested their innocence, declared their love to the English; and that in their whole lives they had never done them injury; and in this posture they all received the hatchet! Men, women, and little children were every one inhumanly murdered in cold blood!

The barbarous men who committed the atrocious fact, in defiance of government, of all laws human and divine, and to the eternal disgrace of their country and color, then mounted their horses, huzzaed in triumph, as if they had gained a victory, and rode off *unmolested!*

The bodies of the murdered were then brought out and exposed in the street, till a hole could be made in the earth to receive and cover them.

But the wickedness cannot be covered; the guilt will lie on the whole land, till justice is done on the murderers. The blood of the innocent will cry to Heaven for vengeance. It is said that Shehaes being before told, that it was to be feared some English might come from the frontier into the country, and murder him and his people, he replied: "It is impossible; there are Indians, indeed, in the woods, who would kill me and mine, if they could get at us, for my friendship to the English; but the English will wrap me in their matchcoat, and secure me from all danger." How unfortunately was he mistaken!

Another proclamation has been issued, offering a great reward for apprehending the murderers, in the following terms, viz.:

Whereas on the twenty-second day of December last, I issued a proclamation for the apprehending and bringing to justice a number of persons, who, in violation of the public faith, and in defiance of all law, had inhumanly killed six of the Indians, who had lived in Conestogo manor, for the course of many years, peaceably and inoffensively, under the protection of this government, on lands assigned to them for their habitation; notwithstanding which, I have received information, that on the twenty-seventh of the same month, a large party of armed men again assembled and met together in a riotous and tumultuous manner, in the county of Lancaster, and proceeded to the town of Lancaster, where they violently broke open the workhouse, and butchered and put to death fourteen of the said Conestogo Indians, men, women, and children, who had been taken under the immediate care and protection of

the magistrates of the said county, and lodged for their better security in the said workhouse, till they should be more effectually provided for by order of the government; and whereas common justice loudly demands, and the laws of the land (upon the preservation of which not only the liberty and security of every individual, but the being of the government itself depends) require, that the above offenders should be brought to condign punishment: I have, therefore, by and with the advice of the council, published this proclamation, and do hereby strictly charge and command all judges, justices, sheriffs, constables, officers, civil and military, and all other his Majesty's faithful and liege subjects within this province, to make diligent search and inquiries after the authors and perpetrators of the said last-mentioned offence, their abettors and accomplices, and that they use all possible means to apprehend and secure them in some of the public gaols of this province, to be dealt with according to law.

And I do hereby further promise and engage, that any person or persons who shall apprehend and secure, or cause to be apprehended and secured, any three of the ringleaders of the said party, and prosecute them to conviction, shall have and receive for each the public reward of two hundred pounds; and any accomplice, not concerned in the immediate shedding the blood of the said Indians, who shall make discovery of any or either of the said ringleaders, and apprehend and prosecute them to conviction, shall, over and above the said reward, have all the weight and influence of the government, for obtaining his Majesty's pardon for his offence.

Given under my hand, and the great seal of the said province, at Philadelphia, the second day of January, in the fourth year of his Majesty's reign, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty,-four.

John Penn By his Honor's command, Joseph Shippen, Jr., Secretary. God save the King

These proclamations have as yet produced no discovery, the murderers having given out such threatenings against those that disapprove their proceedings, that the whole country seems to be in terror, and no one dare speak what he knows; even the letters from thence are unsigned in which any dislike is expressed of the rioters.

There are some (I am ashamed to hear it) who would extenuate the enormous wickedness of these actions by saying: "The inhabitants of the frontiers are exasperated with the murder of their relations by the enemy Indians in the present war." It is possible; but though this might justify their going out into the woods to seek for those enemies and avenge upon them those murders, it can never justify their turning into the heart of the country to murder their friends.

If an Indian injures me, does it follow that I may revenge that injury on all Indians? It is well known that Indians are of different tribes, nations, and languages as well as the white people. In Europe, if the French, who are white people, should injure the Dutch, are they to revenge it on the English, because they too are white people? The only crime of these poor wretches seems to have been that they had a reddish-brown skin and black hair, and some people of that sort, it seems, had murdered some of our relations. If it be right to kill men for such a reason, then should any man with a freckled face and red hair kill a wife or child of mine, it would be right for me to revenge it by killing all the freckled, red-haired men, women, and children I could afterwards anywhere meet with.

But it seems these people think they have a better justification; nothing less than the Word of God. With the Scriptures in their hand and mouths they can set at nought that express demand, *Thou shalt do no murder*, and justify their wickedness by the command given Joshua to destroy the heathen. Horrid perversion of Scripture and of religion! To father the worst of crimes on the God of peace and love! Even the Jews, to whom that particular commission was directed, spared the Gibeonites on account of their faith once given. The faith of this government has been frequently given to those Indians; but that did not avail them with people who despise government.

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Source: John Bigelow, ed., *The works of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 4 (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904).

150. Paxton Boys Declaration,1764 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Pontiac's Rebellion—named for a chief of the Ottawas—broke out in the spring of 1763, as western Indians tried to eject the British traders and settlers who had flooded into their territory at the close of the French and Indian War. The settlers on the western frontier bore the brunt of the uprising, as Indians killed or captured some 2,000 of them. Many of Pennsylvania's frontier dwellers believed that the pacifist-controlled colonial legislature, governing from the safety and comfort of Philadelphia, was not doing enough to protect them. In December 1763, some 50 Pennsylvania frontiersmen, members of a gang called the Paxton Boys, set upon the village of Conestoga, where lived 22 peaceable, friendly Indians. The gang murdered 20 inhabitants, including children, then moved on to Lancaster and killed another 14 Indians who had taken refuge there. The murder of these innocents aroused widespread disgust. In 1764, about 600 Paxton Boys marched to Philadelphia to present their grievances, excerpted here, and demand legislative action to protect the frontier. Like the frontier dwellers of several other colonies, Pennsylvania's westerners believed that eastern politicians ignored their interests. The assembly eventually approved some expenditures for frontier defense.

Primary Source

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1st. We apprehend, that as Free-Men and English subjects, we have an indisputable Title to the same Privileges and Immunities with his Majesty's other Subjects, who reside in the interior counties of Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks, and therefore ought not to be excluded from an equal Share with them in the very important privilege of Legislation. Nevertheless, contrary to the Proprietors Charter, and the acknowledged principles of common Justice and Equity, our five Counties are restrained from electing more than ten Representative, viz. four for Lancaster, Two for York, Two for Cumberland, and One for Berks, and One for Northampton; while the Three Counties (and City) of *Philadelphia*, *Chester*, and *Bucks*, elect Twenty-six; this we humbly conceive is oppressive, unequal and unjust, the Cause of many of our Grievances, and an infringement of our natural Privileges of Freedom and Equality, wherefore we humbly pray, that we may be no longer deprived of an equal Number with the Three aforesaid Counties, to represent us in Assembly.

2dly. We understand that a Bill is now before the House of Assembly, wherein it is Provided, that such Persons as shall be charged with killing any Indians in Lancaster County, shall not be tried in the county where the Fact was committed, but in the Counties of Philadelphia, Chester, or Bucks. This is manifestly to deprive British Subjects of their known Privileges, to cast an eternal Reproach upon whole Counties, as if they were unfit to serve their Country in the Quality of Jury-Men, and to contradict the well known Laws of the British Nation; in a point whereon Life, Liberty, and Security essentially depend: Namely, that of being tried by their Equals in the Neighbourhood where their own, their Accusers, and the Witnesses Character and Credit, with the Circumstances of the Fact are best known, and instead thereof, putting their Lives in the Hands of Strangers, who may as justly be suspected of Partiality to, as the Frontier Counties can be of Prejudices against Indians; and this too in favour of Indians only, against his Majesty's faithful and loyal Subjects. Besides it is well known that the Design of it is to comprehend a Fact committed before such a Law was thought of. And if such Practices were tolerated, no man could be secure in his most invaluable Interests. We are also informed to our great Surprize, that this Bill has actually received the Assent of a Majority of the House, which we are perswaded could not have been the Case, had our Frontier Counties been equally represented in Assembly: However, we hope, that the Legislator of this Province will never enact a Law of so dangerous a tendency, or take away from his Majesty's good Subjects, a Privilege to long esteemed scared by English Men.

3dly. During the late and present Indian Wars, the Frontiers of this province have been repeatedly attacked and ravaged by Skulking parties of the Indians, who have with the most savage Cruelty, murdered Men, Women and Children, without distinction; and have reduced near a Thousand Families to the most extream Distress. It grieves us to the very Heart, to see such of our Frontier Inhabitants as have escaped from savage Fury, with the loss of their Parents, their Children, their Husbands, Wives, or Relatives, left destitute by the Public, and exposed to the most cruel Poverty and Wretchedness; while upward of One Hundred and Twenty of the Savages, who are with great Reason suspected of being guilty of these horrid Barbarities, under the Mask of Friendship, have procured themselves to be taken under the Protection of the Government, with a view to elude the Fury of the brave Relatives of the Murdered; and are now maintained at the public Expence: Some of these Indians now in the Barracks of *Philadelphia*, are confessedly a part of the *Wyalusing* Indians, which Tribe is now at War with us; and the others are the Moravian Indians, who living amongst us under the Cloak of Friendship, carried on a Correspondence with our known Enemies on the Great-Island. We cannot but observe with Sorrow and Indignation, that some Persons in this Province are at pains to extenuate the barbarous Cruelties practiced by these savages on our Murdered Brethren and Relatives, which are shocking to human Nature, and must pierce every Heart but those of the hardened Perpetrators of their Abettors. Nor is it less Distressing to hear others pleading, that altho' the Wyalusing Tribe is at War with us; yet that part of it which is under the Protection of the Government may be friendly to the English, and Innocent. In what Nation under the Sun was it every the Custom, that when a neighbouring Nation took up Arms, not an individual of the nation should be touched, but only the Persons that offered Hostilities? Who ever proclaimed War with a part of a nation, and not with the Whole? Had these Indians disapproved of the Perfidy of their Tribe, and been willing to cultivate and preserve Friendship with us, why did they not give Notice of the Ware before it happened, as it is known to be the Result of long Deliberations, and a preconcerted Combination amongst them? Why did they not leave their Tribe immediately, and come amongst us before there was ground to suspect them, or War as actually waged with the Tribe? No, they stayed amongst them, were privy to their Murders and Ravages, until we had destroyed their Provisions, and when they could no longer subsist at Home, they came, not as Deserters, but as Friends, to be maintained thro' the Winter, that they may be able to scalp and butcher us in the Spring.

AND as to the *Moravian Indians*, there are strong grounds, at least to suspect their Friendship, as it is known that they carried on a Correspondence with our Enemies, on the *Great Island*. We killed three *Indians* going from *Bethelem* to the *Great-Island*, with Blankets, Ammunition and Provision; which is an undeniable proof, that, the *Moravian Indians* were in confederacy with our open Enemies. And we cannot but be filled with Indignation, to hear this Action of ours, painted in the most odious and detestable colours, as if we had

inhumanly murdered our Guides, who preserved us from perishing in the Woods; when we only killed three of our known enemies, who attempted to shoot us when we surprised them. And besides all this, we understand that one of these very *Indians* is proved by the Oath of Stenton's Widow to be the very Person that murdered her Husband. How then comes it to pass, that he alone of all the Moravian Indians should join with the Enemy to murder that Family? Or can it be supposed that any Enemy Indians contrary to their known custom of making War, should penetrate into the Heart of a settled Country, to burn, plunder and murder the Inhabitants, and not molest any Houses on their Return, or ever be seen or heard of? Or how can we account for it that no Ravages have been committed in Northampton County since the Removal of the Moravian Indians, when the Great Cove has been struck since? These things put it beyond doubt with us, that the Indians now at Philadelphia, are His Majesty's perfidious Enemies, and therefore to protect and maintain them at the public Expence, while our suffering Brethren on the Frontiers are almost destitute of the Necessaries of Life and are neglected by the Public, is sufficient to make us mad with Rage, and tempt us to do what nothing but the most violent Necessity can vindicate. We humbly and earnestly pray therefore that these Enemies of his Majesty may be removed as soon as possible out of the Province.

4thly. We humbly conceive that it is contrary to the maxims of good policy and extreamly dangerous to our Frontiers, to suffer any *Indians* of what Tribe soever, to live within the inhabited Parts of this Province, while we are engaged in an Indian War; as Experience has taught us that they are all Perfidious, and their claim to Freedom and Independency puts it in their Power to act as spies, to entertain and give Intelligence to our Enemies, and to furnish them with Provisions and warlike Stores. To this fatal Intercourse between our pretended Friends and open Enemies we must ascribe the greatest Part of the Ravages and Murders that have been committed in the Course of this and the last Indian War. We therefore pray that this Greivance be taken under consideration and remedied.

5th. We cannot help lamenting that no Provision has been hitherto made, that such of our Frontier Inhabitants as have been wounded in defence of the Province, their Lives and Liberties, may be taken care of and cured of their Wounds at the public Expence. We therefore pray that this Grievance may be redressed.

6thly. In the late Indian War this Province, with others of his Majesty's Colonies gave rewards for Indian Scalps, to encourage the seeking them in their own country, as the most likely Means of destroying or reducing them to reason. But no such Encouragement has been given in this War, which has damped the Spirits of many brave Men, who are willing to venture their Lives in Parties against the Enemy. We therefore pray that public Rewards may be proposed for Indian Scalps, which may be adequate to the Dangers attending Enterprises of this Nature.

7th. We daily lament that Numbers of our nearest and dearest Relatives are still in captivity amongst the savage Heathen, to be trained up in al their Ignorance and Barbarity, or be tortured to death with all the Contrivances of Indian cruelty, for attempting to make their Escape from Bondage. We see they pay no regard to the many solemn Promises which they have made to restore our Friends, who are in Bondage amongst them; we therefore earnestly pray that no Trade may hereafter be permitted to be carried on with them, until our Brethren and Relatives are brought home to us.

8th. WE complain that a certain Society of People in this Province in the late *Indian* War and at several Treaties held by the Kings Representatives, openly loaded the *Indians* with Presents and that.... a Leader of the said Society, in defiance of all Government not only abetted our Indian Enemies, but kept up a private Intelligence with them, and publickly received from them a Belt of Wampum, as if he had been our Governor or authorized by the King to treat with his Enemies. By this Means the *Indians* have been taught to dispise us as a weak and disunited People and from this fatal Source have arose many of our Calamities under which we groan. We humbly pray therefore this Grievance may be redressed and that no private subject be hereafter permitted to treat with or carry on a correspondence with our Enemies.

9thly. We cannot but observe with sorrow that Fort Augusta which has been very expensive to this Province, has afforded us but little assistance, during this or the last War. The Men that were stationed at that Place neither helped our distressed Inhabitants to save their Crops, nor did they attack our enemies in their Towns, or patrole on our Frontiers. We humbly request, that proper Measures may be taken to make that Garrison more serviceable to us in our Distress, if it can be done.

[...]

Source: Richard Walsh, ed., *The Mind and Spirit of Early America* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969).

151. Thomas Hutchinson, *The History* of the Colony of Massachuset's Bay, 1764 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Thomas Hutchinson (1711–1780) was a prominent Harvard-educated Massachusetts politician, businessman, and scholar in the decades leading up to the American Revolution. A direct descendant of the New England religious dissident Anne Hutchinson, he became Chief Justice of Massachusetts, then royal governor. Many colonists abhorred Hutchinson's policies and his devotion to British rule. Hutchinson opposed the Stamp Act but dutifully tried

to enforce it. Rioters wrecked his home during the Stamp Act protests in 1765. However, he was universally praised as a noteworthy historian and author. Below is an excerpt of the first volume of his *History of the Massachusetts Bay Colony*. Published in 1764, it covered the period from the colony's founding to 1688, the year English Protestants overthrew the Catholic king James II. Two more volumes followed, one published posthumously, which described the colony's history through 1774, the year Hutchinson was replaced as governor by General Thomas Gage and left Massachusetts for England. In the final volume, Hutchinson lamented that the ouster of France from Canada had destroyed the sense of common purpose that had once united the British and the colonists.

Primary Source

Preface

The repeated destruction of ancient records and papers, by fire in the town of Boston, first inclined me to endeavour the preservation of such materials as remained proper for an history of the Massachusets colony. Many such came to me from my ancestors, who, for four successive generations, had been principal actors in public affairs. . . . I made what collection I could of the private papers of others of our first settlers, but in this I have not had the success I desired. The descendants of some of them are possessed of many valuable letters and other manuscripts, but have not leisure or inclination to look into them themselves, and yet will not suffer it to be done by others. . . .

I am sensible that whoever appears in print should be able to dispose his matter in such order, and cloath it with such stile and language, as shall not only inform but delight the reader; therefore I would willingly have delivered over every thing I have collected to a person of genius for such a work. But seeing no prospect of its being done by any other, I engaged in it myself; being very loth, that what had cost me some pains to bring together, should be again scattered and utterly lost.

I am sensible of many defects in this performance, and that it stands in need of all the apologies I am capable of making for it. It cannot be expected that the affairs of a colony should afford much matter, interesting or entertaining to the world in general. I write for the sake of my own countrymen, and even to many of them I expect some facts will be thought of too little importance; and yet I have omitted many such as have been judged proper for the press by former historians. In general, we are fond of knowing the minutiae which relate to our own ancestors. There are other facts, which, from the nature of them, will afford but a dull and heavy narration. My chief design is to save them from oblivion.

All historians profess a sacred regard to truth. I have found some difficulty in guarding against every degree of prejudice, in writing the history of my own country. I hope, by shunning one extreme, I have not run upon the other.

The Massachusets colony may be considered as the parent of all the other colonies of New-England. There was no importation of planters from England to any part of the continent, northward of Maryland, except to the Massachusets, for more than fifty years after the colony began. In the first ten years, about twenty thousand souls had arrived in the Massachusets. Since then, it is supposed more have gone from hence to England than have come from thence hither. Massachusets-Bay, New-Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island, at this day, probably contain five hundred thousand souls. A surprising increase of subjects of the British crown!

Barbados and the leeward islands owed very much of their growth to the supplies of lumber, horses and provisions, with which they were furnished, at the beginning of their settlements, from this colony, in as great plenty as they desired.

The addition of wealth and power to Great Britain, in consequence of this first emigration of our ancestors, exceeds all expectation. They left their native country with the strongest assurances that they and their posterity should enjoy the privileges of free natural born English subjects. May the wealth and power of Britain still increase, in proportion to the increase of her colonies; may those privileges never be abused; may they be preserved inviolate to the latest posterity.

Source: Hutchinson, Thomas. *The History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay...* Boston: Thomas, 1764.

152. Currency Act, 1764

Introduction

Having decided that the American colonies should pay for the British troops deployed to protect them, Parliament began enacting laws to raise revenue soon after the end of the French and Indian War. The Currency Act, passed in 1764, prohibited colonies from printing paper money, which they had freely issued during the recent war. Paper money-initially taking the form of bills of credit—had been printed in the colonies to make up for the lack of so called hard money, namely coins made of precious metals. It had long been illegal to export coin from Great Britain or to coin money in the colonies, and most of the circulating coins were illegallyobtained Spanish coins. An effort to curb rampant inflation and protect creditors, the Currency Act attempted to prevent debtors from using paper currency to pay debts owed to people in England. In combination with the strictly-enforced Sugar Act, the Currency Act led to a shortage of money—both hard and paper—and imposed hardship on debtors in the colonies. The effect of this act, along with that of new taxes and tighter enforcement of customs regulations, pushed the colonial economy into a downward spiral.

Primary Source

WHEREAS great quantities of paper bills of credit have been created and issued in his Majesty's colonies or plantations in America, by virtue of acts, orders, resolutions, or votes of assembly, making and declaring such bills of credit to be legal tender in payment of money:

and whereas such bills of credit have greatly depreciated in their value, by means whereof debts have been discharged with a much less value than was contracted for, to the great discouragement and prejudice of the trade and commerce of his Majesty's subjects, by occasioning confusion in dealings, and lessening credit in the said colonies or plantations: for remedy whereof, may it please your most excellent Majesty, that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the first day of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty four, no act, order, resolution, or vote of assembly, in any of his Majesty's colonies or plantations in America, shall be made, for creating or issuing any paper bills, or bills of credit of any kind or denomination whatsoever, declaring such paper bills, or bills of credit, to be legal tender in payment of any bargains, contracts, debts, dues, or demands whatsoever; and every clause or provision which shall hereafter be inserted in any act, order, resolution, or vote of assembly, contrary to this act, shall be null and void.

II. And whereas the great quantities of paper bills, or bills of credit, which are now actually in circulation and currency in several colonies or plantations in America, emitted in pursuance of acts of assembly declaring such bills a legal tender, make it highly expedient that the conditions and terms, upon which such bills have been emitted, should not be varied or prolonged, so as to continue the legal tender thereof beyond the terms respectively fixed by such acts for calling in and discharging such bills; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every act, order, resolution, or vote of assembly, in any of the said colonies or plantations, which shall be made to prolong the legal tender of any paper bills, or bills of credit, which are now subsisting and current in any of the said colonies or plantations in America, beyond the times fixed for the calling in, sinking, and discharging of such paper bills, or bills of credit, shall be null and void.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any governor or commander in chief for the time being, in all or any of the said colonies or plantations, shall, from and after the said first day of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty four, give his assent to any act or order of assembly contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, every such governor or commander in chief shall, for every such offence, forfeit and pay the sum of one thousand pounds, and shall be immediately dismissed from his government, and for ever after rendered incapable of any public office or place of trust.

IV. Provided always, That nothing in this act shall extend to alter or repeal an act passed in the twenty fourth year of the reign of his late majesty King George the Second, intituled, An act to regulate and restrain paper bills of credit in his Majesty's colonies or plantations of Rhode Island and Providence plantations, Connecticut, the Massachuset's Bay, and New Hampshire, in America, and to prevent the same being legal tenders in payments of money.

V. Provided also, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to make any of the bills now subsisting in any of the said colonies a legal tender.

Source: Pickering, Danby. *Statutes at Large.* . . Cambridge: J. Bentham, 1762–1869.

153. Sugar Act, 1764 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The French and Indian War with France had left Great Britain saddled with heavy debts. Since the North American colonies had reaped the benefits of the British victory, it seemed only fair to expect the colonists to help pay for the recently ended war and the ongoing expense of maintaining defenses in the colonies. British authorities also saw that the colonists appeared to be much more prosperous than the heavily taxed British. Instead of asking the colonies to contribute voluntarily to future military actions, Great Britain decided to tax the colonies in order to support colonial governors, judges, and army regiments. Parliament passed the Sugar Act (as the Revenue Act of 1764 was called), a reconfiguration of the tax on sugar and molasses that had initially been imposed by the Molasses Act of 1733. Although the law actually lowered the tax on sugar by half, it also called for a crackdown on colonial smuggling, which was a widespread practice at the time, particularly among New England merchants. The effort to curb smuggling led to many of the early colonial protests against British interference in colonial affairs. In addition, the combination of new taxes, tighter enforcement, and the new Currency Act plunged the colonies into an economic downturn and further fueled discontent.

Primary Source

An act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America; for continuing, amending, and making perpetual, an act passed in the sixth year of the reign of his late majesty King George the Second, (initituled, An act for the better securing and encouraging the trade of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America;) for applying the produce of such duties, and of the duties to arise by virtue of the said act, towards defraying the expences of defending, protecting, and securing the said colonies and plantations; for explaining an act made in the twenty fifth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, (intitled, An act for the encouragement of the Greenland and Eastland trades, and for the better securing the plantation trade;) and for altering and disallowing several drawbacks on exports from this kingdom, and more effectually preventing the clandestine conveyance of goods to and from the said colonies and plantation, and improving and securing the trade between the same and Great Britain.

Whereas it is expedient that new provisions and regulations should be established for improving the revenue of this kingdom, and for extending and securing the navigation and commerce between Great Britain and your Majesty's dominions in America, which, by the peace, have been so happily enlarged: and whereas it is just and necessary, that a revenue be raised, in your Majesty's said dominions in America, for defraying the expences of defending, protecting, and securing the same; we, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, being desirous to make some provision, in this present session of parliament, towards raising the said revenue in America, have resolved to give and grant unto your Majesty the several rates and duties herein after-mentioned; and do most humbly beseech your Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the twenty ninth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty four, there shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid, unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for and upon all white or clayed sugars of the produce or manufacture of any colony or plantation in America, not under the dominion of his Majesty, his heirs and successors; for and upon indigo, and coffee of foreign produce or manufacture; for and upon wines (except French wine;) for and upon all wrought silks, bengals, and stuffs, mixed with silk or herbs of the manufacture of Persia, China, or East India, and all callico painted, dyed, printed, or stained there; and for and upon all foreign linen cloth called Cambrick and French Lawns, which shall be imported or brought into any colony or plantation in America, which now is, or hereafter may be, under the dominion of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the several rates and duties following; that is to say,

For every hundred weight avoirdupois of such foreign white or clayed sugars, one pound two shillings, over and above all other duties imposed by any former act of parliament.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of such foreign indigo, six pence.

For every hundred weight avoirdupois of such foreign coffee, which shall be imported from any place, except Great Britain, two pounds, nineteen shillings, and nine pence.

For every ton of wine of the growth of the Madeiras, or of any other island or place from whence such wine may be lawfully imported, and which shall be so imported from such islands or place, the sum of seven pounds.

For every ton of Portugal, Spanish, or any other wine (except French wine) imported from Great Britain, the sum of ten shillings.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of wrought silks, bengals, and stuffs, mixed silk or herbs, of the manufacture of Persia, China, or East India, imported from Great Britain, two shillings.

For every piece of callico painted, dyed, printed, or stained, in Persia, China, or East India, imported from Great Britain, two shillings and six pence.

For every piece of foreign linen cloth, called Cambrick, imported from Great Britain, three shillings.

For every piece of French lawn imported from Great Britain, three shillings.

And after those rates for any greater or lesser quantity of such goods respectively.

II. And it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the said twenty ninth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty four, there shall also be raised, levied, collected, and paid, unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for and upon all coffee and pimento of the growth and produce of any British colony or plantation in America, which shall be there laden on board any British ship or vessel, to be carried out from thence to any other place whatsoever, except Great Britain, the several rates and duties following; that is to say, III. For every hundred weight avoirdupois of such British coffee, seven shillings. For every pound weight avoirdupois of such British pimento, one halfpenny. And after those rates for any greater or lesser quantity of such goods respectively.

[…]

VI. And it be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in lieu and instead of the rate and duty imposed by the said act upon molasses and syrups, there shall, from and after the said twenty ninth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty four, be raised, levied, collected, and paid, unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for and upon every gallon of molasses or syrups, being the growth, product, or manufacture, of any colony or plantation in America, not under the dominion of his Majesty, his heir or successors, which shall be imported or brought into any colony or plantation in America, which now is, or hereafter may be, under the dominion of his Majesty, his heirs or successors, the sum of three pence.

VII. And it be hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said rates and duties hereby charged upon such foreign white or clayed sugars, foreign indigo, foreign coffee, wines, wrought silks, bengals, and stuffs, mixed with silk or herbs, callico, cambricks, French lawns, and foreign molasses or syrups, imported into any British American colony or plantation shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid, in the same manner and form, and by such rules, ways and means, and under such penalties and forfeitures (not otherwise altered by this act) as are mentioned and expressed in the said act of parliament, made in the sixth year of the reign of his late

majesty King George the Second, with respect to the raising, levying, collecting, and payment, of the rates and duties thereby granted; and that the aforesaid duties hereby charged upon British coffee and pimento, exported from any British colony or plantation, shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid, in the same manner and form, and forfeitures, as are mentioned and referred unto in an act of parliament, made in the twenty fifth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, intituled, An act for the encouragement of the Greenland and Eastland trades, and for the better securing of the plantation trade, with respect to the raising, levying, collecting, and payment of the rates and duties thereby granted upon the several goods therein particularly enumerated: and that all powers, penalties, provisions, articles, and clauses, in those acts respectively contained and referred unto (except in such cases where any alteration is made by this act) shall be observed, applied, practised, and put in execution, for the raising, levying, collecting, and answering, the respective rates and duties granted by this act, as fully and effectually, as if the same were particularly and at large re-enacted in the body of this present act, and applied to the rates and duties hereby imposed; and as fully and effectually, to all intents and purposes, as the same could have been at any time put in execution, for the like purposes, with respect to the rates and duties granted by the said former acts.

VIII. Provided always, and it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if the importer of any wines shall refuse to pay the duties hereby imposed thereon, it shall and may be lawful for the collector, or other proper officer of the customs where such wines shall be imported, and he is hereby respectively required to take and secure the same, with the casks or other package thereof, and to cause the same to be publickly sold, within the space of twenty days at the most after such refusal made, and at such time and place as such officer, shall, by four or more days publick notice, appoint for that purpose; which wine shall be sold to the best bidder, and the money arising by the said duties, together with the charges that shall have been occasioned by the said sale; and the overplus, if any, shall be paid to such importer, or any other person authorized to receive the same.

IX. Provided also, That if the money offered for the purchase of such wine shall not be sufficient to discharge the duty and charges aforesaid, then, and in every such case, the collector, or other proper officer, shall cause the wine to be staved, split, or otherwise destroyed, and shall return the casks or other package wherein the same was contained to such importer.

X. And it is hereby declared and enacted, That every piece of callico intended to be charged with the duty herein beforementioned, if of the breadth of one yard and a quarter or under, shall not exceed in length ten yards; and if above that breadth, shall not exceed six yards in length, and that every piece of cambrick and French lawn shall contain thirteen ells each, and shall pay duty for the same in those proportions for any greater or lesser quantity, according to

the sum herein before charged upon each piece of such goods respectively.

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XVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the twenty ninth day of September, on thousand seven hundred and sixty four, no rum or spirits of the produce or manufacture of any of the colonies or plantations in America, not in the possession or under the dominion off his Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall be imported or brought into any of the colonies or plantations in America which now are, or hereafter may be, in the possession or under the dominion of his Majesty, his heirs or successors, upon forfeiture of all such rum or spirits, together with the ship or vessel in which the same shall be imported, with the tackle, apparel, and furniture thereof; to be seized by any officer or officers of his Majesty's customs, and prosecuted in such manner and form as herein after is expressed; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

XIX. And it is hereby further enacted and declare by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the twenty ninth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty four, nothing in the before-recited act made in the fifth year of the reign of his late majesty King George the Second, or any other act of parliament, shall extend, or be construed to extend, to give liberty to any person or persons whatsoever to import into the kingdom of Ireland any sort of sugars, but such only as shall be fairly and bona fide loaden and shipped in Great Britain, and carried directly from thence in ships navigated according to law.

XX. And, for the better preventing frauds in the importation of foreign sugars and paneles, rum and spirits, molasses and syrups, into any of his Majesty's dominions, under pretence that the same are the growth, produce, or manufacture, of the British colonies or plantations, it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the twenty ninth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty four, every person or persons loading on board any ship or vessel, in any of the British colonies or plantations in America, any rum or spirits, sugars or paneles, molasses or syrups, as of the growth, product, or manufacture, of any British colony or plantation, shall, before the clearing out of the said ship or vessel, produce and deliver to the collector or other principal officer of the customs at the loading port, an affidavit signed and sword to before some justice of the peace in the said British colonies or plantation, either by the grower, maker, or shipper, of such goods, or his or their known agent or factor, expressing, in words at length and not in figure, the quality of the goods so shipped, with the number and denomination of the packages, and describing the name or names of the plantation or plantations, and the name of the colony where the same grew or were produced and manufactured; which affidavit shall be attested, under the hand of the said justice of the peace, to have been sworn to in his presence; who is hereby required to do the same without fee or reward: and the collector or other principal officer of the customs to whom such affidavit shall be delivered, shall thereupon grant to the master, or other person having the charge of the ship or vessel, a certificate under his hand and seal of office (without fee or reward) of his having received such affidavit pursuant to the directions of this act; which certificate shall express the quality of the goods shipped on board such ship or vessel, with the number and denomination of the packages: and such collector or other principal officer of the customs shall also (without fee or reward) within thirty days after the sailing of the ship or vessel, transmit an exact copy of the said affidavit to the secretary's office for the respective colony or plantation where the goods were shipped, on forfeiture of five pounds.

XXI. And it is further enacted, That upon the arrival of such ship or vessel into the port of her discharge, either in Great Britain or any other port of his Majesty's dominions, where such goods may be lawfully imported, the master or other person taking the charge of the ship or vessel shall, at the time he makes his report of his cargo, deliver the said certificate to the collector or other principal officer of the customs, and make oath before him, that the goods so reported are the same that are mentioned in the said certificate, on forfeiture of one hundred pounds; and if any rum or spirits, sugars or paneles, molasses or syrups, shall be imported or found on board any such ship or vessel, for which no such certificate shall be produced, or which shall not agree therewith, the same shall be deemed and taken to be foreign rum and spirits, sugar and paneles, molasses and syrups, and shall be liable to the same duties, restrictions, regulations, penalties, and forfeitures, in all respects, as rum, spirits, sugar, paneles, molasses, and syrups, of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of any foreign colony or plantation, would respectively be liable to by law.

XXII. Provided always, That if any rum of spirits, sugar or paneles, molasses or syrups, shall be imported into Great Britain from any British colony or plantation in America, without being included in such certificate as is herein before directed, and it shall be made to appear, to the satisfaction of the commissioners of his Majesty's customs at London or Edinburgh respectively, that the goods are really and truly the produce of such British plantation or colony, and that no fraud was intended, it shall and may in such case be lawful for the said respective commissioners to permit the said goods to be entered, upon the payment of the like duties as such goods would be liable to if this law had not been made.

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XXVII. And it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the twenty ninth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty four, all coffee, pimento, cocoa nuts, whale fins, raw silks, hides and skins, pot and pearl ashes, of the growth, produc-

tion, or manufacture, of any British colony or plantation in America, shall be imported directly from thence into this kingdom, or some other British colony or plantation, under the like securities, penalties, and forfeitures, as are particularly mentioned in two acts of parliament made in the twelfth and twenty fifth years of the reign of King Charles the Second, the former intituled, An act for the encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation, and the latter intituled, An act for the encouragement of the Greenland and eastland trades and for the better securing the plantation trade, or either of them, with respect to the goods in those acts particularly enumerated; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXVIII. And it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the twenty ninth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty four, no iron, nor any sort of wood, commonly called Lumber, as specified in an act passed in the eighth year of the reign of King George the First, intituled, An act for giving further encouragement of the importation of naval stores, and for other purposes therein mentioned, of the growth, production, or manufacture, of any British colony or plantation in America, shall be there loaden on board any ship of vessel to be carried from thence, until sufficient bond shall be given, with one surety besides the master of the vessel, to the collector or other principal officer of the customs at the loading port in a penalty of double the value of the goods, which condition, that the said goods shall not be landed in any part of Europe except Great Britain; which bonds shall be discharged in the manner hereafter mentioned; that is to say, for such of the said goods as shall be entered for, or landed in, Great Britain, the condition of the bonds shall be, to bring a certificate in discharge thereof within eighteen months from the date of the bond; and within eighteen months from the date of the bond; and within six months for such of the said goods as shall be entered for, or landed in, any of the British colonies or plantations in America; which respective certificates shall be under the hands and seals of the collector or other principal officer of the customs resident at the port or place where such goods shall be landed, testifying the landing thereof; and for such of the said goods as shall be entered for, or landed at, any other place in America, Africa, or Asia, to bring the like certificate within twelve months, under the common seal of the chief magistrate, or under the hands and seals of two known British merchants residing there; or such bond or bonds shall be discharged, in either of the said cases, by proof upon oath made by credible persons, that the said goods were taken by enemies, or perished in the seas.

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XXXI. Provided always, That this act shall not extend, nor be construed to extend, to forfeit, for want of such cocket or clearance, any salt laden in Europe for the fisheries in New England, Newfoundland, Pennsylvania, New York, and Nova Scotia, or any other place to which salt is or shall be allowed by law to be carried; wines laden

in the Madeiras, of the growth thereof; and wines of the growth of the Western Islands, or Azores, and laden there; nor any horses, victuals, or linen cloth, of and from Ireland, which may be laden on board such ships or vessels.

XXXII. And it is hereby further enacted, That if any person or persons shall counterfeit, raise, alter, or falsify, any affidavit, certificate, sufferance, cocket, or clearance, required or directed by this act, or shall knowingly or willingly make use of any affidavit, certificate, sufferance, cocket, or clearance, so counterfeited, raised, altered, or falsified, such person or persons shall knowingly or willingly, or every such offence, forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds; and such affidavit, certificate, sufferance, cocket, or clearance, shall be invalid and of no effect.

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XXXIV. Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any ship or vessel belonging to the subjects of the French king, which shall be found fishing, and not carrying on any illicit trade, on that part of the island of Newfoundland, which stretches from the place called Cape Bonavista to the northern part of the said island, and from thence running down to the western side, reaches as far as the place called Point Riche.

XXXV. And, in order to prevent an illicit trade or commerce between his Majesty's subjects in America, and the subjects of the crown of France in the islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon, it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the twenty ninth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty four, if any British ship or vessel shall be found standing into, or coming out from, either of those islands, or hovering or at anchor within two leagues of the coasts thereof, or shall be discovered to have taken any goods or merchandizes on board at either of them, or to have been there for the purpose; such ship or vessel, and all the goods so taken on board there, shall be forfeited and lost, and shall and may be seized and prosecuted by any officer of his Majesty's customs; and the master or other person having the charge of such ship or vessel, and every person concerned in taking any such goods on board, shall forfeit treble the value thereof.

XXXVI. And, to prevent the concealing of any goods in false packages, or private places, on board any ship or vessel arriving at any of the British colonies or plantations in America, with intent to their being clandestinely landed there, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the twenty ninth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty four, all goods which shall be found concealed in any place whatsoever on board any such ship or vessel, at any time after the master thereof shall have made his report to the collector or other proper officer of the customs, and which shall not be comprized or mentioned in the said report, shall be forfeited and lost, and shall and may be seized and prosecuted by

any officer of the customs; and the master or other person having the charge or command of such ship or vessel (in case it can be made appear, that he was any wise consenting or privy to such fraud or concealment) shall forfeit treble the value of the goods so found.

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Source: Pickering, Danby. *Statutes at Large.* . . Cambridge: J. Bentham, 1762–1869.

154. Committee of Ways and Means, Resolutions for Colonial Stamp Duties, February 1765 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The Stamp Act was part of the post-war British plan to tax the North American colonies to provide for the support of the colonial military and government. While the Sugar Act of 1764 taxed import commodities, the Stamp Act, passed by Parliament on March 22, 1765, was the first tax that Great Britain ever levied directly on its North American colonists. However, in February, Parliament had seen a sharp debate, summarized here, on the wisdom of passing such an act. The majority believed that the American colonists owed Great Britain a debt of gratitude for providing defense, and that the colonies could well afford to pay taxes. Opponents argued that Parliament did not have the authority to tax the colonists, and that the colonists had prospered by their own labor and thus owed Great Britain nothing. The resulting Stamp Act required the purchase of a stamped paper for every publication or legal document. The Stamp Act sparked tremendous protest among the colonists when word of it reached them in April, six months before the act was to take effect on November 1, 1765. After November 1, many colonial businesses and government offices shut down rather than comply with the law. The British government repealed the act on March 18, 1766, but passed the Declaratory Act at the same time, affirming its right to tax the colonies.

Primary Source

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Grenville. Proposed taxing America from public motive. Private considerations of his own choice would have prevented him if they had been consulted. Wishes those who had gone before him had marked out a path to him which he might more easily follow. His conduct would then have been less liable to misconstruction.

The reason of the delaying' the proposal to this year was to gain all possible information and to give Americans an opportunity of conveying information to this House, whose ears are always open to receive knowledge and to act to it. The officers of the revenue have done their duty in gaining all possible knowledge of the subject.

Objection, he said last year, that if the right of taxing was disputed he would not delay the question a moment. Wished now to

avoid that question if possible, because he thinks no person can doubt it.

The objection of the colonies is from the general right of mankind not to be taxed but by their representatives. This goes to all laws in general. The Parliament of Great Britain virtually represents the whole Kingdom, not actually great trading towns. The merchants of London and the East India Company are not represented. Not a twentieth part of the people are actually represented.

All colonies are subject to the dominion of the mother country, whether they are a colony of the freest or the most absolute government. As to their charter, the Crown cannot exempt them by charter from paying taxes which are imposed by the whole legislature, but in fact the Crown has not done it.

Maryland charter 1633 gives an exemption of duty, but this meant only the exemption from those duties which the Crown then thought it had the right to impose. All subsequent duties upon tobacco have been so many taxes imposed upon Maryland. They may enact laws agreeable to equity and the law of England.

Pennsylvania charter 1680, no taxes to be imposed by the Crown, but the right of Parliament is saved in express words.

Charter government both of Connecticut and Rhode Island, there are these words: according to the course of other corporations within our Kingdom of England. Corporations are not exempted from tax in England, so they ought not to have any exemption.

Royal Governments. In these power is given to make general laws according to the custom of England, but this goes no further.

Usage. 25th of Charles 2, imposes duty upon the plantations to be levied and collected within the plantation; and were then for the customs duties which were then payable by a subject of Great Britain within this Kingdom. And these customs have been collected and paid and brought to account and made a part of the aggregate fund. 9 Queen Anne, Post Office, which imposes an internal tax upon North America. 6th of George 2, imposes a duty on molasses. Act passed the last session of Parliament which imposed a tax upon many articles.

The declaration 7. 8th King William Sect. 9. All laws, by-laws, usage and custom in the plantations repugnant to this Act or to any other law in this Kingdom are illegal and void. Case of Ireland in King William's time: the Parliament here attacked that pamphlet's doctrine and its account; it was however revived and met with the same reception in 1720.

He has made this deduction to show the right, in consequence of the strange language he has met with in conversation and public writings upon this subject.

The propriety and expedience of laying this tax. 1st with respect to the state of this country. 2nd with respect to the state of America.

What exemptions will go too. The western country desires an exemption from cider, the northern from a duty on beer. The mischief from the 4s. land tax. The true way to relieve all is to make all contribute their proper share.

The different supplies we have voted.

The Navy used to cost about £7 or 8 hundred thousand, now it costs about £1,400,000. The money for these expenses must be raised somewhere; however, contributors will be displeased. That this great increase of the Navy is incurred in a great measure for the service of North America. That the military force in North America is said by many military men to be not sufficient. He never heard anybody say there was more than necessary.

Second, whether it is proper with regard to America. It can only be improper from the injustice of the demand, or from the inability of the persons on whom it is imposed. We have expended so much on the support and defence of North America; we have given them so great degree of security after they were before in continual wars; the French are now removed, but they still have some enemies against whom, however, Great Britain is employing her troops.

The ability of the plantations. The state of the several payments for their establishment. The whole of North America consists perhaps of 16 or 1700000 inhabitants, pay only about £64,000 a year for its establishment, except North Carolina and Maryland, which he has not been able to get at.

West Indies establishments amount to about £77,000.

The debts of North America, except Pennsylvania of which he has not an account amounted to £848,000; it did amount to about £2,000,000.

He speaks this only from the best information he has been able to receive. The great part of their debts will be discharged in a few years.

The particular propriety of this mode of raising the tax. Objection, that this tax will produce disturbance and discontent and prevent improvement among the colonies. He has no motive, he can have no motive, for taxing a colony, but that of doing his duty. But as to this objection, when will the time come when enforcing a tax will not give discontent, if this tax does produce it after what we have done and suffered for America? And therefore if we reject this proposition now, we shall declare that we ought not to tax the colonies. And we need not declare after a year's time that we ought not, for then we cannot.

As to taxing themselves, how can so many colonies fix the proportion which they shall pay themselves? Supposing each county was to do this in England; supposing we were to assess the sum and let them tax themselves. What danger arises from this. While they remain dependent, they must be subject to our legislature. They have increased under former taxes and they will flourish under this. They have in many instances encroached and claimed powers and privileges inconsistent with their situation as colonies. If they are not subject to this burden of tax; they are not entitled to the privilege of Englishmen.

As to the propriety of this particular tax, the stamp tax takes in a great degree its proportion from the riches of the people. As in lawsuits and commercial contracts, it increases in proportion to the riches. No great number of officers, no unconstitutional authority in great Boards.

He has enquired from North America whether they objected to this particular species of tax and has not heard one gentleman propose any other. The tax in a great degree executes itself, as the instruments not stamped are null and void, and no person will trust that, especially as the case may be brought by appeal to this country.

Forgery is the only fright to be apprehended, but severe penalties may prevent it. The punishment is in this country death.

The tax will in general be laid upon such instruments as in Great Britain, with some differences and exceptions. Justices of the Peace and officers of the militia are to be exempted; their being included was an objection to the Stamp Law in Jamaica.

This law is founded on that great maxim, that protection is due from the Governor, and support and obedience on the part of the governed.

Beckford. Admits right of taxing the imports and exports of the colonies, and says the colonies all admit this principle. He approves of the tax laid last year. Pamphlet called. Thinks Grenville spoke out of a consideration upon the late regulation. That this pamphlet a very good one, but the writer is a North Briton and desirous of drawing everything to the Scotch constitution. They have no Grand Jury there. The Attorney General is called there Diabolus Regis.

The North Americans do not think an internal and external duty the same.

As to representation, all England is not represented, but it is a written part of our constitution that it is so. When the Cornish boroughs began to send representatives to Parliament, they were almost the only trading boroughs. They had the Stannaries, which furnished them with a flourishing trade while the rest of the country had scarce any trade.

No precedent found of foreign taxation but the Post Office, and that certainly for the convenience of the colonies themselves. If this principle was established, why not tax Ireland; the produce of this would be indeed considerable.

The clergy before they were represented used to tax themselves; since they have been represented, they are taxed in common, and now do little but settle forms of prayer.

The peace acquisition. No revenue arises from it, but on the contrary a great amount of expense. The North Americans would be glad to be rid of the troops from the Government and the expense of supporting them.

He does not believe the conquered and ceded islands can be settled by the sale of the land in the way the Government proposes.

He moves for the Chairman to leave the Chair.

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Barré. Seconds Beckford for the Chairman leaving the Chair. Is afraid that too much will be done on the one side and too much said on the other. Wishes to admire Grenville's prevoyance more and [...] less. We are working in the dark, and the less we do the better. Power and right; caution to be exercised lest the power be abused, the right subverted, and 2 million of unrepresented people mistreated and in their own opinion slaves.

There are gentlemen in this House from the West Indies, but there are very few who know the circumstances of North America. We know not yet the effect of the Act passed last year. The tax intended is odious to all your colonies and they tremble at it. He will not go further upon this ground. He will not raise the feeling of the North American if he will yield to anything for the safety of this country.

He thinks part of the regulation passed last year very wise in preventing them from getting the commodities of foreign countries. We know not however the real effect of this. [Several illeg. words] Many of the colonies are deeply indebted to this country.

As to the right of laying internal taxes, the Post Office in Queen Anne's time. The colonies were then small in comparison of what they are now. Few agents know the real sentiment of the colonies. One indeed does very fully and is very able to give the best advice, and I wish his opinion had been hearkened to.

The North Americans will complain that they are suffering by impositions while Canada is emerging from slavery and poverty into liberty and riches.

Jackson. Not inclined to dispute whether the Americans ought to bear a share of the burden they occasion or to dispute the power of the Parliament. He does not believe the North Americans will dispute either.

34 and 35 Henry 8 c. 18 in which the county of Chester is empowered to send representatives.

That the Commons in Parliament assembled represent all the subjects of Great Britain whether represented or not, and that all are bound by the acts of the legislature. That however in the case of Chester merchants were found to advise for the imperfection of that representation, and right was given to Chester in consequence to be represented.

In almost all speeches at the end of Parliament it is recommended to the Members to enforce peace and good order.

[…]

Colonel Barré. He knows not what representation have come from the colonies. The words of the resolutions were rather doubtful and gave room for [...]. Does not approve the adjournment for a few days, but wishes it never may come on. He does not feel this as a measure of party, it is of too much consequence. He approves that kind of tax as being the most equal and producing.

He thinks Lord North's expressions of candour and calmness seem to intimate as if it was not always so. Has seen all people lose their temper, even the highest man in this House lose his temper. He was but sorry to see it.

Lord Clarendon says moderation and modesty of language is never to be expected in this House. A general warmth is not to be rejected; let it be tempered by modesty and good manners.

Lord North. Did not mean to allude to Barré.

Sir William Meredith. Wishes to adjourn this debate for further information.

The safety of this country consists in this with respect that we cannot lay a tax upon others without taxing ourselves. This is not the case in America. We shall tax them in order to ease ourselves. We ought therefore to be extremely delicate in imposing a burden upon others which we not only not share ourselves but which is to take it far from us.

If we tax America we shall supersede the necessity of their assembling. The Clergy Convocation ceased when we began to include them in the tax.

How will they pay their debts if the first fruits of their commerce are to be applied to the purposes of maintaining our army?

This proposition agreed to last year that we might have more information given to us; the government do not want it, but private gentlemen do want it, and till he received this information he shall wish to adjourn this question.

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Fuller. Admits the right but doubts the propriety of laying this tax. Is afraid of the discord and confusion which it may produce. The Post Office is a very small instance of a tax forced by this country. This tax is intended to be laid upon very different principles.

The law passed last year will be of service not so much as a revenue as a means of inducing administration to tax them to prevent the illicit trade with Holland, etc.

[Charles] Townshend. State of the mother country. Planted with, so much tenderness, governed with so much affection, and established with so much care and attention. Emancipate in the civil and domestic, not a servile connexion. If America looks to Great Britain for protection, she must enable her to protect her. If she expects our fleets, she must assist our revenue.

Barré. The ability is not denied, but it is not proved. He believes they can pay it. His objection is that it creates disgust, I had almost said hatred.

We did not plant the colonies. Most of them fled from oppression. They met with great difficulty and hardship, but as they fled from tyranny here they could not dread danger there. They flourished not by our care but by our neglect. They have increased while we did not attend to them. They shrink under our hand.

He took some pains to examine the word principle, knowing how seldom that gentleman is inaccurate, at least in expression.

Civil law is the only law by which the Court of Admiralty is governed, and that is very oppressive. This law was never made by the representatives of the people of England. We are the mother country, let us be cautious not to get the name of stepmother: There have been persons set as judges who nearly escaped holding up their heads in courts of justice themselves.

[...]

Garth. Wishes for the adjournment. Kept his doubt of the propriety of making any representation from the colonies after this resolution is passed.

Grenville. Says that the passing this resolution will make no difference as to the receiving a petition in answer some expression of intimating thanks for not taxing all the colonies by authority of the Crown, as the ceded islands have been taxed. Grenville says that this tax was laid by a higher authority and supported by the best opinion of lawyers living and dead.

Sir William Baker. Did not mean to reflect upon the gentleman, but thinks he has the right to speak his thoughts as a Member of this House, and will continue to do it.

The old 4 ½ per cent had been granted by a different assembly, and this new one laid by the authority of the Crown. Jamaica never paid this because their assembly would not consent to it, and he concluded from hence that it was thought that the King had no right to lay it and the administration had been guilty of something irregular.

De Grey. The reason that Jamaica does not pay the 4 ½ per cent duty is that they pay the quit rent in lieu of it.

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Grenville... Then, as Chancellor of Exchequer he opened the business of the day, the American Tax by stamps, which had been in the votes 7th of March last. He told us it was a new subject, of which we must judge.

He first spoke to our right of taxing them. No doubt (he said) of our right to bind as to laws and taxes. Objection: they have no representation here. Answer: Parliament represents all, as well nonelectors, as electors. If not, not a twentieth part of England represented, not the great body of merchants, not the East India Company, possessed of such territories. Objection: the exemption in Charter Governments such as Rhode Island, Connecticut. Answer: can the Crown by Charter exempt a body from the power of Parliament? Has it, or can it have such power? Objection: Proprietory Governments, such as Maryland and Pennsylvania. Answer: there the King may give taxes, as to himself, but not parliamentary ones. Tobacco is there taxed by parliamentary authority. As to government under royal instructions, there could then be no reserve. Taxes collected, and carried to the aggregate fund. Objection: tax commerce by customs, but no internal tax. Answer: the Post Office the 9 of Anne was internal, and surplus carried to Sinking Fund. 6 George II the Sugar Act, i.e. tax on molasses. Provision for seamen: great Act of Navigation, by which none of their laws to have force, if contrary to the laws of England.

As to expediency, no doubt of that; their aid was wanted, was wanted everywhere. Great and necessary increase of the peace establishment. If said, they do not like it, no more does the west like the cyder tax; Scotland the beer tax; the middle of England, the land-tax. The interest of all was mutual. The plan not unjust, nor above their ability, their present establishments in America and West Indies about £137,000 a year. In North America, a debt of about £800,000, and taxes appropriated to pay it off. Compare this to our debt and expences here. If the objection be repeated of the uneasiness of the colonies, answer when the time when taxes will give no offence? Besides, were they to tax themselves, they could never agree. The tax could never be settled.

As for danger to their liberties, what is it? They have always been restrained by government here. Privileges and burthens must go together.

Mode of Stamps duty, an easy one to execute. Enforced itself in most instances in bonds, conveyances, law-proceedings etc.

Concluded with remarking that protection and obedience were reciprocal. Governors owed the first to the governed; the governed owed obedience to their Governors; this, the great bond of all society. Himself on the present subject was ready to give all information.

[...]

Barré, expressed great tenderness for the Americans. Wished, we did not go too far. Did not dispute our sovereignty.

Jackson gave good instances of exerting sovereignty over our own subjects even in Cadiz and other places, subject to foreign Princes. Proved the same to be asserted over the county of Chester even previous to their sending any representatives, in the very act, which gave them the privilege. The same too in Durham. Lord North For. Meredith, Against. Gave one specious reason, but did not make the most of it. When we tax Great Britain, we tax our selves. When we tax America, it is in ease of our selves. Another reason was transiently given too by I know not whom, which might have been better dwelt on. You had no army in America, when there was an enemy at your backs. Why talk of money to support so large an army now, when your enemy is expelled?

Thomas Townshend, against. *Charles Townshend*, for, who was (as usual) lively and eloquent.

Gibbons, Sir John, against. Baker, against, and had less argument and less specious sophistry, than I ever heard from him. Rambled (like Beckford) to the 4 ½ per cent duty on the ceded islands, to trials by Courts of Admiralty, where no juries. Praises juries, and acts the patriot, this rather awkwardly. Jenkinson and Solicitor General explain, and answer some of his calumnies. Dempster, against, and so Hewitt.

We divided at eight on a motion of Beckford to adjourn the debate.

against adjourning 245 for it 49 majority 196

After this, we went through the rest of the resolutions very quietly, yet being 54 in number, they lasted till past ten a clock, when we adjourned.

J. Ingersoll to T. Fitch

I ought here to tell you that the debate upon the American Stamp Bill came on before the House for the first time last Wednesday, when the same was opened by Mr. Grenville the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a pretty lengthy speech, and in a very able and I think in a very candid manner he opened the nature of the tax, urged the necessity of it, endeavoured to obviate all objections to it, and took occasion to desire the House to give the Bill a most serious and cool consideration and not suffer themselves to be influenced by any resentments which might have been kindled from any thing they might have heard out of doors, alluding I suppose to the New York and Boston Assemblys' speeches and votes—that this was a matter of revenue which was of all things the most interesting to the subject etc. The argument was taken up by several who opposed the Bill (viz.) by Alderman Beckford, who, and who only, seemed to deny the authority of Parliament, by Colonel Barré, Mr. Jackson, Sir William Meredith and some others. Mr. Barré, who by the way I think, and I find I am not alone in my opinion, is one of the finest speakers that the House can boast of, having been some time in America as an officer in the army, and having while there, as I had known before, contracted many friendships with American gentlemen, and I believe entertained much more favourable opinions of them than some of his profession have done, delivered a very handsome and moving speech upon the Bill and against the same, concluding by saying that he was very sure that most who should hold up their hands to the Bill must be under a necessity of acting very much in the dark, but added, perhaps as well in the dark as any way.

After him *Mr. Charles Townshend* spoke in favour of the Bill, took notice of several things Mr. *Barré* had said, and concluded with the following or like words:—And now will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence until they are grown to a degree of strength & opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under? When he had done, *Mr. Barré* rose and having explained something which he had before said and which Mr. Townshend had been remarking upon, he then took up the beforementioned concluding words of Mr. Townshend, and in a most spirited and I thought an almost inimitable manner, said—

"They planted by your care? No! your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and unhospitable country—where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and among others to the cruelties of a savage foe, the most subtle and I take upon me to say the most formidable of any people upon the face of God's Earth. And yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hands of those who should have been their friends.

"They nourished up by your indulgence? They grew by your neglect of them: as soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, in one department and another, who were perhaps the deputies of deputies to some member of this House—sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions and to prey upon them; men whose behaviour on many occasions has caused the blood of those Sons of Liberty to recoil within them; men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some, who to my knowledge were glad by going to a foreign country to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own.

"They protected by your arms? They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted a valour amidst their constant and laborious industry for the defence of a country, whose frontier, while drenched in blood, its interior parts have yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And believe me, remember I this day told you so, that same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first, will accompany them still. But prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat, what I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart; however superior to me in general knowledge and experience the reputable body of this House may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you, having seen and been conversant in that country. The people I believe are as truly loyal as any subjects the King has, but a people jealous of their liberties and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated, but the subject is too delicate and I will say no more."

These sentiments were thrown out so entirely without premeditation, so forceably and so firmly, and the breaking off so beautifully abrupt, that the whole House sat awhile as amazed, intently looking and without answering a word.

I own I felt emotions that I never felt before and went the next morning and thanked Colonel Barré in behalf of my country for his noble and spirited speech.

However, Sir after all that was said, upon a division of the House upon the question, there was about 250 to about 50 in favour of the Bill.

Source: R.C. Simmons and P.D.G. Thomas, eds., *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America*, 1754–1783, vol. 2 (Millwood, NY: Kraus International Publications, 1983).

155. Stamp Act, March 22, 1765 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The Stamp Act was part of the post-war British plan to tax the North American colonies to provide for the support of the colonial military and government. While the Sugar Act of 1764 taxed import commodities, the Stamp Act, passed by Parliament on March 22, 1765, was the first tax that Great Britain ever levied directly on its North American colonists. The Act required the purchase of a stamped paper for every publication or legal document. The act also vested enforcement authority in courts of admiralty, which operated without juries. The Stamp Act sparked tremendous protest among the colonists when word of it reached them in April, six months before the act was to take effect on November 1, 1765. In October, many of the colonies sent delegates to the Stamp Act Congress in New York City to draft official protests and resolutions against the tax. Throughout North America, colonists began to examine more closely their relationship with Britain and their rights as Englishmen. After November 1, many colonial businesses and government offices shut down rather than comply with the law. In the face of such opposition, the British government repealed the act on March 18, 1766, but passed the Declaratory Act at the same time, affirming its right to tax the colonies.

Primary Source

An act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties, in the British colonies and plantations in America, towards further defraying the expences of defending, protecting, and securing the same; and for amending such parts of the several acts of parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the said colonies and plantations, as direct the manner of determining and recovering the penalties and forfeitures therein mentioned.

WHEREAS by an act made in the last session of parliament, several duties were granted, continued, and appropriated, towards defraying the expences of defending, protecting, and securing, the British colonies and plantations in America: and whereas it is just and necessary, that provision be made for raising a further revenue within your Majesty's dominions in America, towards defraying the said expences: we, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of *Great Britain* in parliament assembled, have therefore resolved to give and grant unto your Majesty the several rates and duties herein after mentioned; and do most humbly beseech your Majesty that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty five, there shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid unto his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, throughout the colonies and plantations in America which now are, or hereafter may be, under the dominion of his Majesty, his heirs and successors,

For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be ingrossed, written or printed, any declaration, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleading, or any copy thereof, in any court of law within the British colonies and plantations in America, a stamp duty of three pence.

For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be ingrossed, written or printed, any special bail and appearance upon such bail in any such court, a stamp duty of two shillings.

For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be ingrossed, written, or printed, any petition, bill, answer, claim, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleading in any court of chancery or equity within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of one shilling and six pence.

For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be ingrossed, written, or printed, any copy of any petition, bill, answer, claim, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleading in any such court, a stamp duty of three pence.

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And for and upon every paper, commonly called a *pamphlet*, and upon every news paper, containing publick news, intelligence, or occurrences, which shall be printed, dispersed, and made publick, within any of the said colonies and plantations, and for and upon such advertisements as are herein after mentioned, the respective duties following (that is to say)

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For every almanack or calendar, for any one particular year, or for any time less than a year, which shall be written or printed on one side only of any one sheet, skin, or piece of paper parchment, or vellum, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of two pence.

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And there shall be also paid in the said colonies and plantations, a duty of six pence for every twenty shillings, in any sum not exceeding fifty pounds sterling money, which shall be given, paid, contracted, or agreed for, with or in relation to any clerk or apprentice, which shall be put or placed to or with any master or mistress to learn any profession, trade, or employment.

II. And also a duty of one shilling for every twenty shillings, in any sum exceeding fifty pounds, which shall be given, paid, contracted, or agreed, for, with or in relation to any such clerk, or apprentice.

[...]

X. Provided always, That this act shall not extend to charge any proclamation, forms of prayer and thanksgiving, or any printed

votes of any house of assembly in any of the said colonies and plantations, with any of the said duties on pamphlets or news papers; or to charge any books commonly used in any of the schools within the said colonies and plantations, or any books containing only matters of devotion or piety; or to charge any single advertisement printed by itself, or the daily accounts or bills of goods imported and exported, so as such accounts or bills do contain no other matters than what have been usually comprized therein; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

XI. Provided always, That nothing in this act contained shall extend to charge with any of the said duties, any vellum, parchment, or paper, on which shall only be ingrossed, written, or printed, any certificate that shall be necessary to intitle any person to receive a bounty granted by act of parliament.

XII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said several duties shall be under the management of the commissioners, for the time being, of the duties charged on stamped vellum, parchment, and paper, in *Great Britain:* and the same commissioners are hereby impowered and required to employ such officers under them, for that purpose, as they shall think proper; and to use such stamps and marks, to denote the stamp duties hereby charged, as they shall think fit; and to repair, renew, or alter the same, from time to time, as there shall be occasion; and to do all other acts, matters, and things, necessary to be done, for putting this act in execution with relation to the duties hereby charged.

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XV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person or persons shall sign, ingross, write, print, or sell, or expose to sale, or cause to be signed, ingrossed, written, printed or sold, or expose to sale, in any of the said colonies or plantations, or in any other part of his Majesty's dominions, any matter or thing, for which the vellum, parchment, or paper, is hereby charged to pay any duty, before the same shall be marked or stamped with the marks or stamps to be provided as aforesaid, or upon which there shall not be some stamp or mark resembling the same; or shall sign, ingross, write, print, or sell, or expose to sale, or cause to be signed, ingrossed, written, printed, or sold, or exposed to sale, any matter or thing upon any vellum, parchment, or paper, that shall be marked or stamped for any lower duty than the duty by this act made payable in respect thereof; every such person so offending shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of ten pounds.

XVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no matter or thing whatsoever, by this act charged with the payment of a duty, shall be pleaded or given in evidence, or admitted in any court within the said colonies or plantations, to be good, useful, or available in law or equity, unless the same shall be marked or

stamped, in pursuance of this act, with the respective duty hereby charged thereon, or with an higher duty.

[...]

XVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person shall forge, counterfeit, erase, or alter, any such certificate, ever such person so offending shall be guilty of felony, and shall suffer death as in cases of felony without the benefit of clergy.

[...]

XXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the said first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty five, if any counsellor, clerk, officer, attorney, or other person, to whom this shall appertain, or who shall be employed or intrusted, in the said colonies or plantations, to enter or file any matter or thing in respect whereof a duty shall be payable by virtue of this act, shall neglect to enter, file, or record the same, as by law the same ought to be entered, filed, or recorded, within the space of four months after he shall have received any money for or in respect of the same, or shall have promised or undertaken so to do; or shall neglect to enter, file, or record, any such matter or thing, before any subsequent, further or other proceeding, matter, or thing, in the same suit, shall be had, entered, filed, or recorded; that then every such counsellor, clerk, officer, attorney, or other person so neglecting or offending, in each of the cases aforesaid, shall forfeit the sum of fifty pounds for every such offence.

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XXXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all printed indentures, or contracts for binding clerks or apprentices, after the said first day of *November*, one thousand seven hundred and sixty five, within the said colonies and plantations, shall have the following notice or memorandum printed under the same, or added thereto, *videlicet*,

THE indenture must bear date the day it is executed, and the money or other thing, given or contracted for with the clerk or apprentice, must be inserted in words at length, and the duty paid, and a receipt given on the back of the indenture, by the distributor of stamps, or his substitute, within three months after the execution of such indenture, under the penalties inflicted by law.

And if any printer, stationer, or other person or persons, within any of the said colonies or plantations, or any other part of his Majesty's dominions, shall sell, or cause to be sold, any such indenture or contract, without such notice or memorandum being printed under the same, or added thereto; then, and in every such case, such printer, stationer, or other person or persons, shall for every such offence, forfeit the sum of ten pounds.

XXXVII. And, for the better securing the said duty on playing cards and dice; be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the said first day of *November*, one thousand seven hundred and sixty five, no playing cards or dice shall be sold, exposed to sale, or used in play, within the said colonies or plantations, unless the paper and thread inclosing, or which shall have inclosed, the same, shall be or shall be also marked or stamped on the spotted or painted side thereof with such mark or marks as shall have been provided in pursuance of this act, upon pain that every person who shall sell, or expose to sale, any such cards or dice which shall not have been so respectively sealed, marked, or stamped, as hereby is respectively required, shall forfeit for every pack or parcel of cards, and every one of such dice so sold or exposed to sale, the sum of ten pounds.

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XLVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all publick clerks or officers within the said colonies or plantations, who shall from time to time have in their custody any publick books, or other matters or things hereby charged with a stamp duty, shall at any seasonable time or times, permit any officer or officers thereunto authorized by the said commissioners for managing the stamp duties, to inspect and view all such publick books, matters, and things, and to take thereout such notes and memorandums as shall be necessary for the purpose of ascertaining or securing the said duties, without fee or reward; upon pain that every such clerk or other officer who shall refuse or neglect so to do, upon reasonable request in that behalf made, shall, for every such refusal or neglect, forfeit the sum of twenty pounds.

XLIX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the high treasurer of *Great Britain*, or the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, or any three or more of such commissioners, for the time being, shall once in every year at least, set the prices at which all sorts of stamped vellum, parchment, and paper, shall be sold by the said commissioners for managing the stamp duties, and their officers; and that the said commissioners for the said duties shall cause such prices to be marked upon every such skin and piece of vellum and parchment, and sheet and piece paper: and if any officer or distributor to be appointed by virtue of this act, shall sell, or cause to be sold, any vellum, parchment, or paper, for a greater or higher price or sum, than the price or sum so set or affixed thereon; every such officer or distributor shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of twenty pounds.

[…]

LIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all the monies which shall arise by the several rates and duties hereby granted (except the necessary charges of raising, collecting, recovering, answering, paying, and accounting for the same, and the necessary charges of the same of the

essary charges from time to time incurred in relation to this act, and the execution thereof) shall be paid into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, and shall be entered separate and apart from all other monies, and shall be there reserved to be from time to time disposed of by parliament, towards further defraying the necessary expences of defending, protecting, and securing, the said colonies and plantations.

LV. And whereas, it is proper that some provision should be made for payment of the necessary expences which have been, and shall be incurred in relation to this act, and the execution thereof; and of the orders and rules to be established under the authority of the same, before the said duties shall take effect, or the monies arising thereby shall be sufficient to discharge such expences; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That his Majesty may, and he is hereby impowered by any warrant or warrants under his royal sign manual, at any time or times before the twentieth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and sixty six, to cause to be issued and paid out of any of the surplusses, excesses, overplus monies, and other revenues composing the fund commonly called *The sinking* fund (except such monies of the said sinking fund as are appropriated to any particular use or uses, by any former act or acts of parliament in that behalf) such sum and sums of money as shall be necessary to defray the said expences; and the monies so issued, shall be reimbursed, by payment into the exchequer of the like sum or sums out of the first monies which shall arise by virtue of this act; which monies, upon the payment thereof into the exchequer, shall be carried to the account, and made part of the said fund.

[...]

Source: Pickering, Danby. *Statutes at Large.* . . Vol. XXVI, Cambridge: J. Bentham, 1765.

156. Quartering Act, 1765 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Parliament passed the Quartering Act of 1765 to address the problems created by its Mutiny Act passed earlier the same year. The Mutiny Act applied to British troops throughout the world. It included a clause calling for more British troops to be sent to America and providing for them to be billeted in private homes. When American colonists objected to the Mutiny Act, General Gage asked Parliament to pass a quartering act that applied specifically to America. One of two quartering acts enacted by the British government in the years leading up to the American Revolution—the second and more infamous one was enacted in 1774 in response to the Boston Tea Party—the Quartering Act of 1765 compelled colonial governments to provide for the housing, feeding, and supplying of British troops in America. Although this Quartering Act dropped the requirement that Americans maintain British troops in their own houses, the colonists viewed the act as an infringement of their

right to decide how their money should be spent. When New York legislators refused to comply with the act and provide for the British troops stationed there, the royal governor dismissed the assembly. This action turned both radical and conservative patriots against British authority.

Primary Source

One of two quartering acts enacted by the British government in the years leading up to the American Revolution, the Quartering Act of 1765, compelled colonial governments to provide for the housing, feeding, and supplying of British troops in North America. Such mandates became a major colonial grievance, although the laws never called for Americans to maintain British troops in their own houses as the colonists feared.

An act to amend and render more effectual, in his Majesty's dominions in America, an act passed in this present session of parliament, intituled, An act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

WHEREAS in and by an act made in the present session of parliament, intituled, An act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters; several regulations are made and enacted for the better government of the army, and their observing strict discipline, and for providing quarters for the army, and carriages on marches and other necessary occasions, and inflicting penalties on offenders against the same act, and for many other good purposes therein mentioned; but the same may not be sufficient for the forces that may be employed in his Majesty's dominions in America: and whereas, during the continuance of the said act, there may be occasion for marching and quartering of regiments and companies of his Majesty's forces in several parts of his Majesty's dominions in America: and whereas the publick houses and barracks, in his Majesty's dominions in America, may not be sufficient to supply quarters for such forces: and whereas it is expedient and necessary that carriages and other conveniences, upon the march of troops in his Majesty's dominions in America, should be supplied for that purpose: be it enacted by the King's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That for and during the continuance of this act, and no longer, it shall and may be lawful to and for the constables, tithingmen, magistrates, and other civil officers of villages, towns, townships, cities, districts, and other places, within his Majesty's dominions in America, and in their default or absence, for any one justice of the peace inhabiting in or near any such village, township, city, district or other place, and for no others; and such constables, tithingmen, magistrates, and other civil officers as aforesaid, are hereby required to quarter and billet the officers and soldiers, in his Majesty's service, in the barracks provided by the colonies; and if there shall not be sufficient room in the said barracks for the officers and soldiers, then and in such case only, to quarter and billet the residue of such officers and soldiers, for whom there shall not be room in such barracks, in inns, livery stables, ale-houses, victualling-houses, and the houses of sellers of wine by retail to be drank in their own houses or places thereunto belonging, and all houses of persons selling of rum, brandy, strong water, cyder or metheglin, by retail, to be drank in houses; and in case there shall not be sufficient room for the officers and soldiers in such barracks, inns, victualling and other publick alehouses, that in such and no other case, and upon no other account, it shall and may be lawful for the governor and council of each respective province in his Majesty's dominions in America, to authorize and appoint, and they are hereby directed and impowered to authorize and appoint, such proper person or persons as they shall think fit, to take, hire and make fit, and, in default of the said governor and council appointing and authorizing such person or persons, or in default of such person or persons so appointed neglecting or refusing to do their duty, in that case it shall and may be lawful for any two or more of his Majesty's justices of the peace in or near the said villages, town, townships, cities, districts, and other places, and they are hereby required to take, hire, and make fit for the reception of his Majesty's forces, such and so many uninhabited houses, outhouses, barns or other buildings, as shall be necessary, to quarter therein the residue of such officers and soldiers for whom there should not be rooms in such barracks and publick houses as aforesaid, and to put and quarter the residue of such officer and soldiers therein.

[…]

V. Provided nevertheless, and it is hereby enacted, That the officers and soldiers so quartered and billeted as aforesaid (except such as shall be quartered in the barracks, and hired uninhabited houses, or other buildings as aforesaid) shall be received and furnished with diet, and small beer, cyder, or rum mixed with water, by the owners of the inns, livery stables, alehouses, victualling-houses, and other houses in which they are allowed to be quartered and billeted by this act; paying and allowing for the same the several rates herein after mentioned to be payable out of the subsistence-money, for diet and small beer, cyder, or rum mixed with water.

[...]

X. And whereas some doubts may arise, whether commanding officers of any regiment or company, within his Majesty's said dominions in America, may exchange any men quartered in any village, town, township, city, district, or place, in his Majesty's said dominions in America, with another man quartered in the same place, for the benefit of the service; be it declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That such exchange as above mentioned may be made by such commanding officers respectively, provided the number of men do not exceed the number at that time billeted on such house or houses; and the constables, tithingmen, magistrates, and other chief officers of the villages, towns, townships, cities, districts, or other places where any regiment or company shall be quartered, are hereby required to billet such men so exchanged accordingly.

XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any constable, tithingman, magistrate, or other chief officer or person whatsoever, who, by virtue or colour of this act, shall quarter or billet, or be employed in quartering or billeting, any officers or soldiers, within his Majesty's said dominions in America, shall neglect or refuse, for the space of two hours, to quarter or billet such officers of soldiers, when thereunto required, in such manner as is by this act directed, provided sufficient notice be given before the arrival of such forces; or shall receive, demand, contract, or agree for, any sum or sums of money, or any reward whatsoever, for or on account of excusing, or in order to excuse, any person or persons whatsoever from quartering, or receiving into his, her, or their house or houses, any officer or soldier, or in case any victualler, or any other person within his Majesty's dominions in America, liable by this act to have any officer or soldier billeted or quartered on him or her, shall refuse to receive or victual any such officer or soldier so quartered or billeted upon him or her as aforesaid; or in case any person or persons shall refuse to furnish or allow, according to the directions of this act, the several things herein before directed to be furnished or allowed to officers and soldiers, so quartered or billeted on him or her, or in the barracks, and hired uninhabited houses, out-houses, barns or other buildings, as aforesaid, at the rate herein after mentioned; and shall be thereof convicted before one of the magistrates of any one of the supreme chief or principal common law courts of the colony where such offence shall be committed, either by his own confession, or by the oath of one or more credible witness or witnesses (which oath such magistrate of such court is hereby impowered to administrate) every such constable, tithingman, magistrate, or other chief officer or person so offending shall forfeit, for every such offence, the sum of five pounds sterling, or any sum of money not exceeding five pounds, nor less than forty shillings, as the said magistrate (before whom the matter shall be heard) shall in his discretion think fit; to be levied by distress and sale of the goods of the person offending, by warrant under the hand and seal of such magistrate before whom such offender shall be convicted, to be directed to a constable or other officer within the village, town, township, city, district, or other place, where the offender shall dwell; and shall direct the said sum of five pounds, or such other sum as shall be ordered to be levied in pursuance of this act as aforesaid, when levied, to be paid into the treasury of the province or colony where the offence shall be committed, to be applied towards the general charges of the said province or colony.

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XXIII. Provided always, That if any person shall harbour, conceal, or assist, any deserter for his Majesty's service within his Majesty's said dominions in America, knowing him to be such, the person so offending, shall forfeit for every such offence, the sum of five pounds; or if any person shall knowingly detain, buy or exchange, or otherwise receive, any arms, clothes, caps, or other furniture belonging to the King, from any soldier or deserter, or any other

person, upon any account or pretence whatsoever, within his Majesty's dominions in America, or cause the colour of such clothes to be changed; the person so offending shall forfeit, for every such offence, the sum of five pounds; and upon conviction upon the oath of one or more credible witness or witnesses, before any of his Majesty's justices of the peace, the said respective penalties of five pounds, and five pounds, shall be levied by warrant under the hands of the said justice or justices of the peace, by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of the offenders; one moiety of the said firstmentioned penalty of five pounds to be paid to the informer, by whose means such deserter shall be apprehended; and one moiety of the said last mentioned penalty of five pounds to be paid to the informer; and the residue of the said respective penalties to be paid to the officer to whom any such deserter or soldier did belong: and in case any such offenders, who shall be convicted as aforesaid, of harbouring or assisting any such deserter or deserters, or having knowingly received any arms, clothes, caps, or other furniture belonging to the King; or having caused the colour of such clothes to be changed, contrary to the intent of this act, shall not have sufficient goods and chattels, whereon distress may be made, to the value of the penalties recovered against him for such offence, or shall not pay such penalties within four days after such conviction; then, and in such case, such justice of the peace shall and may, by warrant under his hand and seal, commit such offender to the common gaol, there to remain, without bail or main prize, for the space of three months, or cause such offender to be publickly whipt, at the discretion of such justice.

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Source: Pickering, Danby. *Statutes at Large.* . . Cambridge: J. Bentham, 1762–1869.

157. Declaratory Act, 1766

Introduction

The Stamp Act was part of the British plan to tax the North American colonies to provide for the support of the colonial military and government. Passed by Parliament on March 22, 1765, the Stamp Act imposed the first tax that Britain ever levied directly on its North American colonists. The Stamp Act sparked tremendous protest among the colonists, and riots erupted in several cities. In October, many of the colonies sent delegates to the Stamp Act Congress in New York City to draft official protests and resolutions against the tax. Throughout North America, colonists began to examine more closely their relationship with Britain and their rights as Englishmen. After November 1, the date the act was to take effect, many colonial businesses and government offices shut down rather than comply with the law. Parliament came to realize that the Stamp Act was impossible to enforce, and repealed the act on March 18, 1766. Not wishing to appear to have caved in to colonial pressure, Parliament quickly passed the Declaratory Act,

affirming its right to tax the colonies. The Declaratory Act stated unequivocally that Parliament had the right to pass whatever laws it wished in regard to Britain's North American colonies. In their triumph over the repeal of the Stamp Act, many colonists overlooked the Declaratory Act.

Primary Source

An act for the better securing of the dependency of his majesty's dominions in America upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain.

Whereas several of the houses of representatives in his Majesty's colonies and plantations in America, have of late against law, claimed to themselves, or to the general assemblies of the same, the sole and exclusive right of imposing duties and taxes upon his majesty's subjects in the said colonies and plantations; and have in pursuance of such claim, passed certain votes, resolutions, and orders derogatory to the legislative authority of parliament, and inconsistent with the dependency Of the said colonies and plantations upon the crown of Great Britain: may it therefore please your most excellent Majesty, that it may be declared; and be it declared by the King's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the said colonies and plantations in America have been, are, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependent upon the imperial crown and parliament of Great Britain; and that the King's majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever,

II. And be it further declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all resolutions, votes, orders, and proceedings, in any of the said colonies or plantations, whereby the power and authority of the parliament of Great Britain, to make laws and statutes as aforesaid, is denied, or drawn into question, arc, and are hereby declared to be, utterly null and void to all in purposes whatsoever.

Source: Pickering, Danby. *Statutes at Large.*.. Cambridge: J. Bentham, 1762–1869.

158. Townshend Acts, July 2, 1767 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Many in the British government were angry that colonial protests had forced them to repeal the Stamp Act and the Sugar Act. Charles Townshend, the powerful Chancellor of the Exchequer, continued to believe that the colonies should pay to support their own army

and government. Townshend proposed legislation to tax a number of goods imported to the American colonies. It represented an attempt by the British government to raise revenue from the colonists by a tax on external trade. Passed by Parliament on July 2, 1767, the Townshend Acts quickly sparked widespread colonial protests, particularly because the new laws established an American Board of Customs charged with cracking down on smuggling and provided for writs of assistance (sweeping search warrants). The colonies responded with letters of protest to the British government, nonimportation agreements, and the notorious Massachusetts Circular Letter, which called for the various colonies to unite against British authority. Townshend died a few months after the passage of the acts, leaving his successors to enforce them. Parliament gradually rescinded the taxes on all of the items enumerated in the laws except tea.

Primary Source

An act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America; for allowing a drawback of the duties of customs upon the exportation, from this kingdom, of coffee and cocoa nuts of the produce of the said colonies or plantations; for discontinuing the drawbacks payable on china earthen ware exported to America; and for more effectually preventing the clandestine running of goods in the colonies and plantations.

WHEREAS it is expedient that a revenue should be raised in your Majesty's dominions in America, for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of civil government, in such provinces where it shall be found necessary; and towards further defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing, the said dominions; we, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, have therefore resolved to give and grant unto your Majesty the several rates and duties herein after mentioned; and do most humbly beseech your Majesty that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the twentieth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty seven, there shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid, unto his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, for and upon the respective goods herein after mentioned, which shall be imported from Great Britain into any colony or plantation in America which now is, or hereafter may be, under the dominion of his Majesty, his heirs, or successors, the several rates and duties following; that is to say,

For every hundred weight avoirdupois of crown, plate, flint, and white glass, four shillings and eight pence.

For every hundred weight avoirdupois of green glass, one shilling and two pence.

For every hundred weight avoirdupois of red lead, two shillings.

For every hundred weight avoirdupois of white lead, two shillings.

For every hundred weight avoirdupois of painters colours, two shillings.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of tea, three pence.

For every ream of paper, usually called or known by the name of Atlas Fine, twelve shillings.

For every ream of paper called Atlas Ordinary, six shillings.

For every ream of paper called Bastard, or Double Copy, one shilling and six pence.

For every single ream of blue paper for sugar bakers, ten pence halfpenny

For every ream of paper called Blue Royal, one shilling and six pence.

For every bundle of brown paper containing forty quires, not made in Great Britain, six pence.

For every ream of paper called Brown Cap, not made in Great Britain, nine pence.

For every ream of paper called Brown Large Cap, made in Great Britain, four pence halfpenny.

For every ream of paper called Small Ordinary Brown, made in Great Britain, three pence.

For every bundle, containing forty quires, of paper called Whited Brown, made in Great Britain, four pence halfpenny.

For every ream of cartridge paper, one shilling and one penny halfpenny.

For every ream of paper called Chancery Double, one shilling and six pence.

For every ream of paper called Genoa Crown Fine, on shilling and one penny halfpenny.

For every ream of paper called Genoa Crown Second, nine pence.

For every ream of paper called German Crown, nine pence.

For every ream of paper called Fine Printing Crown, nine pence.

For every ream of paper called Second Ordinary Printing Crown, six pence three farthings.

For every ream of paper called Crown Fine, made in Great Britain, nine pence.

For every ream of paper called Crown Second, made in Great Britain, six pence three farthings.

For every ream of paper called Demy Fine, not made in Great Britain, three shillings.

For every ream of paper called Demy Second, not made in Great Britain, one shilling and four pence halfpenny.

For every ream of paper called Demy Fine, made in Great Britain, one shilling and one penny halfpenny.

For every ream of paper called Demy Second, made in Great Britain, nine pence.

For every ream of paper called Demy Printing, one shilling and three pence.

For every ream of paper called Genoa Demy Fine, one shilling and six pence.

For every ream of paper called Genoa Demy Second, one shilling and one penny halfpenny.

For every ream of paper called German Demy, one shilling and one penny halfpenny.

For every ream of paper called Elephant Fine, six shillings.

For every ream of paper called Elephant Ordinary, two shillings and five pence farthing.

For every ream of paper called Genoa Fools Cap Fine, one shilling and one penny halfpenny.

For every ream of paper called Genoa Fools Cap Second, nine pence.

For every ream of paper called German Fools Cap, nine pence.

For every ream of paper called Fine Printing Fools Cap, nine pence.

For every ream of paper called Second Ordinary Printing Fools Cap, six pence three farthings.

For every ream of any other paper called Fools Cap Fine, not made in Great Britain, one shilling and ten pence halfpenny.

For every ream of any other paper called Fools Cap Fine Second, not made in Great Britain, one shilling and six pence.

For every ream of paper Fools Cap Fine, made in Great Britain, nine pence.

For every ream of paper called Fools Cap Second, made in Great Britain, six pence three farthings.

For every ream of paper called Imperial Fine, twelve shillings.

For every ream of paper called Second Writing Imperial, eight shillings and three pence.

For every ream of paper called German Lombard, nine pence.

For every ream of paper called Medium Fine, four shillings and six pence.

For every ream of paper called Genoa Medium, one shilling and ten pence halfpenny.

For every ream of paper called Second Writing Medium, three shillings.

For every ream of painted paper, not made in Great Britain, six shillings.

For every ream of paper called Fine Large Post, one shilling and ten pence halfpenny.

For every ream of paper called Small Post, one shilling and one penny halfpenny.

For every ream of paper called Fine Genoa Pot, six pence three farthings.

For every ream of paper called Second Genoa Pot, six pence three farthings.

For every ream of other paper called Superfine Pot, not made in Great Britain, one shilling and six pence.

For every ream of other paper called Second Fine Pot, not made in Great Britain, one shilling and one penny halfpenny.

For every ream of paper called Ordinary Pot, not made in Great Britain, six pence three farthings.

For every ream of paper called Fine Pot, made in Great Britain, nine pence.

For every ream of paper called Second Pot, made in Great Britain, four pence halfpenny.

For every ream of paper called Super Royal Fine, nine shillings. For every ream of paper called Royal Fine, six shillings.

For every ream of paper called Fine Holland Royal, two shillings and five pence farthing.

For every ream of paper called Fine Holland Second, one shilling and six pence.

For every ream of paper called Second Fine Holland Royal, one shilling and six pence.

For every ream of paper called Ordinary Royal, nine pence.

For every ream of paper called Genoa Royal, two shillings and five pence farthing.

For every ream of paper called Second Writing Royal, four shillings and one penny halfpenny.

For every ream of paper called Second Writing Super Royal, six shillings.

For every hundred weight avoirdupois of paste-boards, millboards, and scale-boards, not made in Great Britain, three shillings and nine pence.

For every hundred weight avoirdupois of paste-boards, millboards, and scale-boards, made in Great Britain, two shillings and three pence.

And for and upon all paper which shall be printed, painted, or stained, in Great Britain, to serve for hangings or other uses, three farthings for every yard square, over and above the duties payable for such paper by this act, if the same had not been printed, painted, or stained; and after those rates respectively for any greater or less quantity.

II. And it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all other paper (not being particularly rated and charged in this act) shall pay the several and respective duties that are charged by this act, upon such paper as is nearest above in size and goodness to such unrated paper.

III. And be it declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That a ream of paper, chargeable by this act, shall be understood to consist of twenty quires, and each quire of twenty four sheets.

IV. And it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said rates and duties, charged by this act upon goods imported into any British American colony or plantation, shall be deemed, and are hereby declared to be, sterling money of Great Britain; and shall be collected, recovered, and paid to the amount of the value which such nominal sums bear in Great Britain; and that such monies may be received and taken, according to the proportion and value of five shillings and six pence the ounce in silver; and shall be raised, levied, collected, paid, and recovered, in the same manner and form, and by such rules, ways, and means, and under such penalties and

forfeitures, as any other duties, now payable to his Majesty upon goods imported into the said colonies or plantations, may be raised, levied, collected, paid, and recovered, by any act or acts of parliament now in force, as fully and effectually, to all intents and purposes, as if the several clauses, powers, directions, penalties, and forfeitures, relating thereto, were particularly repeated, and again enacted, in the body of this present act: and that all the monies that shall arise by the said duties (except the necessary charges of raising, collecting, levying, recovering, answering, paying, and accounting for the same) shall be applied, in the first place, in such manner as is herein after mentioned, in making a more certain and adequate provision for the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of civil government, in such of the said colonies and plantations where it shall be found necessary; and that the residue of such duties shall be paid into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, and shall be entered separate and apart from all other monies paid or payable to his Majesty, his heirs, or successors; and shall be there reserved, to be from time to time disposed of by parliament towards defraying the necessary expences of defending, protecting, and securing, the British colonies and plantations in America.

V. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That his Majesty and his successors shall be, and are hereby, impowered, from time to time, by any warrant or warrants under his or their royal sign manual or sign manuals, countersigned by the high treasurer, or any three or more of the commissioners of the treasury for the time being, to cause such monies to be applied, out of the produce of the duties granted by this act, as his Majesty, or his successors, shall think proper or necessary, for defraying the charges of the administration of justice, and the support of the civil government, within all or any of the said colonies or plantations.

VI. And whereas the allowing a drawback of all the duties of customs upon the exportation, from this kingdom, of coffee and cocoa nuts, the growth of the British dominions in America, may be a means of encouraging the growth of coffee and cocoa in the said dominions; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the said twentieth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty seven, upon the exportation of any coffee or cocoa nuts, of the growth or produce of any British colony or plantation in America, from this kingdom as merchandize, the whole duties of customs, payable upon the importation of such coffee or cocoa nuts, shall be drawn back and repaid; in such manner, and under such rules, regulations, penalties, and forfeitures, as any drawback or allowance, payable out of the duties of customs upon the exportation of such coffee or cocoa nuts, was, could, or might be paid, before the passing of this act; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

[...]

Source: Pickering, Danby. *Statutes at Large.* . . Cambridge: J. Bentham, 1762–1869.

159. Phillis Wheatley, To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1768

Introduction

America's first African American poetess, Phillis Wheatley wrote dozens of poems over the course of her short life, focusing mainly on the themes of religion, death, and the growing struggle between the North American colonies and Great Britain. Born in West Africa around 1753, captured by slave traders as a young girl, and purchased by the Wheatleys, a prosperous Boston family, she showed an early aptitude for study. The Wheatleys educated Phillis alongside their own children, and by the age of 12 she was reading Latin and Greek classics. While she was still in her teens, Phillis Wheatley attracted widespread praise for her poems. This 1768 poem to King George III illustrates the colonists' continuing loyalty to the king, despite their objections to the British Parliament's recent laws regarding taxes and trade. However, by 1770, Wheatley's poems decried British "tyranny." In 1776, Wheatley wrote "To his Excellency General Washington," which contained the words "Proceed, great chief, with virtue on thy side." Wheatley's owner freed her at the age of 21, and she married another free black. Her husband abandoned her and their three children, and she died in poverty in 1784, barely 31 years old.

Primary Source

YOUR subjects hope, dread Sire—
The crown upon your brows may flourish long,
And that your arm may in your God be strong!
O may your sceptre num'rous nations sway,
And all with love and readiness obey!
But how shall we the British king reward!
Rule thou in peace, our father, and our lord!
Midst the remembrance of thy favours past,
The meanest peasants most admire the last*
May George, beloved by all the nations round,
Live with heav'ns choicest constant blessings crown'd!
Great God, direct, and guard him from on high,
And from his head let ev'ry evil fly!
And may each clime with equal gladness see
A monarch's smile can set his subjects free!

*The repeal of the Stamp Act.

Source: Wheatley, Phillis. *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral.* Albany: Re-printed from the London Edition by Barber & Southwick, 1793.

160. Treaty of Fort Stanwix, November 5, 1768 [Excerpt]

Introduction

After the French and Indian War, British colonists streamed into the Indian lands of the Ohio River Valley. Pontiac's Rebellion broke out

in 1763, as western Indians tried to drive the British back east. In an attempt to address the causes of the rebellion, the British Board of Trade issued the October 1763 proclamation forbidding colonists from settling west of a line running along the crest of the Appalachian Mountains. Settlers ignored the proclamation line, so the king ordered Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian Affairs, to negotiate with the Iroquois Confederacy and set a new boundary between British and Indian territory. Negotiations took place at Fort Stanwix, in the heart of Iroquois country. The Iroquois, who held Johnson in great esteem, agreed to cede their claims to land south of a line running from Fort Stanwix to Fort Pitt and then along the southern bank of the Ohio River to the mouth of the Tennessee River. However, the tribes who actually lived in this territory denied that the Iroquois had the authority to make the treaty. Colonists who moved into the territory soon fell victim to a new round of Indian raids. A second and more famous Treaty of Fort Stanwix, signed in 1784, formally ended hostilities between the United States and the Iroquois Confederacy, which had sided with the British during the Revolution.

Primary Source

Proceedings of Sir William Johnson with the Indians at Fort Stanwix to settle a Boundary Line.

[Plantations General, XXX., Bundle V. 7.]

Proceedings at a Treaty held by Sir William Johnson Baronet with the Six Nations, Shawanese, Delawares, Senecas of Ohio and other dependant Tribes, at Fort Stanwix in the months of October & November 1768, for the settlement of a Boundary Line between the Colonies and Indians, pursuant to His Majesty's orders

The Time appointed for the Indians to meet at Fort Stanwix being the 20th of Septr Sr Wm Johnson arrived there on the 19th accompanied by the Governor of New Jersey and several other Gentlemen, with 20 Boats loaded with the Goods intended for the Present to be made by the Cession of Lands to the King. The Commissioners from Virginia were already there, and on the 21st arrived Lieutt Govr Penn with Commrs from Pensilvania & several other gentlemen, The same day Messrs Wharton & Trent of Pensylvania delivered in an account of the Traders losses in 1763, together with their Powers of Attorney for obtaining a retribution in Lands, pursuant to an article of the Treaty of Peace in 1765

Several Indians came in & informed Sir Wm Johnson that those of Susquehanna were near at hand, and gave him sundry intelligences

On the 29th some Delawares arrived from Muskingham who left the Shawanees at Fort Pitt on their way to Fort Stanwix

30th The Bounds between the Mohawks and Stockbridge Indians were adjusted to mutual Satisfaction, and the latter returned home

At the beginning of October, there were 800 Indians assembled & continued coming in dayly till after the Treaty was opened. The upper Nations still remaining behind thro' evil Reports, and Belts sent amongst them. Sir William dispatched Messengers to hasten them and held several Congresses with those on the spot, antecedent to the Treaty, for adjusting differences and preparing them to enter heartily upon business on the arrival of the rest

On the 15th of Octr Govr Penn urged by the Affairs of his Province set off for Philadelphia leaving behind him as Commissioners Messrs Peters & Tilghman.

By the 22d there were 2200 Indians collected and several large Parties coming in the next day, amongst whom were all the cheifs of the upper Nations, Sir William prepared to open the Congress on the 24th

 $[\ldots]$

Then Sir William addressed the Govr of New Jersey & the Commissioners

Gentlemen

Agreeable to His Matys intentions signified to me by the secretary of State and for the satisfaction of the several Nations here assembled I take the liberty to recommend it strongly to your several Provinces to enact the most effectual Laws for the due observance of this Line & the preventing all future intrusions, as the expectations thereof and the reliance the Indians have on your Justice from the Assurances I gave them on that head have proved great inducements to the settlement of the Line now established between the Colonies and them

To this the Governors & Commissioners answered that nothing should be wanting on their parts to the obtaining such security for the Boundary as was deemed necessary on their return to their respective Colonies

Then Sir William at the desire of the Gentlemen Commissioners from Pensylvania acquainted the Indians, that they the Commissioners had a present ready to the amount of 500 Dollars to give in full satisfaction of the Conostoga Lands, which by the death of that People became vested in the Proprietaries—That they freely gave this sum as a farther Proof of the regard of that Province for them and of their concern for the unhappy fate of the Conostogas. Then Sir William told the Indians, that as the proprietaries did not know whether they would chuse money or Goods for the addition of Land to Pensylvania they were then unprovided, but that Sir William Johnson would be answerable for the speedy payment of the purchase, & would propose to them either to receive it in money to be sent on the Comrs return or in goods speedy as possible or to wait till the next spring by which time they could have goods better & more for the same money from England which was submitted to their determination

1176 160. Treaty of Fort Stanwix

As it grew late Sir William dismissed the Indians till the next day when they were to subscribe to the Deed of Cession & receive the consideration

At night the cheifs came to Sir William told him that they had considered the proposals made by the Commissioners of Pensylvania, & preferred the receiving the purchase in Cash, as the speediest payment which was agreed to & security given that the same should be paid in Six Weeks

Novr 5th

The Present being placed in public view around the Buildings within the Fort early this morning the whole assembled in the Area, to subscribe to the Deed & receive the consideration

At a Congress with the several Nations Saturday Nov 5

PRESENT—as before.

The Speaker after repeating what Sir had said to them on the first Belt at the last Congress said

Brother

We thank you for what you have said & we are hopeful that you will observe your engagements as we mean to do on our parts; but as this will in a great measure depend upon the Colonies, We now desire their Representatives here present to do every thing for preserving those engagemts and keeping their people in good order A Belt.

Then repeating what was said on the second Belt, said

Brother

We thank you for the advice you have given us not to listen to evil reports or lies.

Brother

We approve of your caution and shall observe it, and we shall from time to time give us the the earliest intelligence of any such Reports & from whence they come

A Belt.

Then in answer to Govr Francklin's Speech

Brother

We are glad to see that Governor Francklin is so well pleased with our having bestowed one of our own names upon him & are well pleased [to] hear you promise that he will always be ready to do us justice We hope that all future Governors will act the same part. We acknowledge that several of our Nations now present were witnesses to the transaction at Easton & therefore acquit that Province of any demand and we have only to desire of him to follow your example in his future Conduct towards us, which will sufficiently recommend him and his people to our esteem

A Belt

Brother

The advice you gave us yesterday to continue firm and united and to live together as formerly we think it very salutary and intended for our Good. We are therefore intended to follow your advice shall lodge your Belt at our Fire place at Onondaga to the end that all our confederacy may have recourse to it & act accordingly

The Deed to His Majesty, that to the Proprietors of Pensylvania, with that to the Traders being then laid on the Table were executed in the presence of the Govr Commissioners, & the rest of the Gentlemen

After which the Cheifs of each Nation received the Cash which was piled on a Table for that purpose and then proceeded to divide the Goods amongst their People which occupied the remainder of that day

P M The Governor & Commissioners took leave and returned to their respive Provinces and that night Sir William took leave of the Cheifs recommending it to them to remember what had been then transacted & cautioning them against committing any Disorders at their Departure but to pack up their Goods & return home in peace & Good Order

Sunday Nov 6th

The Indians began to decamp & Sir William sett off on his return for Johnston Hall where he arrived on the ninth of that Month

A True Copy examined by G JOHNSON Deputy Agent as Secretary.

Deed Determining the Boundary Line between the Whites and the Indians

[Plantations General, Vol., 30, V.S.]

To all to whom, These presents shall come or may concern. We the Sachems & Cheifs of the Six confederate Nations, and of the Shawanese, Delawares, Mingoes of Ohio and other Dependant Tribes on behalf of our selves and of the rest of our Several Nations the Cheifs & Warriors of whom are now here convened by Sir William Johnson Baronet His Majestys Superintendant of our affairs send GREETING.

WHEREAS His Majesty was graciously pleased to propose to us in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty five that a Boundary Line should be fixed between the English & us to ascertain & establish our Limitts and prevent those intrusions & encroachments of which we had so long and loudly complained and to put a stop to the many fraudulent advantages which had been so often taken of us in Land affairs which Boundary appearing to us a wise and good measure we did then agree to a part of a Line and promised to settle the whole finally when soever Sir William Johnson should be fully empowered to treat with us for that purpose

AND WHEREAS His said Majesty has at length given Sir William Johnson orders to compleat the said Boundary Line between the Provinces and Indians in conformity to which orders Sir William Johnson has convened the Cheifs & Warriors of our respective Nations who are the true and absolute Proprietors of the Lands in question and who are here now to a very considerable Number.

AND WHEREAS many uneasinesses and doubts have arisen amongst us which have given rise to an apprehension that the Line may not be strictly observed on the part of the English in which case matters may be worse than before which apprehension together with the dependant state of some of our Tribes and other circumstances which retarded the Settlement and became the subject of some Debate Sir William Johnson has at length so far satisfied us upon as to induce us to come to an agreement concerning the Line which is now brought to a conclusion the whole being fully explained to us in a large Assembly of our People before Sir William Johnson and in the presence of His Excellency the Governor of New Jersey the Commissioners from the Provinces of Virginia and Pensilvania and sundry other Gentlemen by which Line so agreed upon a considerable Tract of Country along several Provinces is by us ceded to His said Majesty which we are induced to and do hereby ratify & confirm to His said Majesty from the expectation and confidence we place in His royal Goodness that he will graciously comply with our humble requests as the same are expressed in the speech of the several Nations addressed to His Majesty through Sir William Johnson on Tuesday the first of the Present Month of November wherein we have declared our expectation of the continuance of His Majestys Favour and our desire that our ancient Engagements be observed and our affairs attended to by the officer who has the management thereof enabling him to discharge all these matters properly for our Interest. That the Lands occupied by the Mohocks around their villages as well as by any other Nation affected by this our Cession may effectually remain to them and to their Posterity and that any engagements regarding Property which they may now be under may be prosecuted and our present Grants deemed valid on our parts with the several other humble requests contained in our said Speech

AND WHEREAS at the settling of the said Line it appeared that the Line described by His Majestys order was not extended to the Northward of Oswegy or to the Southward of Great Kanhawa river We have agreed to and continued the Line to the Northward on a supposition that it was omitted by reason of our not having come to any determination concerning its course at the Congress held in one thousand seven hundred and sixty five and in as much as the Line to the Northward became the most necessary of any for preventing encroachments at our very Towns & Residences We have given the Line more favorably to Pensylvania for the reasons & considerations mentioned in the Treaty, we have likewise continued it South to Cherokee River because the same is and we do declare it to be our true Bounds with the Southern Indians and that we have an undoubted right to the Country as far South as that River which makes our Cession to His Majesty much more advantageous than that proposed,

Now THEREFORE KNOW YE that we the Sachems and Cheifs aforementioned Native Indians and Proprietors of the Lands herein after described for and in behalf of ourselves and the whole of our Confederacy for the considerations herein before mentioned and also for and in consideration of a valuable Present of the several articles in use amongst Indians which together with a large sums of money amounts in the whole to the sum of Ten thousand four Hundred and Sixty pounds seven shillings and three pence sterling to us now delivered and paid by Sir William Johnson Baronet His Majestys sole Agent and superintendant of Indian affairs for the Northern department of America in the Name and on behalf of our Soverreign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith the receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge WE the said Indians HAVE for us and our Heirs and Successors granted bargained sold released and confirmed and by these presents DO Grant bargain sell release and confirm unto our said Sovereign Lord King George the third, ALL that Tract of Land situate in North America at the Back of the British Settlements bounded by a Line which we have now agreed upon and do hereby establish as the Boundary between us and the British Colonies in America beginning at the Mouth of Cherokee or Hogohege River where it emptys into the River Ohio and running from thence upwards along the South side of said River to Kittaning which is above Fort Pitt from thence by a direct Line to the nearest Fork of the west branch of Susquehanna thence through the Allegany Mountains along the South side of the said West Branch untill it comes opposite to the mouth of a Creek callek Tiadaghton thence across the West Branch and along the South Side of that Creek and along the North Side of Burnetts Hills to a Creek called Awandae thence down the same to the East Branch of Susquehanna and across the same and up the East side of that River to Oswegy from thence East to Delawar River and up that River to opposite where Tianaderha falls into Susquehanna thence to Tianaderha and up the West side of its West Branch to the head thereof and thence by a direct Line to Canada Creek where it emptys into the wood Creek at the West of the Carrying Place beyond Fort Stanwix and extending Eastward from every part of the said Line as far as the Lands formerly purchased so as to comprehend the whole of the Lands between the said Line and the purchased Lands or settlements, except what is within the

Province of Pensilvania, together with all the Hereditaments and Appurtenances to the same belonging or appertaining in the fullest & most ample manner and all the Estate Right Title Interest Property Possession Benefit claim and Demand either in Law or Equity of each & every of us of in or to the same or any part thereof TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the whole Lands and Premises hereby granted bargained sold released and confirmed as aforesaid with the Hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging under the reservations made in the Treaty unto our said Sovereign Lord King George the third his Heirs & Successors to and for his and their own proper use and behoof for ever

In WITNESS whereof We the Cheifs of the Confederacy have hereunto set our marks and Seals at FORT STANWIX the fifth day of November one Thousand seven hundred and sixty eight in the ninth year of His Majestys Reign

for the Mohocks
TYORHANSERE als ABRAHAM

for the Oneidas CANAGHQUIESON

for the Tuscaroras SEQUARUSERA

for the Onondagas OTSINOGHIYATA als BUNT

for the Cayugas TEGAAIA

for the Senecas GUASTRAX

Sealed and delivered and the consideration paid in the presence of Wm Franklin Governor of New Jersey Fre. Smyth Cheif Justice of New Jersey Thomas Walker Commissioner for Virginia

Of the Council of Pensylvania Richard Peters James Tilghman

The above Deed was executed in my presence at Fort Stanwix the day and year above Written W JOHNSON

Source: E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. 8 (Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Co., 1857. http://libr.unl.edu:8888/etext/treaties/treaty.00007.html).

161. Regulators' Advertisements, 1768

Introduction

The frontier colonists struggling to make a living in the mountains of western North Carolina were underrepresented and overtaxed by the relatively wealthy politicians in the east. Corrupt political appointees came to the western settlements to prey on the frontierspeople by setting excessive fees and taxes and rushing to confiscate farms when tax payments were late. In 1767, legislators imposed a poll tax and a liquor tax to pay for construction of a lavish mansion for Gov. William Tryon. In response to this final straw, protestors formed an association to "regulate" against public corruption and abuses of power, and thus became known as the Regulators. These two "advertisements" describe the formation of the Regulators and list some of their grievances. Among their activities, the Regulators demanded to inspect court records for evidence of corruption, disrupted several controversial trials, and beat up lawyers and public officials. Eventually numbering in the thousands, Regulators elected several of their members to the colonial assembly. The Regulators disbanded after their defeat by Governor Tryon's militia at the 1771 Battle of the Alamance.

Primary Source

Regulators' Advertisement No.4 January, 1768

We the under written subscribers do voluntarily agree to form ourselves into an Association to assemble ourselves for conferences for regulating publick Grievances & abuses of Power in the following particulars with others of like nature that may occur.

- That we will pay no Taxes until we are satisfied they are agreeable to Law and Applied to the purposes therein mentioned unless we cannot help and are forced.
- 2. That we will pay no Officer any more fees than the Law allows unless we are obliged to it and then to shew a dislike to it & bear open testimony against it.
- 3. That we will attend out Meetings of Conference as often as we conveniently can or is necessary in order to consult our representatives on the amendment of such Laws as may be found grievous or unnecessary and to choose more suitable men than we have heretofore done for Burgesses and Vestry men and to Petition His Excellency our Governor the Honble the Council and the Worshipful House of representatives His Majesty in Parliament &c. for redress of such Grievances as in the course of this undertaking may occur and to inform one another & to learn, know and enjoy all the Priviledges & Liberties that are allowed us and were settled on us by our worthy Ancestors the founders of the present Constitution

in order to preserve it in its ancient Foundation that it may stand firm & unshaken.

- 4. That we will contribute to Collections for defraying necessary expences attending the work according to our abilities.
- 5. That in Cases of differences in Judgment we will submit to the Majority of our Body.

To all which We do solemnly swear or being a Quaker or otherwise scrupulous in Conscience of the common Oath do solemnly affirm that We will stand true and faithful to this cause until We bring them to a true regulation according to the true intent & meaning of it in the judgment of the Majority.

Regulator's Advertisement No. 5 March 22, 1768

The request of the Inhabitants of the West side of Haw river to the Assembly men and Vestry men of Orange County

Whereas the Taxes in the County are larger according to the number of Taxables than adjacent counties and continues so year after year, and as the jealousy still prevails amongst us that we are wronged & having the more reason to think so as we have been at the trouble of choosing men and sending them after the civilest manner that we could to know what we paid our Levy for but could receive no satisfaction for. James Watson was sent to Maddock Mills and said that Edmund Fanning looked upon it that the country called him by authority or like as if they had a right to call them to an Accompt. Not allowing the country the right that they have been entitled to as English subjects, for the King requires no money from His subjects but what they are made sensible what use it's for; we are obliged to seek redress by denying paying any more until we have a full settlement for what is past and have a true regulation with our Officers as our grievances are too many to notify in a small piece of writing. We desire that you our Assembly men and Vestry men may appoint a time before next Court at the Court House and let us know by the Bearer and we will chose men to act for us and settle our Grievances until such time as you will settle with us. We desire that the Sheriffs will not come this way to collect the Levy for We will pay none before there is a settlement to our satisfaction and as the nature of an Officer is a servant to the Publick we are determined to have the Officers of this county under a better and honester regulation than they have been for some time past. Think not to frighten us with rebellion in this case for if the Inhabitants of this Province have not as good a right to enquire into the nature of our Constitution and Disbursements of our funds as those of our Mother Country We think that it is by arbitrary proceedings that we are debarred of that right, therefore to be plain with you it is our intent to have a full settlement of you in every particular point that is matter of doubt with us, so fail not to send Answer by the Bearer; if no Answer we shall take it for Granted that we are disregarded in this our request again from the Publick.

Source: The Regulators in North Carolina: A Documentary History, 1759–1776 (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1971).

162. "Account of Regulators," *Evening Post* of Boston, November 12, 1770

Introduction

The frontier colonists struggling to make a living in the mountains of western North Carolina were underrepresented and overtaxed by the relatively wealthy politicians in the east. Corrupt political appointees came to the western settlements to prey on the frontierspeople by setting excessive fees and taxes and rushing to confiscate farms when tax payments were late. In 1767, legislators imposed a poll tax and a liquor tax to pay for construction of a lavish mansion for Gov. William Tryon. In response to this final straw, protestors formed an association to "regulate" against public corruption and abuses of power, and thus became known as the Regulators. Among their activities, the Regulators demanded to inspect court records for evidence of corruption, disrupted several controversial trials, and beat up lawyers and public officials. Eventually numbering in the thousands, Regulators elected several of their members to the colonial assembly. This 1770 Boston newspaper article recounts a Regulator riot in which they attacked a courtroom, beat up several people, destroyed a public official's house, and ran him out of town. The Regulators disbanded after their defeat by Governor Tryon's militia at the 1771 Battle of the Alamance.

Primary Source

On Wednesday a special messenger arrived in town from Grenville [sic] county, with an account of a violent insurrection having broke out in Orange County, among a set of men who call themselves Regulators, and who for some years past have given infinite disturbance to the civil government of this province, but now have sapped its whole foundation, brought its courts of justice to their own controul, leaped the strong barrier of private property, and audaciously violated the laws of God and Man.

The people have for a long time opposed paying all manner of taxes, have entertained the vilest opinion of the gentlemen of the law, and often threatened them with their vengeance Accordingly, as the Hon. Judge Henderson, and sever gentlemen of the law, were returning from Salisbury circuit to Hillsborough, in order to hold the court there, they were waylayed by a number of them with their

rifles; but happily having notice of their hellish design, by taking a contrary rout, eluded their bloody plot. They still gave out their threats of meeting them at Hillsborough, and wreaking their vengeance on them there.

These menaces were treated with contempt, as rather the violent ravings of a factious and discontented mob, than any settled and fixed resolution of men of property to commit so daring an insult to the laws of the country, and accordingly the court was opened, and proceeded to business: But on Monday, the second day of the court, the tragical scene began; a very large number of those people, headed by men of considerable property, appeared in Hillsborough, with clubs, whips, loaded at the ends with lead or iron (a stroke from which would level the strongest man) and many other offensive weapons, and at once beset the court-house. The first object of their revenge was Mr. John Williams, a gentleman of the law, who they assaulted as he was entering the court; him they cruelly abused with many and violent blows with their loaded whips on the head and different parts of his body, until he by great good fortune made his escape, and took shelter in a neighbouring store. They then entered the court-house and immediately fixed their attention on Col. Fanning, as the next object of their merciless cruelty; he expected his fate, and had retired to the judges seat, as the highest part of the courthouse, from which he might make the greatest defence against these blood thirsty and cruel savages; but, poor gentleman, vain were all his efforts, for after behaving with the most heroic courage, he fell a sacrifice to numbers, and suffered a cruelty the richest language can but faintly paint: They seized him by the heels, dragged him down the steps, his head striking violently on every step, carried him to the door, and forcing him out, dragged him on the ground over stone & brickbats, struck him with their whips and clubs, kicked him, spit and spurned at him, and treated him with every possible mark of contempt and cruelty; till at length, by a violent effort of strength and activity, he rescued himself from the merciless claws, and took shelter in a house; the vultures pursued him there, and gave him a stroke that will probably destroy one of his eyes: In this piteous and grievously maimed condition they left him for a while, retreated to the courthouse, knocked down and very cruelly treated the deputy clerk of the Crown, ascended the bench, shook their whips over judge Henderson, told him his turn was next, ordered him to pursue Business, but in the manner they should prescribe, which was, that no lawyers should enter the courthouse, no juries but what they should pack, and order new trials in cases where some of them had been cast for their mal practices. They then seized Mr. Hooper, a gentleman of the law, dragged and paraded him through the streets, and treated him with every mark of contempt and insult. Thus closed the first day.

But the second day presented a scene still more tragic; immediately on their discovering that the Judge had made his escape, and refused to submit to the dictates of these lawless and desperate men,

they marched in a body to Col Fanning's house, entered the same, and destroyed every piece of furniture in it, ript open the beds and threw all his china and glass into the street, scattered all his papers and books in the winds, seized all his plate and cash, entered his cellar, and after satiating their savage stomachs with his liquors, stove the remainder; being now drunk with rage, liquor, and lawless fury, they took his wearing cloaths, stuck them on a pole, paraded them thro' the streets, and to clost the scene, pulled down and laid his house in ruins. They then went to a large churchbell that Col. Fanning, at the expence of 70 l. had made a present of to the church at Hillsborough, and split it to pieces, and were at the point of pulling down the church, but the leaders thinking it betrayed their religious principles restrained them, Their revenge not being yet satiated on this unhappy gentleman, they again pursued him, and again cruelly beat him, and at length with dogs hunted him out of town, and with savage cruelty stoned him as he fled.

When they had fully glutted their revenge on the lawyers, to shew their opinion of courts of justice, they took from his chains a Negro that had been executed some time, and placed him at the lawyer's bar, and filled the judge's seat with human excrement, in derision and contempt of the characters that filled those respectable places.

Source: The Regulators in North Carolina: A Documentary History, 1759–1776 (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1971).

163. Accounts of the Battle of Alamance, 1771

Introduction

The struggling frontier colonists of western North Carolina were underrepresented and overtaxed by the relatively wealthy politicians in the east. Corrupt political appointees came to the western settlements to prey on the frontierspeople by setting excessive fees and taxes and rushing to confiscate farms when tax payments were late. In 1767, legislators imposed a poll tax and a liquor tax to pay for construction of a lavish mansion for Gov. William Tryon. In response to this final straw, protesters formed an association to "regulate" against public corruption and abuses of power, and thus became known as the Regulators. Among their activities, the Regulators demanded to inspect court records for evidence of corruption, disrupted trials, and beat up lawyers and public officials. On May 16, 1771, Governor Tryon and some 1,000 militiamen confronted about 2,000 Regulators at Alamance Creek, near presentday Greensboro. Tryon gave the Regulators a last chance to withdraw before ordering his men to open fire. The outnumbered but better-trained militia routed the Regulators. Six Regulator leaders were executed for treason. The Regulators disbanded, with some accepting a government pardon and others leaving North Carolina. Tryon left North Carolina in July 1771 to serve as royal governor of New York.

Primary Source

General Tryon to the Regulators

Great Alamance Camp May 16, 1771.

In answer to your Petition, I am to acquaint you that I have ever been attentive to the true Interest of this Country, and to that of every Individual residing within it. I lament the fatal Necessity to which you have not reduced me, by withdrawing yourselves from the Mercy of the Crown, and the Laws of your Country, to require you who are Assembled as Regulators, to lay down your Arms, Surrender up the outlawed Ringleaders, and Submit yourselves to the Laws of your Country, and then, rest on the lenity and Mercy of Government. By accepting these Terms in one Hour from the delivery of this Dispatch you will prevent an effusion of Blood, as you are at this time in a state of War and Rebellion against your King, your Country, and your Laws.

Wm Tryon

Governor Tryon's Proclamation

May 17, 1771

By His Excellency William Tryon Esquire His Majesty's Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the said Province

A Proclamation

Whereas I have been informed that several ignorant Persons have been under false pretences induced to join in Arms to oppose Government and the Laws of this Country, Therefore out of Humanity and in Tender Compassion to the Distresses that must fall on them and Their Families should they through fear of Punishment persist in their Errors, I hereby give notice to every Person (except those who stand outlawed, and such as are now prisoner in the Camp) who will come into Camp, lay down their Arms, take the Oath of Allegiance and promise to pay all Taxes that are not due or may hereafter become due by them respectively, and submit from this Day to the Laws of this Country, shall have His Majesty's most Gracious and free Pardon for all Treasons Insurrections and Rebellions done or committed before this Day provided They make their Submission aforesaid on or before the 21 Instant.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal of the said Province this 17 Day of May a Dom 1771

Wm. Tryon

Governor Tryon's Declaration to the Troops May 17, 1771

The Governor impressed with the most affectionate Sense of Gratitude gives Thanks to both Officers and Soldiers of the Army for the Vigorous and Generous support they afforded Him Yesterday in the Battle near Alamance. It was to their Valour and steady Conduct that He owes under the providence of God the signal Victory obtained over obstinate and infatuated Rebels. His Excellency sympathises with the Loyalists for the brave men that fell and suffered in the Action, but when He reflects that the Fate of the Constitution depended on the Success of the Day, and the important Services thereby rendered their King and Country, He considers this loss (though at present the Cause of Affliction to their Relations and Friends) as a Monument of lasting Glory and Honor to Themselves and Families.

The Dead to be Interred at five O'clock this Evening in the Front of the Park of Artillery. Funeral Service to be performed with Military Honors to the deceased. After the Ceremony Prayers and Thanksgiving for the signal Victory it has pleased Providence Yesterday to grant the Army over the Insurgents. The above was given by the Governor in public Orders on the 17 May. The Day after the Battle of Alamance.

Virginia Gazette (Williamsburg), June 6, 1771

From the different Accounts we have been able to collect, since our last, of the Battle in North Carolina, we find that the Description we then gave of it varied but in few Particulars from the Reality. We shall now mention what farther has come to our knowledge of that Engagement: That Governor Tryon had under him a Thousand Men, and that the Regulators amounted to three and twenty Hundred; that his Excellency was much insulted by them, particularly one Fellow, whom he shot dead on the spot, as he was approaching him; that this happened but a very short Time before the Expiration of the two Hours allowed them by the Governor, upon which the Engagement began; that both Parties fought with great Animosity, for two Hours and upwards; that the Artillery was discharged six and thirty Times, and that one Shot struck a Tree, which in its Fall killed thirty odd of the Regulators, that the Governor had his horse killed under him, and the Breech of the Gun he had in his Hand shot away; that a hundred sixty of the Regulators were killed, and two Hundred wounded, forty of whom were taken prisoners; and the Regulators were badly conducted, and fought in the utmost Confusion, their Ranks being, in some Places, a Hundred Men deep, and that many of them were unarmed; that the Governor had only two Men killed, and sixty wounded. One Man, it is said, of the Governor's Party, was so much incensed against the Regulators, by whom

he had been threatened, that he was determined upon ample Revenge, or lossing his life; for it is thought he killed upwards of thirty with his own Hands, walking backwards and forward on the Flanks of his Party during the Engagement, and charging with as much Coolness as if hunting of Squirrels. The regulators have lost a Number of Horses, Guns, and Carriages; to the Amount, it is said, of more than luded People are much to be pitied, as they must be reduced a Thousand Pounds. ——— The Families of these poor de-to very great distress. The Province likewise, in general, is in the greatest disorder. And however faulty those who stile themselves Regulators may have been, as we learn that the cause of their Complaints has been removed (their leaders, it is probably, being bad Counsellors, and to have urged them on from one Step of Rebellion to another) it ought to be a lessons for all good Governments to suffer no Set of Men, under the Sanction of Authority, to fleece the People.

Governor Tyron's Proclamation June 11, 1771

By His Excellency William Tryon Esquire His Majesty's Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the said Province

A Proclamation

Whereas I am informed that many Persons who have been concerned in the late Rebellion are desirous of submitting themselves to Government, I do therefore give notice that every Person who will come in either to mine or General Waddles Camp, Lay down their arms, Take the Oath of Allegiance and promise to pay all taxes that are now due or may here after become due by them respectively, and submit to the Laws of this country shall have His Majesty's Most Gracious and Free Pardon, for all Treasons Insurrections and Rebellions done or committed on or before the Sixteenth of May last Provided they make their Submission aforesaid on or before the Tenth of July next. The following Persons are however excepted from the Benefit of this Proclamation Viz. All the Out laws, The Prisoners, all Those concerned in blowing up General Waddells Ammunition in Mechenburg County, and the under named Persons, to wit, Samuel Jones Joshua Teague Samuel Waggoner Simon Dunn Jun. Abraham Cresson Benjamin Merrit James Wilkerson Sr. Edward Smith John Bumpass Joseph Boring William Rankin William Roberson John Winker John Wilcox Jacob Felker & Thomas Person.

Given under my Hand and the great Seal of the Province this Eleventh Day of June Anno Dom. 1771

Wm Tryon

Source: The Regulators in North Carolina: A Documentary History, 1759–1776 (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1971).

164. Accounts of Lord Dunmore's War,1774 [Excerpts]

Introduction

John Murray, Lord Dunmore, was appointed royal governor of Virginia in 1771. Loyal to the British Crown, he punished the House of Burgesses for its rebellious activities by disbanding it in 1773, and again in 1774. During the same period, Indians had been attacking colonists living on the western frontier, and white frontiersmen retaliated. The Shawnees formally went to war and stepped up the pace and severity of their raids against settlers. Dunmore mustered the militia, and in September 1774 led 2,000 men into the Ohio River Valley. A major battle took place at Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Kanawha River, on October 10, and Colonel Andrew Lewis and 1,000 militiamen defeated an equal number of Shawnees before Dunmore's force arrived. Dunmore then concluded a peace with the Shawnee chief, Cornstalk. In these excerpts, a militia officer describes the battle, and Dunmore recounts the peace negotiations. The parties agreed on the Ohio River as the dividing line between white and Indian territory. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Dunmore raised Loyalist regiments and prepared to hold Virginia for the Crown. The rebels forced him to leave Virginia in July 1776.

Primary Source

FLEMING'S ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE
OF POINT PLEASANT
[Col. Fleming to his wife.]

MY Dear Nancy—I take this Opportunity to write you that you may be convinced I am yet amongst the living on Munday last, we were Alarmed by some from Camp that had been pursued by Indians. On the News being confirmed 150 from Augusta line & as many from the Botetourt, were ordered out. We marched in two Colums Colo. Ch: Lewis led the Augusta, I was at the head of the Botetourt line we had not march[ed] above three quarters of a mile before the Right line or Augusta line was Attack'd & in a second of time the Botetourt line likewise. The fire became general & very heavy. Colo. C. Lewis Receivd a mortal wound. I receivd three balls two through my left Arm, & one in my left breast, but I praise the Almighty, I did not fall and had strength with Assistance to reach my tent where I heard C[ol.] C. Lewis was just come in after I was dresd I went to see him. Colo. Lewis who as we did not expect a general engagement was in Camp behaved with the greatest Conduct & prudence and by timely & opportunely supporting the lines secured under God both the Victory & prevented the Enemy Attempts to break into Camp it was a hard fought Battle, lasted from 7 in the Morning to an hour by sun. The Indians were computed at 1000. but for a perticular Acct I must referr you to another time. I Bless God my wounds are in a good way. If it please God to spare me I propose coming in to the Inhabitants the first Opportunity. I am my Dear Nancy Yours &

WM FLEMING

OCTOBER 13, 1774

RICHD Wilson & Smith are both well Attend me Closely & will Return with me God willing

[Col. William Fleming to William bowyer.]

DEAR WILL—Agreeable to my Last from Belmont, I set out on Monday Aug. 21st and without any thing Remarkable Reached this place. Ye 6th Inst. where we continued without Interruption till Monday the 10th. when about Sunrise we had intelligence of a Man being kild & several closely pursued, by a large party or parties of Indians. Colo A: Lewis ordered 300 Men from the two Lines of Augusta & Botetourt Forces to go in Quest of the Enemy, little Imagining as we afterwards found it to be the Case that we were to engage the whole United Force of the Enemy Ohio Indians. We Marched from Camp in two lines. Colo. Charles Lewis led the Right line. I led the left. About 3/4 of a mile from Camp, the Indians began the Attack on the right & in a Second of time the Left line was Attacked. I must refer you to particular Accounts of which no doubt you will see several, and only Observe generals, as I am ill at ease to write. Soon after or in the first Fire Colo. C. Lewis received a Mortal wound, and was brought to his tent with some Assistance. He died a few hours after, very much Regretted by the whole Army much about or soone after this hapned on the Right, I received three balls in the left Line two struck my left arm below the Elbow broke both the bones, & I find one of this is lodged in my arm. A third entered my breast about three Inches below my left Nipple and is lodged some where in the Chest. On finding my self effectually disabled I quitted the Field. When I came to be drest, I found my Lungs forced through the wound in my breast, as long as one of my fingars. Watkins Attempted to reduce them ineffectually. He got some part returned but not the whole. Being in considerable pain, some time afterwards, I got the whole Returned by the Assistance of one of my Own Attendants. Since which I thank the Almighty I have been in a surprising state of ease. Nor did I ever know such dangerous wounds, Attended with so little inconvenience, and yet the wounds in my arm are in a bad condition. They do not digest and run but very little. What will be the consequence as yet I know not, but I write you circumstantially that you may if it is not too much trouble, write particularly to my wife. We had 7 or 800 Warriors to deal with. Never did Indians stick closer to it, nor behave bolder. The Engagement lasted from half and hour after [sunrise], to the same time before Sunset. And let me add I believe the Indians never had such a Scourging from the English before. The Scalpd many of their own dead to prevent their falling into Our hands, buried numbers, threw many into the Ohio and no doubt carried off many wounded. We found 70 Rafts. We tooke 18 or 20 Scalps, the most of them principle Warriors amongst the Shawnese &c, as we were informed by One McCulloch who came to us from his Lordship two days after the Ingagement, who viewed the Scalps & bodies & personally Knew them he says there is not a Noted Warriour left amongst the Shaw-

nese. After the Ingagement Colo Lewis sent off some Scouts to his Lordship two of them are since Returned. His Lordship had Marchd from Hockhocking where he had been in Camp for some days. He was joined by White Eyes the Delaware who told his Lordship 700 Warriors were gon to the South, to speak with the Army there, & that they had been followed by another Nation, that they would begin with them, in the morning and their business would be over by Breakfast time. And then they would speak with his Lordship. That they came fully convince they would beat us I think is certain. The cros'd the River & encamped the same side with us the Evening before, brought over with them their goods Deer Skins &c: took no pains to conceal themselves, And were boldly Marching to Attack Our Camp when we met them. Our Camp is situated on the Junction of the Kanhaway & Ohio in the Upper fork the Enemy in expectation of forcing us into the Ohio had lind the Opposite bank with some & the lower forks like wise was not neglected. The Enemy had brought their boys and squaas to knock us in the head I suppose, but God disappointed their Savage presumption. And tho Many brave Men lost their lives, Yet I hope in its consequences, it will be a general Good to the Country, and this engagement will be long Remembered to the Memory & Honour of those who purchas'd the Victory by their deaths. I am &c:

WM FLEMING

Be sure to write my wife the Substance of this, or enclose it to her.

[...]

In the mean time the ravage of the Indians, where ever they could carry it, was dreadful:—one Shawanese returned to his Town with the Scalps of forty men and Women and Children who he had killed. On the other hand a Party went out, with my permission, and destroyed one of the Shawanese Town, and meeting a Small Party of Indians, they killed Six or Seven of them, but this produced no Change in the designs of these People.

The real concern, principally, which the Continuation of these Miseries gave me, and, partly the Accounts Sent by the Officers of the Militia, of the Mutinous and ungovernable Spirit of their men, whom they could by no means bring to any order or discipline or even to Submit to command, determined me to go up into that part of the Country, and to exert my own immediate endeavours on this important occasion. Accordingly, as Soon as the business of the Over and Terminer Court in June permitted me, I sett out for Pittsburg where I arrived as has been already related. No time was lost in assembling The Delawar, Six Nations, and all the other Tribes the could be got at, or diligence neglected in conferring with them on the subject of the desolating consequences of Such enterprises as were Carrying on between the Shawense and their abettors, and our people; (I transmit to your Lordship and Account of the conferences held on this occasion in a printed copy (No. 7)) I found all those nations not only disposed to peace, but attached to our Cause, and they promised me, as your Lordship will perceive, that they would go down to the Shawanese (who with one or two less considerable Tribes only were concerned in the depredations that had been Committed) and, if I would appoint a time and place, bring them to Speak with me, and use their influence to incline them to Peace. I determined therefore to go down the Ohio; but I thought it Prudent to take a Force which might effect our purpose if our Negotiation failed: And I collected from the Militia of the Neighbouring Counties about twelve hundred men, to take with me, Sending orders to a colonel Lewis to March with as many more, of the Militia of the Southern Counties, across the Country to Join me at the Mouth of the little Kanhaway, the Place I appointed to meet the Indians at.

I passed down the river with this body of Men, and arrived at the appointed place at the Stated time. The day after Some of our friends the Delawars arrived according to their promise; but they brought us the disagreeable information, that the Shawanese would listen to no terms, and were resolved to prosecute their designs against the people of Virginia.

The Delawars, Notwithstanding, remained Steady in their attachment; and their Chief, named Captain White Eyes, offered me the assistance of himself and whole tribe; but apprehending evil effects from the Jealousy of, and natural dislike in our People to, all Indians, I accepted only of him and two or three: And I received great Service from the faithfulness, the firmness and remarkable good understanding of White Eyes.

Colonel Lewis not Joining me, and being unwilling to encrease the expence of the Country by delay, and, from the accounts we had of the numbers of the Indians, Judging the Force I had with me Sufficient to defeat them and destroy their Towns, in case they Should refuse the offers of peace; and after Sending orders to Colonel Lewis, to follow me to a place I appointed near the Indian Settlements, I crossed the Ohio and proceeded to the Shawanese Towns; in which March, one of our detached parties encountered an other of Indians laying in Ambush, of whom they killed Six or eight and took Sixteen Prisoners.

When we came up to the Towns we found them deserted, and that the main body of the Indians, to the amount of near five hundred, had Some time before gone off towards the Ohio; and we Soon learnt that they had Crossed that river, near the Mouth of the great Kanhaway, with the design of attacking the Corps under Colonel Lewis. In effect this Body, in their route to Join me, was encamped within a Mile of the Conflux of these two rivers, and near the place where the Indians Crossed, who were discovered by two men, of which they killed, of Colonel Lewis's Corps at break of Day the 10th of October. Colonel Lewis, upon receiving intelligence of their being advanced to within half a Mile of his Camp, ordered out three hundred men in two divisions, who upon their approach were imme-

diately attacked by the Indians, and a very warm engagement ensued; Colonel Lewis found it Necessary to reinforce the divisions first Sent out, which (without the main Body of his Corps having engaged) obliged the Indians to retreat, after an Action which lasted till about one O'clock after noon, and little Skermishing till Night, under the favour of which the Indians repassed the river and escaped. Colonel Lewis lost on his side his Brother and two other Colonels of Militia, men of Character and Some Condition in their counties, and forty Six Men killed, and about eighty wounded. The loss of the Indians by their Accounts amounted to about thirty killed and some wounded.

The event of this Action, proving very different from what the Indians had promised themselves, they at once resolved to make no further efforts against a Power they saw so far Superior to theirs; but determined to throw themselves upon our Mercy: And, with the greatest expedition, they came in Search of the body with which they knew I marched, and found me near their own Towns the Day after I got there.

They presently made known their intentions, and I admitted them immediately to a conference, wherein all our differences were Settled. The terms of our reconciliation were, briefly, that the Indians should deliver up all prisoners without reserve; that they should restore all horses and other valuable effects which they had carried off; that they Should not hunt on our Side the Ohio, nor molest any Boats passing thereupon; That they Should promise to agree to such regulations, for their trade with our People, as Should be hereafter dictated by the Kings Instructions, and that they Should deliver into our hands certain Hostages, to be kept by us until we were convinced of their Sincere intention to adhere to all these Articles. The Indians, finding, contrary to their expectation, no punishment likely to follow, agreed to everything with the greatest alacrity, and gave the most solemn assurances of their quiet and peacable deportment for the future: and in return I have given them every promise of protection and good treatment on our Side.

Thus this affair, which undoubtedly was attended with circumstances of Shocking inhumanity, may be the means of producing happy effects; for it has impressed an idea of the power of the White people, upon the minds of the Indians, which they did not before entertain; and, there is reason to believe, it has extinguished the rancour which raged so violently in our People against the Indians: and I think there is a great probability that these Scenes of distress will never be renewed, than ever was before.

 $[\ldots]$

Source: Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, 1774 (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1905).

165. Quebec Act, May 20, 1774

Introduction

The Quebec Act, although it did not directly affect the 13 American colonies, disturbed the colonists. The law's intent was to reorganize the massive Canadian province that had been under British rule since 1763, when the French were forced to cede the territory following their defeat in the French and Indian War. The act extended the boundary of the province of Canada to encompass the territory west of the Allegheny Mountains, land formerly under control of Virginia and several other colonies. The act also established a form of government very different from that which existed in the rest of Britain's North American colonies, prohibiting representative government and recognizing the Roman Catholic Church, among other things. These efforts were intended to reconcile French Canadians to British rule and ultimately proved successful, as the Canadians did not join the American colonists in their rebellion against the British in the American Revolutionary War. Many American colonists feared that the act would have far-reaching implications for the rest of British North America. They considered the provisions of the law outrageous and further evidence of how the British Parliament was attempting to establish a tyrannical government in North America.

Primary Source

An Act for making more effectual Provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec in North America.

WHEREAS his Majesty, by his Royal Proclamation bearing Date the seventh Day of October, in the third Year of his Reign, thought fit to declare the Provisions which had been made in respect to certain Countries, Territories, and Islands in America, ceded to his Majesty by the definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris on the tenth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three: And whereas, by the Arrangements made by the said Royal Proclamation a very large Extent of Country, within which there were several Colonies and Settlements of the Subjects of France, who claimed to remain therein under the Faith of the said Treaty, was left, without any Provision being made for the Administration of Civil Government therein; and certain Parts of the Territory of Canada, where sedentary Fisheries had been established and carried on by the Subjects of France, Inhabitants of the said Province of Canada under Grants and Concessions from the Government thereof, were annexed to the Government of Newfoundland, and thereby subjected to Regulations inconsistent with the Nature of such Fisheries: May it therefore please your most Excellent Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same: That all the Territories, Islands, and Countries in North America belonging to the Crown of Great

Britain, bounded on the South by a Line from the Bay of Chaleurs, along the High Lands which divide the Rivers that empty themselves into the River Saint Lawrence from those which fall into the Sea, to a Point in forty-five Degrees of Northern Latitude, on the Eastern Bank of the River Connecticut, keeping the same Latitude directly West through the Lake Champlain, until, in the same Latitude it meets the River Saint Lawrence: from thence up the Eastern Bank of the said River to the Lake Ontario; thence through the Lake Ontario and the River commonly call Niagara and thence along by the Eastern and Southeastern Bank of Lake Erie following the said Bank, until the same shall be intersected by the Northern Boundary, granted by the Charter of the Province of Pensylvania, in case the same shall be so intersected: and from thence along the said Northern and Western Boundaries of the said Province, until the said Western Boundary strike the Ohio: But in case the said Bank of the said Lake shall not be found to be so intersected, then following the said Bank until it shall arrive at that Point of the said Bank which shall be nearest to the Northwestern Angle of the said Province of Pensylvania, and thence by a right Line, to the said Northwestern Angle of the said Province; and thence along the Western Boundary of the said Province, until it strike the River Ohio; and along the Bank of the said River, Westward, to the Banks of the Mississippi, and Northward to the Southern Boundary of the Territory granted to the Merchants Adventurers of England, trading to Hudson's Bay; and also all such Territories, Islands, and Countries, which have, since the tenth of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixtythree, been made Part of the Government of Newfoundland, and they are hereby, during his Majesty's Pleasure, annexed to, and made Part and Parcel of, the Province of Quebec, as created and established by the said Royal Proclamation of the seventh of October, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three.

II. Provided always, That nothing herein contained, relative to the Boundary of the Province of Quebec, shall in anywise affect the Boundaries of any other Colony.

III. Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to make void, or to vary or alter any Right, Title, or Possession, derived under any Grant, Conveyance, or otherwise howsoever, of or to any Lands within the said Province, or the Provinces thereto adjoining; but that the same shall remain and be in Force, and have Effect, as if this Act had never been made.

IV. And whereas the Provisions, made by the said Proclamation, in respect to the Civil Government of the said Province of Quebec, and the Powers and Authorities given to the Governor and other Civil Officers of the said Province, by the Grants and Commissions issued in consequence thereof, have been found, upon Experience, to be inapplicable to the State and Circumstances of the said Province, the Inhabitants whereof amounted, at the Conquest, to above sixty-five

thousand Persons professing the Religion of the Church of Rome, and enjoying an established Form of Constitution and System of Laws, by which their Persons and Property had been protected, governed, and ordered, for a long Series of Years, from the first Establishment of the said Province of Canada; be it therefore further enacted by the Authority aforesaid. That the said Proclamation, so far as the same relates to the said Province of Quebec, and the Commission under the Authority whereof the Government of the said Province is at present administered, and all and every the Ordinance and Ordinances made by the Governor and Council of Quebec for the Time being, relative to the Civil Government and Administration of Justice in the said Province, and all Commissions to Judges and other Officers thereof, be, and the same are hereby revoked, annulled, and made void, from and after the first Day of May, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

V. And, for the more perfect Security and Ease of the Minds of the Inhabitants of the said Province, it is hereby declared, That his Majesty's Subjects, professing the Religion of the Church of Rome of and in the said Province of Quebec may have, hold, and enjoy, the free Exercise of the Religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the King's Supremacy, declared and established by an Act, made in the first Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, over all the Dominions and Countries which then did, or thereafter should belong, to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; and that the Clergy of the said Church may hold, receive, and enjoy, their accustomed Dues and Rights, with respect to such Persons only as shall profess the said Religion.

VI. Provided nevertheless, That it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his Heirs or Successors, to make such Provision out of the rest of the said accustomed Dues and Rights, for the Encouragement of the Protestant Religion, and for the Maintenance and Support of a Protestant Clergy within the said Province, as he or they shall from Time to Time think necessary and expedient.

VII. Provided always and be it enacted, That no Person professing the Religion of the Church of Rome, and residing in the said Province shall be obliged to take the Oath required by the said Statute passed in the first Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, or any other Oaths substituted by any other Act in the Place thereof; but that every such Person who, by the said Statute, is required to take the Oath therein mentioned, shall be obliged, and is hereby required, to take and subscribe the following Oath before the Governor, or such other Person in such Court of Record as his Majesty shall appoint, who are hereby authorized to administer the same; videlicet,

I A.B. do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to his Majesty King George, and him will defend to the utmost of my Power, against all traitorous Conspira-

cies, and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his Person, Crown, and Dignity; and I will do my utmost Endeavor to disclose and make known to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, all Treasons, and traitorous Conspiracies, and Attempts, which I shall know to be against him, or any of them; and all this I do swear without any Equivocation, mental Evasion, or secret Reservation, and renouncing all Pardons and Dispensations from any Power or Person whomsoever to the contrary. So help me GOD.

And every such Person, who shall neglect or refuse to take the said Oath before mentioned, shall incur and be liable to the same Penalties, Forfeitures, Disabilities, and Incapacities, as he would have incurred and been liable to for neglecting or refusing to take the Oath required by the said Statute passed in the first Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

VIII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all his Majesty's Canadian Subjects within the Province of Quebec, the religious orders and Communities only excepted, may also hold and enjoy their Property and Possessions, together with all Customs and Usages relative thereto, and all other their Civil Rights in as large, ample, and beneficial Manner as if the said Proclamation, Commissions, Ordinances, and other Acts and Instruments had not been made, and as may consist with their Allegiance to his Majesty, and Subjection to the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain; and that in all Matters of Controversy relative to Property and Civil Rights, Resort shall be had to the Laws of Canada, as the Rule for the Decision of the same; and all Causes that shall hereafter be instituted in any of the Courts of Justice, to be appointed within and for the said Province by his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, shall, with respect to such Property and Rights, be determined agreeably to the said Laws and Customs of Canada, until they shall be varied or altered by any Ordinances that shall, from Time to Time, be passed in the said Province by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Commander in Chief, for the Time being, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Legislative Council of the same, to be appointed in Manner herein-after mentioned.

IX. Provided always, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any Lands that have been granted by his Majesty, or shall hereafter be granted by his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, to be holden in free and common Soccage.

X. Provided also, That it shall and may be lawful to and for every Person that is Owner of any Lands, Goods, or Credits, in the said Province, and that has a Right to alienate the said Lands, Goods, or Credits, in his or her Lifetime, by Deed of Sale, Gift, or otherwise, to devise or bequeath the same at his or her Death, by his or her last Will and Testament; any Law, Usage, or Custom, heretofore or now prevailing in the Province, to the contrary hereof in any-wise notwithstanding; such Will being executed either according to the

Laws of Canada, or according to the Forms prescribed by the Laws of England.

Xl. And whereas the Certainty and Lenity of the Criminal Law of England, and the Benefits and Advantages resulting from the Use of it, have been sensibly felt by the Inhabitants, from an Experience of more than nine Years, during which it has been uniformly administered: be it therefore further enacted by the Authority aforesaid. That the same shall continue to be administered, and shall be observed as Law in the Province of Quebec, as well in the Description and Quality of the Offence as in the Method of Prosecution and Trial; and the Punishments and Forfeitures thereby inflicted to the Exclusion of every other Rule of Criminal Law, or Mode of Proceeding thereon, which did or might prevail in the said Province before the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four; any Thing in this Act to the contrary thereof in any respect notwithstanding; subject nevertheless to such Alterations and Amendments as the Governor, Lieutenant-governor, or Commander in Chief for the Time being, by and with the Advice and Consent of the legislative Council of the said Province, hereafter to be appointed, shall, from Time to Time, cause to be made therein, in Manner hereinafter directed.

XII. And whereas it may be necessary to ordain many Regulations for the future Welfare and good Government of the Province of Quebec, the Occasions of which cannot now be foreseen, nor, without much Delay and Inconvenience, be provided for, without intrusting that Authority, for a certain Time, and under proper Restrictions, to Persons resident there, and whereas it is at present inexpedient to call an Assembly; be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, by Warrant under his or their Signet or Sign Manual, and with the Advice of the Privy Council, to constitute and appoint a Council for the Affairs of the Province of Quebec, to consist of such Persons resident there, not exceeding twenty-three, nor less than seventeen, as his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, shall be pleased to appoint, and, upon the Death, Removal, or Absence of any of the Members of the said Council, in like Manner to constitute and appoint such and so many other Person or Persons as shall be necessary to supply the Vacancy or Vacancies; which Council, so appointed and nominated, or the major Part thereof; shall have Power and Authority to make Ordinances for the Peace, Welfare, and good Government, of the said Province, with the Consent of his Majesty's Governor, or, in his Absence, of the Lieutenant-governor, or Commander in Chief for the Time being.

XIII. Provided always, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend to authorize or impower the said legislative Council to lay any Taxes or Duties within the said Province, such Rates and Taxes only excepted as the Inhabitants of any Town or District within the said Province may be authorized by the said Council to assess, levy,

and apply, within the said Town or District, for the Purpose of making Roads, erecting and repairing publick Buildings, or for any other Purpose respecting the local Convenience and Economy of such Town or District.

XIV. Provided also, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every Ordinance so to be made, shall, within six Months, be transmitted by the Governor, or, in his Absence, by the Lieutenant-governor, or Commander in Chief for the Time being, and laid before his Majesty for his Royal Approbation; and if his Majesty shall think fit to disallow thereof, the same shall cease and be void from the Time that his Majesty's Order in Council thereupon shall be promulgated at Quebec.

XV. Provided also, That no Ordinance touching Religion, or by which any Punishment may be inflicted greater than Fine or Imprisonment for three Months, shall be of any Force or Effect, until the same shall have received his Majesty's Approbation.

XVI. Provided also, That no Ordinance shall be passed at any Meeting of the Council where less than a Majority of the whole Council is present, or at any Time except between the first Day of January and the first Day of May, unless upon some urgent Occasion, in which Case every Member thereof resident at Quebec, or within fifty Miles thereof, shall be personally summoned by the Governor, or, in his absence, by the Lieutenant-governor, or Commander in Chief for the Time being, to attend the same.

XVII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to prevent or hinder his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, by his or their Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, from erecting, constituting, and appointing, such Courts of Criminal, Civil, and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction within and for the said Province of Quebec, and appointing, from Time to Time, the Judges and Officers thereof, as his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, shall think necessary and proper for the Circumstances of the said Province.

XVIII. Provided always, and it is hereby enacted, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to repeal or make void, within the said Province of Quebec, any Act or Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain heretofore made, for prohibiting, restraining, or regulating, the Trade or Commerce of his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America; but that all and every the said Acts, and also all Acts of Parliament heretofore made concerning or respecting the said Colonies and Plantations, shall be, and are hereby declared to be, in Force, within the said Province of Quebec, and every Part thereof.

Source: Pickering, Danby. *Statutes at Large.* . . Cambridge: J. Bentham, 1762–1869.

166. Yankee Doodle, 1778

Introduction

The origin of the song "Yankee Doodle" is unknown, but the tune most likely came from a children's game in England. Some say the words of the earliest verses originated with British soldiers during the French and Indian War, and others attribute them to a British surgeon during the 1775 occupation of Boston. The word "yankee' was used by the mid-1700s to refer to New England colonists, while "doodle" meant a fool or bumpkin. In either case, "Yankee Doodle" pointed out the contrast between British regulars and colonial militiamen. British troops marching to the Battle of Lexington played "Yankee Doodle" to ridicule the Americans, but by the end of the battle, the Americans were playing the song to mock the British. The song became popular among the Americans during the Revolutionary War, with new verses added as the war went on. "Yankee Doodle" was reportedly played as the British surrendered at Yorktown. Although printed versions of the tune and lyrics appeared in Britain as early as 1778, the song was not printed in the United States until 1794. The word "yankee," originally applied to New England colonists, came to mean Americans from the northern states during the American Civil War.

Primary Source

Father and I went down to camp, Along with Captain Gooding; And there we saw the men and boys, As thick as hasty-pudding.

And there we see a thousand men, As rich as Squire David; And what they wasted every day, I wish it could be saved.

The 'lasses they eat every day, Would keep a house a winter; They have as much that I'll be bound, They eat when they've a mind to

And there we see a swamping gun, Large as a log of maple, Upon a duced little cart, A load for father's cattle.

And every time they shoot it off, It takes a horn of powder: It makes a noise like father's gun, Only a nation louder.

CHORUS

Yankee doodle, keep it up, Yankee doodle dandy; Mind the music and the step, And with the girls be handy. I went as nigh to one myself, As'Siah's under-pinning; And father went as night again. I thought the dence was in him.

Cousin Simon grew so bold, I thought he would have cocked it; It scared me so I streaked it off, And hung by father's pocket.

But Captain Davis has a gun, He kind of clap'd his hand on't, And stuck a crooked stabing iron Upon the little end on't.

And there I saw a pumpkin shell, As big as mother's basin; And every time they touched it off, They scampered like the nation.

I see a little barrel too.
The heads were made of leather,
They knock'd upon it with little clubs,
And call'd the folds together.

There was Captain Washington And gentle folks about him; They say he's grown so tarnal proud, He will not ride without 'em.

He got him on his meeting clothes, Upon a slapping stallion; He set the world along in rows, In hundreds and in millions.

The flaming ribbons in their hats, They look'd so tearing fine, ah; I wanted plaguily to get, To give to my Jemima.

I see another snarl of men, A digging graves, they told me, So tarnal long, so tarnal deep, They 'tended they should hold me.

It scar'd me so, I hook'd it off, Nor stopp'd, as I remember; Nor turn'd about till I got home, Lock'd up in mother's chamber.

> **Source:** Yankee Doodle. Library of Congress. http://www.loc.gov/teachers/lyrical/songs/yankee_doodle.html.

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